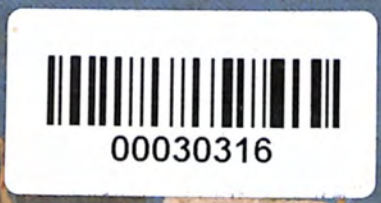
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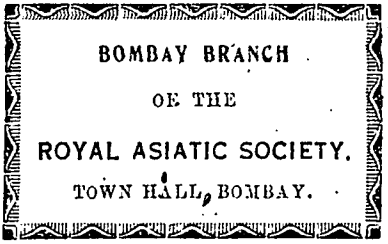

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HISTORY

OF THE

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OF 1848.

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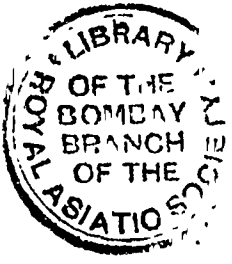

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

SS j 12

LONDON:

HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN:

1849.

944.07
Lam. / His
30316

Printed by J. & H. COX (BROTHERS), 74 & 75, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

HISTORY

OF

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

BOOK I.

THE revolutions of the human mind are gradual like the periods in the progress of nations. They resemble the process of vegetation, which enlarges the plant, though the eye is unable to measure that increase while it is being effected.

In all beings God has proportioned this period of growth to the length of existence which he destines to them. Man, who is to live for a century, grows for five and twenty years, or even longer. Nations, which are to live through two or three thousand years, have revolutions of development—of childhood, youth, manhood, and at length old age, which last not less than two or three centuries. The difficulty with the vulgar is, amid those convulsive phenomena which mark the revolutions of a nation, to distinguish the crises of growth from those of decay, youth from old age, and life from death.

Superficial philosophers deceive themselves in this: they imagine a nation in decline, because her ancient institutions are giving way. In their eyes she is about to expire, when in fact she is renewing her youth. This was said of France when, at the commencement of the first revolution, her absolute monarchy perished. It was said at the dissolution of the feudal system; it was said at the fall of theocracy; it is repeated this day on the extinction of constitutional monarchy.

But they are deceived. France is young. She may exhaust many modes of rule before she will have exhausted

the vigorous intellectual life with which God has endowed her race.

There is one sure means of avoiding error respecting the character of such crises; it is to mark well the governing element in a revolution. Revolutions produced by a vice, by an individual, by the crimes or the isolated greatness of a man, by ambition, whether personal or national, by rivalry between two dynasties, by thirst of conquest or of blood, by unjust ideas of national glory, above all, by hatred between different classes of citizens; such revolutions are the preludes of decay, the signs of decomposition and death, in a nation or a race. But if revolutions are the product of a moral principle, of an idea, of a logical process, of conviction, of sentiment, of an aspiration, undefined and vague though it be, towards an improved order of government and society, of a desire to develop and perfect the relations between citizen and citizen, between people and people; if they embody a lofty ideal, instead of an abject passion, such revolutions attest, even in their catastrophes and temporary aberrations, a youth and vitality which promises long and glorious seasons of growth.

Such was the character of the French revolution of 1789; and such is the character of the second French revolution of 1848.

The revolution of 1848 is nothing more than a continuation of the former, with fewer elements of disorder, and greater elements of progress. In both it was a moral idea which exploded on the world. This idea, this principle, is THE PEOPLE;—the people who, in 1789, relieved themselves from the pressure of servitude and ignorance, from privileged classes and an absolute monarchy; the people which, in 1848, freed themselves from the oligarchy of the few, and a too stringent and exclusive constitutional monarchy;—the germination in the government of the rights and interests of the masses.

This principle or idea of the people, this accession of the masses to political power, whatever difficulties a democratic phenomenon so novel presents to statesmen, is a moral truth equally palpable to the understanding and the heart of the philosopher. The revolution which bears in its bosom such an idea is a vital not a mortal revolution. With God's help,

the nation shall come forth from it fortified in right, in might, and in virtue.

Its course may be impeded by the ignorance of the masses, by the impatience of the nation, by the factions or sophisms of men who desire to substitute their individualities for the people. But it will end in the removal of such men; it will fathom their sophisms, and will develop those germs of reason, justice, and virtue, which God has implanted in the blood of the French race.

In this second crisis of the French revolution I have borne my part. I am about to attempt to detail its history, so as to be useful to my country, by showing her her own image at one of the greatest epochs of her existence, and to illustrate our own times before the eyes of posterity.

I shall devote very few words to explain the causes of the present revolution; other writers will devote to it more of space and leisure. I hasten to my narrative.

The revolution which was enacted during the years between 1789 and 1800, had wearied France and the world by its debates, its convulsions, its magnificence, and its crimes. France, by a reaction equally melancholy and natural, became enamoured of despotism—the despotism of a soldier of genius. I have said genius—let me explain myself; I speak only of the genius of victory, and the genius of absolutism.

Napoleon, who possessed the genius of the camp, was far from joining with it the genius of society. Had he been so endowed, the revolution itself would have marched in array beneath his eagles. On the contrary, he made it recoil, and thrust it back to the middle ages. He either betrayed his times, or he did not comprehend them. His reign was but a severe discipline imposed upon a nation. He was to France what fatalism is to free-will—a degradation, adored and sublime, but a degradation still. A people can only be great in and by itself; never in or by the grandeur of him who crushes whilst he rules it. The greater Napoleon became, the more attenuated were philosophy and freedom.

After the fall of Napoleon, the exiled brothers of Louis XVI. returned, somewhat impressed with the ideas of 1789, and acclimatized to liberty by their long sojourn among a free people in England.

Strange it is, but true, that the counter revolution fell from

the imperial throne in the person of Napoleon, and by the hands of foreigners. With her ancient dynasty, the proscribed race of the Bourbons, the revolution of 1789 re-entered France.

It was with the constitutional charter in hand that they were accepted by France. With their return to power, she recognized the doctrines of Mirabeau, and the testament bequeathed to her by her constituent assembly. Louis XVIII. observed it faithfully, and died in peace overshadowed by the idea of 1789. Charles X. had too keen reminiscences of his descent. He thought he might sport with the charter, which secured to France all that she retained of her revolution. He grew grey and died in exile, and dragged thither his grandson, punished in the very cradle for his ancestor's antiquated ideas and frivolity of character.

Louis Philippe d'Orléans was called to the throne as the living and crowned revolution of 1789. That prince is still living, but as the distance between the throne and exile is scarcely less than that between life and death, I shall speak of him with the same freedom as if he had ceased to exist. Living, I never flattered him; I held myself at a respectful distance from his sovereignty and from his favours; exiled and dead to our empire, I will not offend him. Exile and old age demand from the heart of man even more respect than does the tomb. France had the right to dismiss him from the throne; history, as I think, will neither have the right to hate or to despise him. The man, of himself, holds a conspicuous place in the reign, and his reign will also fill a conspicuous place in history. Nothing is so little as to vilify an enemy; the people which has succeeded Louis Philippe needs not to employ the royal subterfuge of loading its predecessors with opprobrium. The people is high enough to measure itself against a dethroned monarch, and can afford to allow his full stature to the sovereign whom it has superseded.

Louis Philippe d'Orléans, although a prince of the blood, was of a revolutionary race. His father had stained himself with some of the most melancholy excesses of the Convention. He was associated rather with the crimes than with the glory of the epoch. In the eyes of the revolution of 1830, the faults of the father were pledges for the son.

Louis Philippe, however, was too honest and too wise to fulfil to the revolution which raised him to the throne the sanguinary promises implied by his name. Nature had made him a man of probity and moderation; exile and experience had made him a politician. The difficulty which in early life he had found in playing his part as a prince amongst democrats, and as a democrat amongst princes, had made him supple to circumstances, patient of events, and temporizing with fortune. He had a presentiment that destiny decreed him a throne. Meantime he reposed in the quiet enjoyment of domestic life, characterized by all the amenities and virtues by which it can be graced. He at the same time preserved deference for the reigning sovereign, and had a smile of intelligence for opposing parties, without however at any time encouraging them by a criminal complicity.

Studious, reflective, enlightened, profoundly versed in all matters which concerned the internal regulation of empires, a diplomatist equal to Mazarin or Talleyrand, possessed of easy fluency of expression which resembled eloquence as far as conversation can resemble dissertation, a model as a husband and father, to a nation which loves to see domestic virtue upon the throne, gentle, humane, pacific, born brave, but with a horror of bloodshed, it may be said that nature and circumstances had furnished him with all the qualities, one only excepted, which make a king beloved. That exception was greatness.

For the greatness that he wanted, he substituted that secondary quality which men of mediocrity admire and great men disdain—cleverness. He used it, and he abused it. In some of the manifestations of this political dexterity, he descended from his character to tricks which would have been condemned in a private individual. What were they, then, in a king?

Such was the dishonour which he permitted his ministers to cast upon a princess of his house. The duchess of Berry, his niece, disputed the throne with him. He suffered the veil of her private life to be lifted. If this act, the most immoral of his reign, was done to avoid bloodshed, he must be pitied; if it was permitted by personal ambition, it should be stigmatized.

Three parties were struggling around the throne: the

republican party, from whom the timid indecision of Lafayette suffered the republic to be wrested in 1830; the legitimatists, who adored the eldest branch of the Bourbons as a dogma, and abhorred the younger as a profanation of monarchy; and the liberal and constitutional party, composing the great majority of the nation. This party recognized in Louis Philippe the living union between royalty and a republic, the last embodiment of an hereditary dynasty, the last hope of monarchy.

It does not fall within our plan to show how the king baffled the republicans, who never ceased to conspire against his reign, whilst particular fanatics plotted against his life; how he circumvented the legitimatists, who for eighteen years maintained towards his government a hostile neutrality; how he manœuvred between the different shades of the constitutional party, obtaining sometimes a compliance, sometimes permission, until he finally surrounded himself by a contracted oligarchy, either blindly devoted to him, or corrupt; by shortsighted courtiers; by public functionaries supple and acquiescent; and by electors sold to his fortunes.

Master of all parties within his dominions, inoffensive or obsequious to foreign states, to whom he sacrificed everything to obtain their tolerance of his dynasty; happy in his family, surrounded by sons who would have been eminent citizens if they had not been princes; seeing his race perpetuated to the third generation, in grandsons whom he complacently nursed for the throne, surrounded by princesses equally pious, lovely, and accomplished—respected or admired—the future appeared to him to be secured to his family by his happy star, and history seemed conquered to his name by his success. He could bequeath to France a monarchy restored and reinvigorated, to the world peace, and to his race three European thrones. His green old age, whose powers he had economized by the purity of his ripening years, formed the anticipated triumph of prudence over the trials of life and the fickleness of fortune.

Such was Louis Philippe at the commencement of the year 1848. All this perspective was a reality. His enemies acknowledged themselves vanquished. All parties deferred their hopes, until the day of his death. Reflection was lost in the contemplation of sagacity so remarkable, and fortune

so constant. He wanted but the base on which that wisdom and fortune should have stood—the people.

Louis Philippe had never comprehended democracy in its entire character. Served by clever and eloquent ministers, who were, however, rather parliamentary men than statesmen, he had narrowed democracy to the measure of an elected dynasty, two chambers, and three hundred thousand electors; the rest of the nation he had left without the pale of political right and action. He had made the sign and title of sovereignty to consist in a sort of quit-rent, instead of recognizing and basing that sovereignty on the divine rights of man as a being capable of discernment and of will. In a word, he and his short-sighted ministers had placed their faith in an oligarchy, instead of establishing it on unanimity. If Frenchmen were no longer slaves, they were at least condemned to see themselves governed by a handful of electoral dignitaries, those electors only being law-makers; while the masses were only masses, supporting a government in which they had no share. Such a government could not but become selfish. Such masses could not but become disaffected.

Other faults of the king, the natural effects of that intoxication of spirit which attends upon uninterrupted success, had contributed insensibly to alienate the masses from royalty. The people, ignorant of the science of politics, but imbued with a vague political sentiment, were quick to perceive that the nation was sacrificed to the interests, the security, and the aggrandizement of a dynasty; that the relations of France with foreign states were established with these objects; that Louis Philippe's peace was humiliation; that his alliance with England, bought at any price, caused him sometimes to wear before Europe the attitude of a British viceroy upon the continent; that the treaties of 1815, the natural but transient reaction of the unjust conquests of the empire, would under his dynasty become the habitual conditions of the continent with respect to France; that whilst Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, would from year to year extend their power on the seas, in the East, in Poland, in Italy, in Germany, on the Lower Danube, beyond the Caucasus, and on the side of Turkey; France, interdicted from aggrandizement, whether maritime, territorial, or political, was proportionally sinking in the scale of nations, and would find her-

self insensibly and gradually reduced to the condition of a secondary power.

Opinion, silently or openly declared by the entire masses, began to pronounce that Louis Philippe had betrayed the revolution; that he was adopting, one by one, the notions of the ancient monarchy, and of the right divine of kings, instead of conforming to the democratic spirit of the elective monarchy of 1830.

A parliamentary oligarchy appeared to be the ruling idea of this prince, trained in the school of the British government.

The oligarchy itself was frustrated by the construction of the government. A chamber of peers, without power of its own, and without the independence given by an hereditary constitution, was but the shadow of a senate, whose majority could be at an instant controlled or modified by the monarch, in the creation of new senators at will. A chamber of deputies composed of public functionaries, chosen or rejected by the ministry, reflected back the image of the king, under the name of public opinion.

Undisguised corruption had become a working power of the state. Finally, peace, which had until now been the blessing and the merit of this reign, was suddenly compromised by the ambitious and impolitic marriage of the king's son, the duke of Montpensier, with the eventual heiress of the crown of Spain.

The alliance, made simply to promote the interests of a dynasty, interrupted the concord of France with England, which the nation had maintained somewhat impatiently, but which it tolerated for the sake of the interests of commerce and industry, and the liberty of the sea. When she saw this alliance suddenly given to the winds for the sake of family aggrandizement, France became conscious that in the complaisant tone, heretofore adopted by her king towards England, there was nothing genuine but ambition; that on the first opportunity her blood, her industrial interests, her commerce, her marine, would be postponed to the establishment of a prince of the house of Orleans at Madrid. She became convinced that the pacific policy itself was but political hypocrisy,—a form of dynastic selfishness.

From that day forward the sovereign, rendered unpopular

with the republicans on account of the throne which he filled, and with the legitimatists by his usurpation, became obnoxious to the peace party, which had hitherto rallied around his government, because he had by the Spanish marriage hung over France the menace of war.

The king still possessed an eloquent ministry, powerful in parliament, and agreeable to the court, with strong majorities in both the chambers. He thought himself invincible with this organization of power at his command; but in truth he had in his hands but the mechanism, or, so to speak, the vestment of the country; upon the nation he had no hold; opinion had passed from him.

Those politicians of the opposition who were attached to the monarchical system, but impatient adversaries of the ministry, had spent their strength and energies for seven years in severe struggles at the tribune to restore themselves to power.

M. Thiers was the soul, the head, and the mouthpiece of this opposition; nature had formed him rather for the internal agitator of an assembly, than for the tribune of a nation. There was more of Fox or of Pitt about him than of Mirabeau. His orations, which had done so much to consolidate the monarchy of July during its first years of feebleness, now served to root it out from the esteem and the heart of the nation. The republican party, too small in the chamber to make itself heard there, applauded with secret complaisance the cutting and spirited attacks directed by this orator against the crown.

The audacious assaults, and the personal criticism of the opposition, had indeed acquired an accession of moral force most ruinous to royalty, by borrowing the eloquence of one of its old ministers and friends. In the mouth of a worshipper of the throne the opposition assumed somewhat of the character of sacrilege.

The constant, moderate, and even liberal opposition of M. Odillon Barrot, which never descended to personality, daily nursed in the country the honest and healthy notion of liberty, without proportionately degrading the respectability and authority of the throne. The legitimatists laying aside their principles, and confining themselves to the hostility of disaffection and aspersion, found in M. Berryer one of those

powerful orators whom God reserves as the consolation of a noble but lost cause.

Guizot, an author, an orator, and a philosopher, was the statesman of a stationary monarchy. His character, his wit, his talent, his very errors and his sophisms, were marked by antiquated proportions.

All these men are still living—some of them in active life, others thrown aside, or in exile. It would be rash or cowardly to pass judgment upon them. Time has not placed them in such a position of remoteness from ourselves that we may view them with impartiality. Truth lies only in the distance. In characterizing them at this moment, we might risk, on the one hand, failing to yield the respect which their characters demand, and on the other, the tenderness due to fallen fortunes. It suffices for the present to have named them.

The nation was calm at the surface, but agitated below. There was something like remorse in its prosperity which destroyed its peace. France felt that in her sleep she was being robbed one by one of all the philosophic truths of the revolution of 1789; that her governors were materializing her, in order to deprive her of the memory and the passion of that moral and popular progress, by which, fifty years before, she had moved the world. Her happiness seemed the price of an apostasy. Again she felt herself humiliated, and her national existence threatened; by a policy which required her to bend too much to Europe. She did not wish for war, but she desired to hold her fair place in the rank of nations, to exert her due influence in the world, to possess liberty of action, of alliance, and of principle. She had lost the dignity of her external aspect. She felt herself virtually betrayed by the dynasty which she had imposed upon herself in 1830. The king lived too much for his family, too little for his people.

The journals, the daily symptom of the state of the country, expressed, almost unanimously, the general discontent. They constitute the universal tribune. In them men of immense and varied talents spoke to the public with exhaustless perseverance, and with unswerving boldness. Law can but take cognizance of the words, it cannot arrest the spirit of oppositions or of factions.

Writers of deep sagacity and transcendant controversial

ability have adorned the *corps* of the journals, from André Chenier to the writers of our own day." Camille Desmoulins, Mirabeau, Bonald, Benjamin Constant, Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand, Thiers, Carrel, and Guizot, Bertin, Sacy, Girardin, Marrast, Chambolle, and a circle of authors, of thinkers, economists, and socialists, a new political generation, at least equal in talent, and superior in diversity of powers, to that which preceded it. They disputed the empire of the intellectual world.

The *Journal des Débats*, which, as being the necessary expression of the most essential and permanent interests of society, supports successive governments by turns, was edited by men matured beneath the influence of authority. It was marked by the gravity, the elevation of tone, the disdainful sarcasm, and sometimes also by the pungent provocation which indicate the sense of power. It appeared to share the monarchy, and to live amidst the recollections of the empire. The names of all those great official writers who had combined in conducting it, from the time of M. de Fontanes to that of M. Villemain, gave it a prestige of superiority over a periodical press younger in years and passions. The copiousness and the impartiality of its parliamentary reports, its foreign correspondence, and the accuracy and universality of its information, gained for it the lead in all the courts and diplomatic circles of Europe. It was the daily note-book of the cabinet of the Tuileries. Science, literature, the arts, the theatre, philosophy, criticism, were analyzed, reported, and reviewed in its columns, whose gravity was never dull, and whose very trifling was racy, with the salience of Aristophanes, and of Sterne. It was by no trifling literary effort that it was enabled to maintain itself for upwards of fifty years, and to form, as it may be said to have done, an integral part of the history of France.

Le Constitutionnel and *Le Courrier Français* had each taken a leading part in the struggle of public opinion against the restoration. They had popularized among the masses the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Under the younger branch they no longer contended against dynasty, and confined themselves to attacks upon the ministry and the majorities in the chambers.

La Presse, more recently established, had in a few years gained to itself a wide territory of public opinion. Its spirit

was that of eclecticism applied to the times; of liberalism without revolutionary prejudices; and of constitutional monarchy without ministerial servility. A man of a mind and style alike daring, hazarded all his thoughts in this journal. At one time supporting, at another undermining, but always standing alone. His fearlessness first astonished, and then subjugated opinion. The public, even while it censured, was attracted by the boldness of his pen. A lady, already illustrious by her poetry, added her grace to his strength. Her letters on politics, manners, and customs, appeared weekly under a fictitious signature. All France was in the secret, and read beneath the disguise an already celebrated name. She only varied the charm of that name by making over to the public her intellectual grace, her eloquence, and her good sense.

La Siècle, less elevated in its tone and ideas, was circulated amongst the people engaged in business, as well in the country as in the cities. Its rectitude and impartiality gained for it success. It did much good, without making great noise, by seeking to familiarize to the people the spirit rather than the forms of a republic, and undertaking the education of that laborious country class, who need a coinage of ready-struck ideas as their daily circulating medium. M. Cambolle stamped it with the impress of his own honesty, and his courageous, persevering moderation. The *Siècle*, in his hands, became the embodiment of a healthy democratic opinion. It was more than a journal; it was the catechism of the constitution.

La Gazette de France less represented a party than a man. M. de Genoude, with a spirit at once supple and imperious, bowed to the times, in the delusive belief that he would at length succeed in bending the times to himself. Born to the political world with the restoration, a priest and a citizen; a pupil and friend of Bonald, Sommenais, Chateaubriand, and Villèle, he held the legitimacy of hereditary power as a dogma of conscience. States were but families in his eyes. He deceived himself: states are nations; and nations, once beyond infancy, are only destined to the tutelage of reason and morality. The family is the human race. The father is not the king, but God.

M. de Genoude, however, and his school, with persistive artifice, accommodated their dogma to the spirit of the times.

Legitimatist as he was, he was more liberal than the republicans. All that activity, address, courage, and fertility of resource could bring to aid a cause he enlisted in his journal. He sapped successive administrations; but whilst he undermined them, he was left alone in his dogma and his individuality. It was the opposition of the right divine to every human attempt at government independently. He exulted over every disaster. He prophesied every fall. His every denunciation of men and systems was stamped with infallibility.

Numbers of disaffected spirits, left behind by the times, enjoyed his continual reproaches of government, whom he charged with impotence, and his constant defiance of the supporters of the reigning dynasty. Oppositions holding views diametrically diverse, all alike attacked the common enemy. M. de Genoude was no more an individual; he became a system. The *Gazette de France* was no longer a mere journal; it was the anathema of the dynasty.

Le National was the journal of republican opinion, the corner-stone of the coming revolution. The republic being, however, to the masses nothing more than a remote presentiment, that journal had not very wide circulation in the country. It was read with a certain curiosity of mind which desired to penetrate into the possible or probable events of the future. It was the prophetic satire rather than the philosophy of the republican party which found embodiment in its columns. It maintained a sort of neutral and undecided ground between the acceptance of the monarchical government and the absolute profession of republican faith. Sometimes it appeared too closely allied with the mere dynastic opposition. The journal lost few occasions of supporting the opinions, tactics, and political views of M. Thiers. It was suspected of a secret understanding with that statesman touching the reversion of the dynasty, or at least of complacence for his party.

Marrast was its editor. He was the moderate Camille Desmoulins of the future republic. Never did ease, flexibility, startling effect, colouring, French or Attic saliency, adorn with more artful graces the weapon of a polemic in the hand of a gay Aristophanes. His wit resembled the lightning, which dazzles and menaces at the same moment, whilst it exhibits its flashes at once in every point of the horizon. So capricious and so

skilful was it, that it amused and dazzled even those whom it was about to strike. But malicious archness rather than hatred was the genius of his style. His pages were unsullied by a sanguinary picture, an ill-omened recollection, or an uncalled-for provocation. Beneath his brilliance a spirit of impartiality, possibly of scepticism, might be discerned. His was the voluptuousness of the political artist, rather than the grim fanaticism of the sectary. Horror of the vulgar, disgust at Jacobinism, hatred of proscription, taste for letters, eloquence, tolerance, exultation in liberty—these formed the republican *ideal* of Marrast. His revolution was the creation of an imaginative mind, and of a heart of feminine tenderness.

Another journal gained a place in public opinion, which in some degree rivalled the *National*. It was the *Réforme*. That paper represented the extreme left, the uncompromising republic—democratic revolution at all hazards. It was supposed to embody the political inspirations of M. Ledru Rollin, and of three or four important deputies of the chamber. It was a revival of the voice of the Convention fifty years after its struggles and its terrors. It was the Mountain with its fury and its thunder, in the midst of a time of peace and serenity; it spoke the accents of Danton in a political academy; of Jacobinism exhumed from the souls of those who perished in 1794. It was antagonistic to the forthcoming republic, by seeking to constitute it on the model of the former one, amidst totally dissimilar circumstances.

La Réforme, in order to stir the people more deeply, and to gain the adherence of practical men, whom it desired to lead on to the accomplishment of its objects, now and then bordered on what is termed socialism. Without joining itself with any of the sects devoted to the radical subversion and reconstruction of the social system, such as those of St. Simon, or Fourrier, that for the organization of labour, or for the promotion of communism, the *Réforme* hurled anathemas against the existing order of things. Beneath the surface of the political revolution it allowed a glimpse of another, which consisted in the equalization of property and labour. More habitually, however, this journal, repudiating chimerical theories, confined its political opposition to direct and mortal attacks upon royalty.

It was edited for the most part by M. Flocon, a man of in-

trepid action, of resolute mind, and even of loyal character in the war of opinion waged with his opponents. M. Flocon was one of those republicans of the former generation who had petrified their creed in secret societies, conspiracies, and dungeons. Cold in manner, rough in physiognomy and language, though with an exquisite smile, simple and sober in his general expression, he had in his person, in his will, and in his style, something of Roman rusticity. Under this rude exterior he possessed a soul incapable of bending to fear, but always to be influenced by pity. He had one administrative quality rarely found in men bred in the habits of the opposition. He knew what he desired, and he desired it at any price. He aimed at an end; that attained, he desired no more. In a word, he knew how to content himself with what appeared to him just, practicable, and reasonable, and he could turn and defend the boundaries of his scheme against his own partisans. In M. Flocon the practical man lay beneath the conspirator.

A sort of tacit coalition between all the parties represented by these journals, and by other eminent public organs of various shades of difference, such as *Le Courrier Français*, *La Démocratie Pacifique*, and *Le Commerce*, was formed against the ministry of M. Guizot.

At the close of the session of 1847, the leaders had concerted together a plan of general agitation of Paris and the provinces under the form of political banquets. The opposers of the reigning dynasty had taken the initiative in this agitation; their impatience was more keen than that of simple republicans, in proportion as their ambition was greater.

M. Thiers, however, held, at least in his own person, in some degree aloof from the concerted plan. Perhaps his prescience as a statesman and historian admonished him from afar of its dangers. Perhaps his hope in perspective of ministerial functions, after his friends should have triumphed, imposed upon him a prudent reserve which he dared courageously to maintain against his party.

M. Duvergier de Hauranne, a former friend of Guizot and a recent friend of Thiers, eager in a struggle, disinterested after a victory, of qualities eminently parliamentary, more proud to sway than to reign, with no other passion than that of influence, a sincere and courageous patriot, sober in his views of glory, and proof against the more vulgar forms of ambition, drew the

friends of M. Thiers, those of M. Barrot, and M. Barrot himself, into the movement, the watchword of which became—electoral reform.

The parties attached to the *National* and to the *Réforme*, perceived with the foresight of zeal, and with proportionate exultation and pleasure, the tendency and bearing of this proposition for the banquets—a desperate and revolutionary measure adopted by the dynastic opposition. The republicans, too feeble in numbers, and too much the objects of suspicion, to dare or to act alone, were about to have as auxiliaries the very friends of the dynasty, the founders of the throne of July, the authors of the repressive laws, and constituting the half at least of the national guard and the electors. The conspiracy once in movement, where would it stop? Would it be at a simple change of ministry? Would it be at a slight addition of privileged electors to the two hundred thousand who by themselves represented the sovereignty of the people? Would it be at the abdication of the king? Would it be at the regency of a woman or a prince during the minority of the child? Any of these contingencies must benefit their cause. They hastened to subscribe their influence to the Paris banquet. The men opposed to the dynasty did not dare to repulse the republicans, since in them they would have alienated all the number, all the noise and turbulence, and all the menace of their demonstrations. The people would have lost their interest in them when they no longer saw among them their friends and their tribunes. Their cause was in appearance identical; their cry was the same—"Reform!"

A somewhat Carthaginian coalition had been formed in 1839 by the repugnant components of the opposition chamber; and in the press, between M. Guizot and M. Thiers; M. Barrot and M. Berryer; M. Dufaure and M. Garnier Pagès; the republicans and the royalists. This coalition had done violence to the constitutional king, borne M. Thiers to power, discouraged the sincere opposition, ruined our foreign affairs in 1840, and demoralized the representative government.

The same parties, with the exception of Messrs. Berryer and Dufaure, committed the same error in opposing the ministry of M. Guizot in 1848. They united to overturn

the existing order of things, but wanted the union which would have enabled them to reconstruct. Such coalitions cannot but engender ruin by necessary consequence. Coalitions, impotent to effect good, are necessarily immoral. Revolutions alone can turn them to profit, and they do profit by them in effect. The existing republic is the involuntary work of the coalition in parliament of 1840, and of the coalition for agitation in 1848. Guizot and Thiers formed the first junction; Duvergier de Hauranne and Barrot, in forming the second, were, though unconsciously, the real authors of the republic.

The Parisian banquet was the signal for a series of opposition banquets in the principal towns of the kingdom. In some of them the republicans were united with those men whose animosity was chiefly directed against the reigning dynasty; and the coalescing parties covered the incongruity and diversity of their objects by vague, elastic phrases. In others, as at Lille, Dijon, Châlons, and Autun, they openly separated. Odillon Barrot and his friends, Ledru Rollin and his, refused to lend themselves to a hypocritical alliance. They aimed each at his own ends; the one at a moderate and monarchical reform of the electoral law, the other at the radical reform of the government, that is to say, at a republic.

This schism first developed itself at the banquet of Lille. M. Barrot refused to sanction it, unless it were consented that the token of adhesion to the monarchy should be given, by a toast to the king.

At Dijon and Châlons, M. Flocon and M. Ledru Rollin more distinctly marked it, by speeches which were regarded as preludes to a revolution already accomplished in the determination of their partisans.

Some members of the parliamentary opposition, of various shades of opinion, such as Thiers, Dufaure, and Lamartine, abstained from appearing at these banquets. Such turbulent demonstrations appeared to them either not to reach, or else to exceed, the limits of their opposition; they feared by their presence and sanction to associate the one party in a struggle for revolution, or the other in an ambitious and purely ministerial opposition. They, therefore, with many other members of the chamber, maintained their conscience and their individuality, and held aloof.

Another banquet excited much attention in France at this

time; it was that given to M. de Lamartine on his return from the chamber, by his compatriots of Mâcon. This had no political design. M. de Lamartine had refused to share in the reform banquets, which, in his opinion, were too vague and indefinite in their object. Having been adverse to the parliamentary coalition from 1838 to 1840, he could not, as he thought, consistently with himself, join the aggressive parliamentary coalition of 1847. He advanced alone to a purpose determined and defined in his own mind. It would have been repugnant to his nature to throw himself into a mixed opposition without a common cause, to walk in company with his opponents to some unknown goal. He had openly avowed these sentiments in the *Bien Public* of Mâcon, a little journal, widely echoed and quoted by the entire press of Paris and the departments.

The object of the banquet of Mâcon was to congratulate Lamartine, who was exceedingly beloved by his fellow-citizens, on the success of his History of the Girondists, then recently published.

The book had already been read not only in France, but throughout Europe. In Germany, Italy, and Spain, translations of it had multiplied, as though it formed the daily food for men's spirits. By it hearts were moved and intellects excited to activity. It led imagination and thought back to that great epoch, and those mighty principles, which the eighteenth century, pregnant with futurity, had bequeathed to the world as it expired, to deliver it from prejudice and tyranny. Its pages mourned the blood guiltily shed in anger, ambition, or cowardice, by the actors in the drama of the republic. They flattered nothing in the demagogue, excused nothing in the executioner, and sympathized with the victims. But he was not warped by his sympathy for the vanquished. Whilst he had pity for men and tears for women, he still adored philosophy and liberty. The vapour that rose from the bloody scaffold did not hide from him the sacred truths which loomed in the future through the steam of the horrid sacrifice; he boldly dissipated that cloud, punished the murderers with the scourge of history, but restored to the new idea its proper rightfulness and innocence, avenging it from the crimes which had sullied it under the pretence of advancing it. He covered the demagogue with opprobrium, and restored true glory to the revolution.

In reply to a speech of the mayor of Mâcon, M. Roland, a young man who had compromised his office by his political opinions and alliances, M. de Lamartine took occasion once more to explain his sentiments to the country. He spoke as a man devoted both in mind and heart to the cause of the liberty of the human mind and the progress of organized democracy.

"Citizens and friends," he said, "before I comment on the impatience which you are at present disposed to exhibit, allow me to thank you for the endurance and constancy which led you to brave with vigorous and imperturbable energy the severity of the storm, the blaze of lightning, and the peals of thunder beneath this crumbling roof and these tattered tents. You have shown that you are truly the children of those Gauls, who, in more solemn circumstances, cried, 'If the heavens fall, we will bear them up on the points of our lances.'

"But, my friends, let us go at once to the bottom of this demonstration. My recent book wanted a conclusion; you have supplied it. That conclusion is, that France now needs to study the spirit of her own revolution; to imbue herself anew in her own principles, purified and severed from the excesses which disgraced and the blood which stained them; and to draw from her past, lessons for her present, and her future.

"Yes, to seek again, after the lapse of half a century, beneath the still glowing embers of events, under the still disturbed dust of the dead, the original, and, as I trust, the immortal spark which kindled in the soul of a great people that ardent flame by which the whole world was lighted up, then fired, and then in part consumed. To rekindle, I say, in the heart of succeeding generations, that flame too nearly extinct, to feed it lest it should die out for ever, and leave France and Europe plunged a second time into the gloom of the dark ages. To watch over and purify it, lest its very compression should cause explosion, conflagration, and ruin. This is the sentiment of my book; this is the sentiment of the times; shall I, my friends, err, if I say this is your sentiment? (Cries of 'No, no.')

"From the earliest age of political reason, that is, from the age at which we form our opinions, after having lisped as

children the opinions and prejudices of our nurses, I have asked myself, What, then, is the French revolution?

"Was it, as the worshippers of the past represent, a great sedition of the people, who agitated they knew not why, and who, in their mad convulsions, destroyed their church, their monarchy, their ranks, their institutions, and their nationality, and tore up the very map of Europe? No, the French revolution was not a paltry insurrection of the French; for sedition subsides as it arose, and leaves behind it only ruins and corpses. The revolution has left its ruins and scaffolds, it is true; that is, its remorse and its curse; but it has left also a doctrine, it has left a spirit which will endure and perpetuate itself as long as human reason shall exist.

"The first doctrines of the beneficent revolution, which this philosophy desired to promote in the world, was 'peace;' the extinction of hatred between people and people; the recognition of fraternity between nations. To that we are advancing: we enjoy peace. I am not one of those who throw back upon the governments they condemn even the benefits they confer. Peace will be, as I think, at some future day, the expiation held to countervail the faults of this government. Whether with the government or against it, whether as an historian or as a deputy, as a man or as a philosopher, I will ever support the doctrine of peace. War is but wholesale murder; wholesale murder is not progress. (Long-continued applause.)

"If we continue for some years to come to abandon with weak inconsistency all that the French mind won in the late struggle, we shall abandon not only all the progress, all the intelligence, all the conquests, that modern mind has gained; not only our name, our honour, our intellectual rank, our guiding influence over nations, but the memory and the blood of those millions of men, combatants or victims, who died to secure our conquests.

"The wild people of America say to the Europeans who come to drive them from their soil, 'If you require us to quit our land, suffer us at least to carry with us the bones of our fathers.' And we too will have the bones of our fathers. They consist in the truths, the intellectual light, won by them for the world, and which a continually-increasing reaction of opinion, but one which must eventually be arrested, would fain compel us to repudiate.

"But shall we succeed? Here let us examine; for history teaches all things, even the future. Experience is the only prophetic inspiration of the wise.

"Let us not be too much alarmed by reactions. They constitute the natural movement—the flux and reflux of the human mind. Allow me to avail myself of an image borrowed from the implements of war that many of you have handled by land or by sea in the conflict for our rights. When cannon has given forth its explosion and its charge upon the field of battle, the shock of the detonation gives an impulse, which forces the piece back. This is what artillerymen call the recoil of the cannon. Political reactions are like the recoil of the cannon; they are the recoil of ideas. The human mind, affrighted by the new truths which the revolutions wrought in her name have thrown out before the world, shrinks back before her own discoveries, and weakly abandons the territory she had gained. But, gentlemen, the recoil is only temporary; other hands step forward and recharge the pacific artillery of human thought, and new explosions, not of ball, but of light, restore their empire to the truths which seemed surrendered or vanquished.

"Let us not, however, dwell too long on the duration of these reactions; let us consider rather what will take place when they shall have achieved their exceptional retrograde movements. In my opinion, it will be this:—

"If that royalty, monarchical in name, democratic in fact, adopted by France in 1830, comprehends that it is nothing more than the sovereignty of the people, reposing above electoral storms, and with a crowned head to represent the apex of the state—the unity and perpetuity of national power; if modern royalty, the delegated authority of the people, so different from ancient royalty, the proprietorship of the throne, considers itself as a magistracy decorated by a title which has changed its meaning in the minds of men; if it confines itself to be a respected regulator of the mechanism of government, marking and moderating the movements of the general will, without thwarting or falsifying them, without changing or corrupting their legitimate source—public opinion; if it contents itself with being in its own eyes like the frontispiece of some old temple, rebuilt by moderns, who place it in a conspicuous part of their new construction, in order to impose on the superstitious respect of the crowd, and to

bestow on the new edifice some of the traditions and associations of the old one, it may subsist, as representative royalty, during a sufficient length of time to enable it to achieve its work of preparation and transfer; but the duration of its uses will, with our children, be the exact measure of the duration of its existence. (Cries of 'Hear, hear.')

"Let us hope better things from the wisdom of governments which have been enlightened late indeed, yet early enough, let us trust, for the preservation of their own interests! Let us hope well of the probity and energy of the public mind, which has recently been agitated by presentiments of fear for the public safety. May the presentiments which we entertain and avow be for the ruling powers as warnings, not as threats. They are not inspired by the spirit of faction! There is nothing of faction in our thoughts! We are not faction, we are opinion, which is more dignified, stronger, and more invincible than faction. ('Hear, hear.')

"Well, my friends, symptoms of amelioration in opinion strike me, and perhaps will strike you, too; between the two parties who shall decide? Who shall be judge? Shall the deciding power be vested, as in our first struggles, in violence, oppression, and death? No, my friends, thanks to our fathers, it shall be in liberty, the liberty which they have bequeathed to us; liberty, which can now wield its own pacific arms for its defence and its development, without passion or excess. (Applause.)

"Rest assured that by these means we shall triumph.

"If you ask what is the moral force which shall bend the government to the national will, I reply to you, it is the sovereignty of ideas, the monarchy of mind, the republic, the true republic, the republic of intellect. In a word, our republic is opinion, that modern power whose very name was unknown to antiquity. My friends, opinion as a power was born on the day when Guttemberg, whom I have designated the author of a new world, produced in the invention of printing, the reproduction and indefinite communication of human thought and reason. The irrepressible power of opinion does not need, for the maintenance of its sovereignty, either the dagger of revenge, the sword of justice, or the scaffold of terror. It preserves the

equilibrium between ideas and institutions; it holds the balance of the human mind.

"Into one of the scales of this balance, mark you well, men will long continue to throw credulity, prejudices (self-styled useful), the right divine of kings, distinction of rights between divers ranks, hatred between nations, the desire of conquest, simoniacal compact between the church and the empire, censorship of opinion, the compelled silence of the tribunes, the indolence and degradation of the masses!

"Into the other scale, gentlemen, we will throw that thing the most impalpable, the most imponderable of all the creations of God. We will throw in LIGHT!—a ray of that light which the French revolution shot forth at the close of the last century from a volcano indeed, but from a volcano of truths." (Long-continued applause.)

This oration, printed on the following day by the entire press, expressed in fact the sentiments of the country;—smothered discontent with the system pursued by the king, which sacrificed the real and foreign interests of France to the aggrandizement of the Orléans family, and philosophic and rational love of democratic principles, unshackled by a narrow oligarchy of two or three hundred thousand electors easily gained over or debauched by the ministry; and, lastly, an unaffected fear, shared by almost all, of a revolution which would abandon the country to unknown contingencies;—the desire of seeing the measures of democracy successively carried by a representative government extended and strengthened—an appeal to moderation, joined with energy in the people, and to prudence and reflection on the part of government. The harangue contained no sentiments out of harmony with the honest political conscience of the speaker; it pointed to the fruits promised by the first revolution, as those which were to be reaped, if possible, without a new one; but to the spirit of the revolution as preserved and embodied in institutions, under pain of disgrace to France, and oblivion to the ideas which constitute the greatness and sacredness of the human mind. It was the faithful expression of the public sentiment, the prophetic cry of the soul of the country. All that went beyond that language went beyond the spirit of the times.

M. de Lamartine, fearless of losing the popularity which

he enjoyed, not only in his own department, but throughout France, boldly combated, a few days after, the doctrines expressed by M. Ledru Rollin and his friends at the revolutionary banquet of Dijon; exposed to shame the symbols of 1793, exhibited, it was said, by the same party at the banquet of Châlons, and denounced the antisocial doctrines which, from the lips of a young orator, had been applauded at the communist banquet of Autun.

"The banquets," he said, speaking of those of Dijon and of Châlons, "are the tocsin of opinion. Sometimes they strike correctly; sometimes they break the metal. During these manifestations, language has been held which might well make the soil to tremble beneath us, and associations revived which the present character of democracy might enable us to forget. Why call back from a past period what ought to be buried with the occasion? Why these imitations, or rather parodies, of 1793? Do we now wish to deliver ourselves from liberty as our fathers then wished to deliver themselves from courts? I assert that it is not only a folly, but an absurdity. It gives to the rational and orderly democracy of the future the character and complexion of the past reign of demagogues. It caricatures the public feeling, and thus causes it to be misconceived. It cruelly recalls to some the terrors under which their fathers died, to others their confiscated property, or of their temples profaned; to all, those days of sadness, mourning, and terror, which have left their gloom upon the country. Each epoch should be consistent with itself. We are not in 1793, we are in 1847; we are the tribes who have crossed the Red Sea, and will not retrace our march; who have planted their feet on the other shore, and desire still to advance, but to advance in peaceful order, towards democratic institutions. We see our government self-deceived, and we will warn it; but in raising our voice to do so, we will neither alarm peaceful citizens, nor endanger honest opinions or just interests.

"Let us watch over ourselves. If we, as leaders of the orderly democracy, suffer ourselves to be confounded with demagogues, we are ruined in public opinion. It will be said of us, 'They have their complexion—no doubt they are bitten with their insanity.'"

Speaking on the 14th of November, in reference to the com-

munist banquet of Autun, M. de Lamartine expressed himself with the same freedom.

"Each sentiment has its due limits," he observed, "which it cannot pass without being misunderstood and suffering the just punishment, assuming the guise of other opinions by incurring the discredit which attaches to them. Are you honest, moderate, patient, in your democracy and your opposition to the government? Come then with us. Are you a faction? Go and conspire in the dark. Are you communists? Go and support your brethren of the banquet of Autun. Until these things are explained, we stand aloof. We desire to reinvigorate our country's political existence, to give to public opinion the consciousness of its power, to create a democracy capable of acting by its own intelligence, restrained by its sense of dignity; we desire to combine without awakening alarm, without injuring the rich or the poor, the aristocracy or the bourgeoisie, the people or religion, the family bond or the rights of property. We wish to give to France senates worthy of her great national assemblies, senates worthy of old Athens or of Rome; but we do not wish to reopen the Jacobin club!"

During these controversies between men who desired to ameliorate, and men who desired to destroy, other demonstrations, inspired and directed by opposition to the reigning family, were multiplied in the north of the kingdom.

In these M. Odillon Barrot assisted, and gave utterance to grave, considerate sentiments, honest and reserved, like his character. He and his friends stimulated the parliamentary opposition. His orations raised more indignation against the government, notwithstanding their reserve, than a banqueting-hall could contain. The people listened at the doors, applauded the orator and other speakers of kindred sentiments, and escorted them on their entrance or departure from a town. The people were becoming accustomed to intervene between the ministers and the tribunes.

At the close of the autumn, the original promoters of these anti-ministerial movements tried in vain to moderate them. They had been commenced with the idea of recruiting forces for Messrs. Thiers and Barrot, and for the opposition; they had in fact recruited for a revolution.

Public impulsion always exceeds the limits designed by politicians. Reason or ambition makes the calculation. Pas-

sion overleaps it, and of this passion the people are the embodiment. The wishes of the leaders had been limited to a change of ministry, effected by the pressure of the masses, the people already contemplated a change of government; then behind the main body of the people were sects and factions who dreamed of the entire overthrow of the social compact.

BOOK II.

SUCH was the state of feeling in France at the close of 1847, when the king convoked the chambers. The ministry and the monarch, astonished but not alarmed by these demonstrations of opinion, regarded them as purely factitious indications, as the wordy parade of sentiments and discontents which did not exist in men's minds; they trusted in the immense majority that the government possessed in the chambers; in the fidelity of the army, commanded by the princes; and in the interests of property, industry, and commerce, all repugnant to change.

A government essentially material in character despised the merely intellectual elements of opposition. In their eyes M. Odillon Barrot was but an eloquent man without a purpose; M. Ledru Rollin they regarded as a noisy and popular man, throwing down the magnificent challenge of a republic, without believing in it, in order to mislead and get rid of the opposition. The press and the banquets they regarded as the organs by which impatient ambition appealed to the populace under a mortifying sense of its impotence in the national representation.

Guizot fortified himself in his own self-trust, and in disdain of the vulgar,—a fundamental part of his nature. Duchâtel sought strength in the skilful management of the different parties in the senate, and in the regulation of votes which he held under his control. The king comforted himself by the recollection that he had been necessary to the people in 1830; by the belief that the firmness of his throne was important to Europe at large, and that the continuance of the continental relations with France depended on its stability; and lastly,

by that smile of fortune, which, having long attended and dazzled him, ended by blinding him. These three personages, who in themselves constituted the prestige, the strength, and the vigour of the cabinet, waited, in undoubting confidence that all this movement and noisy opposition would expire at the foot of the throne and of the tribune, under the eloquence of Guizot, the tactics of Duchâtel, and the old authority of the king.

They doubted not but that the majorities in the two chambers would emphatically belie the agitation and menaces of parties. In order to elicit this contradiction, which they desired to be given in the most marked and solemn manner, they agreed that the king's speech to the chambers should comment on the conduct of those deputies and peers who had assisted in the reform banquets.

This speech of the king to the chambers characterized the men who had associated themselves with the reform banquets as being hostile to himself, and blind to results. Many of the deputies in the lower chamber, and a few of the peers, had been so associated. These imprudent expressions served as the principal text in the discussion on the address. That debate was animated, hot, and angry. M. Thiers condemned the foreign policy which had surrendered Switzerland and Italy; M. de Lamartine, from his own particular point of view, characterized this exclusively dynastic policy;—Austrian at Rome, sacerdotal at Berne, Russian at Cracow, counter-revolutionary everywhere. On the question of the banquets, M. Odillon Barrot spoke with the authority of a leader of the constitutional opposition; M. de Lamartine, although he had abstained from personally attending them, yet maintained that the ministry ought to regulate and not suppress by brute force the exercise of the right of meeting.

"Gentlemen," he said, addressing the ministers, "do not deceive yourselves; this is not, as you imagine, an artificial agitation. This fire has not been fanned with the breath of man. Were it so, it would not by its universality present a character which justly alarms you this day.

"Whence this phenomenon in a country which has remained for seventeen years patient and tranquil? It is that France has at length aroused to perceive the obstinacy which has so long sacrificed her true policy, her dignity, her very security?

Yes, after having maturely reflected, she has formed a right estimate of that obstinate system of legal restriction which cripples her internal resources; she marks a narrow oligarchy fixing itself permanently in the place of that great organized and orderly democracy promised to her in 1830; she observes the system changing hands, without a change of measures, exhibiting the same results under different administrators; she beholds this very year corruption rising like an impure wave to the very feet of the ruling powers, and the scum of the most sordid vices rising to the surface of political society, instead of lying, as elsewhere, in the sink of nations; she sees the foreign policy of the last seventeen years, the policy with which your names have been actively and gloriously coupled, the policy of peace, suddenly sapped by your own hands, in order to promote the personal interests of a family, and the glory of a dynasty, by the Spanish marriages; she finds her natural and constitutional alliances sacrificed, and opposite alliances formed with the oppressors of Switzerland and Italy; she sees France, as it were, systematically surrounded by you with a frontier of counter-revolutions, and seeing all this, she is deeply moved, proving by that emotion, that she is a wise and prudent country

"What would you have thought and said, if, instead of exhibiting disquietude and carrying on constitutional agitation in open day, a perfidious silence had been observed, until the germs of disaffection sown by you for so many years had grown up in the mind of the people, and at length, at some period, instead of constitutional agitation, instead of public dissatisfaction muttering like thunder in the sky above you, you would have had mines exploding in all directions beneath the feet of government? Then you would have lavished your accusations; you would have said to your opponents, 'Your agitation is factious; you agitate after the manner of conspirators; you have deceived the government by imposing perfidious silence on public discontent.' Yet it is because this course is not pursued, that you now accuse the people, and threaten to use, for the repression of their demonstrations, not the recognized laws, to which every good citizen bows, but arbitrary power, unsupported by law at all; you menace the representatives of the nation, that you will place the hand of the police on the mouth of the country.

"Government is armed by the power of law; but supposing that no law existed which met the present case, and could regulate the demonstrations so simultaneously exhibited, its course should be to digest and propose a protective, liberal, uniform law, establishing rights, not abridging them; a law which we might first discuss without restraint, and, when carried, might obey as becomes good citizens."

The great majority of the chamber applauded these words, and demanded the proposition of a law on the right of assembly. The supporters of the existing order of things themselves felt the danger of a ministerial challenge to the representation of the country.

"Remember that you are about to create an imminent peril,"—Lamartine said to the ministers as he closed his discourse,—"remember the Tennis-court and its consequences. Now, what was the Tennis-court of Versailles in 1789? It was only the place of a political meeting of the states-general, closed by the ministers, but forced open by the hand of the nation, for the entrance of its outraged representatives."

M. Guizot maintained, in opposition to M. Duvergier de Hauranne and M. Barrot, the right of government and the chamber to attack in the senate those deputies who had insulted them by attendance at the banquets, and to brand such agitators as blind or malicious.

M. Hébert, keeper of the seals, exposed in a talented speech the danger of assemblies of the kind in question, unsubjected to any legal restraint. He deemed it expedient to revive the law of 1791. He "embroiled the fray" by carrying the arbitrary doctrine to its utmost limits.

M. Ledru Rollin replied with a brilliance and force, which placed him thenceforth in the first rank of the orators of the opposition.

Anger was excited on both sides. A diversion that might cool the passion of the chamber was much to be desired to aid towards an honourable issue of the conflict. This diversion would have been found in the proposition of a reasonable law to determine the extent and the limitations of the right of public meeting. The Conservative party desired such a law in common with Messrs. Duvergier de Hauranne and Lamartine. It was refused. The knot which prudence neglected to untie was about to be summarily cut by a revolution.

The twelfth arrondissement of Paris had organized a banquet. The opposition had promised to maintain its political rights by assisting in the celebration. The banquet was to take place on the 20th of February.

The ministry declined to adopt force in opposing it, determining rather to establish the offence by a commissary of police, and then to bring it for judgment to the tribunals. The opposition was unanimous in accepting the contest on that ground. All was in preparation for this pacific demonstration.

The evening preceding the day appointed for the banquet, the ministry, alarmed at an invitation given by the impatient republicans to the unarmed national guards, declared at the tribune, that it retracted its concessions, and would put down the demonstration by force.

M. Barrot immediately convoked the constitutional opposition at his own house for deliberation. It was there proposed to yield before the violent resolution of the government; M. Barrot and his friends fell in with this proposal.

The following day a second conference was summoned at the house of a *restaurateur* in the Place de la Madeleine. M. de Lamartine, M. Berryer, and M. de Larochejacquelin were invited to it, and accepted the invitation. About two hundred deputies, holding the various shades of opinion which marked the moderate opposition, were present. The course to be pursued was the subject of discussion, which was protracted, full of variance, embarrassed, and without the issue of a dignified conclusion worthy of any party.

Should the opposition recoil and fall backwards at such a moment, it would almost annihilate itself, it would dishonour its name, and lose its moral authority in the country; it would be enclosed in the *Furcæ Caudinæ* of the ministry. Should it persist, it would run the risk of gaining too much, and of giving the victory which it might achieve to a party who desired that from which it shrunk. A revolution would be the consequence; but the risk attending a revolution in favour of progress appeared to some minds preferable to the shame of a revolution of a retrograde character. The debate was prolonged.

M. Lamartine, though, like M. Thiers and M. Dufaure, inclined to disapprove the system of agitation pursued in the

banquets, could not tolerate the humiliation of a submission dishonourable to liberal opinion. He rose suddenly to reply to M. Berryer, who had made a moving speech, in which, however, without pointing at any conclusion, he had merely protested.

"In listening to M. Berryer," he said, "who has so frankly and so eloquently opened to you his great mind, I have deeply sympathized in his hesitations as a good man, his patriotic anxiety, the efforts of his mind to discover right, truth, and light, at the terrible crisis in which the folly of an aggressive ministry has placed good citizens, whatever shade of political opinions they may hold. I recognize my own thoughts and the sentiment of my heart in his.

"I also, like him, and like yourselves, have meditated upon the most honourable and patriotic, the most prudent and dignified course we can take, under the cruel alternative to which we are as it were shut up by circumstances. I also have perceived, with him and with you, the combination of opposite parties complicating our difficulties both present and future. Moreover, I observe that since the approach of the crisis, our ranks have been thinned, but I do not therefore pause irresolute.

"In crises like the present, our business is not with the absent. It is not the time for me to ask, where are such and such persons? It is the moment when I am to inquire, what are the rights of my country?

"We are told, the crisis is imminent; traps are set; the responsibility and the danger of those firm-spirited men who, in the name of their country, now take the lead of events, will be great. Gentlemen, I know all this; I am more deeply sensible of it than those who have already declared it. Not to see it would be blind indeed; to attempt to dissemble it, would be a weakness.

"A multitude is always a peril, even when it is gathered together by the just and legitimate sentiment of its duties and its rights. We know this, and acknowledge it; we feel the truth of that axiom of antiquity, 'He who draws the people together moves them by the very act of assembling them.'

"Yes, gentlemen, the political horizon, the near horizon, the horizon of this week, is charged with anxieties and contingencies, which my mind, like yours, contemplates with

awe. I have reflected, and I ponder still, in cruel perplexity, on the path which lies before us. In a case so important, in which we are responsible for acting as men of moral worth and men of heart, I consult not my intellect alone. I descend into the deeper parts of my nature; I strike upon my breast, and, as in the presence of the Supreme Judge, ask my conscience to render account of its intentions and its acts; and thus I state the question on which we have to deliberate. (Sensation.)

"What is our situation?

"We are placed by the provocation of government between danger and disgrace. (Assent.)

"This is the true description of our circumstances. I feel it so; and your assent strengthens my conviction. Yes, we are placed between danger and disgrace.

"Perhaps, gentlemen, we might be generous enough, great enough, devoted enough, to incur disgrace for ourselves, were we alone concerned; for my own part, I feel that I could accept it; I could accept my millionth or my hundred millionth portion of shame; I should suffer it with blushes indeed, but yet with satisfaction, to prevent at that price an accidental commotion from shaking the foundations of my country, and to insure that no drop of the generous blood of a French citizen should stain the pavement of Paris!

"I feel myself capable, you all feel yourselves capable, of this sacrifice! Yes, we would accept personal shame rather than a drop of blood of the people or the military should flow on our responsibility!

"But disgrace to our country, disgrace to the cause of constitutional liberty, disgrace to the character, and outrage to the rights of the nation, this we cannot, we ought not, in honour and conscience to permit. The character, the rights, and the honour of the nation belong not to us but to the French people. We may not traffic with that which is not our own!

"And if we did so, what should we say on returning to our departments, to those who confided to us the defence of their rights and the care of their dignity as a free people? What attitude could we assume, what part could we play in their presence?

"On the faith of the right to assemble established by cus-

tom amongst every free people, on the faith of the restoration, even on the faith of the ministers of the revolution of July, who themselves exercised the legal right of assembly, and gave us our example, we have held political meetings; we have authorized by our presence, or, like myself, if not by our presence, at least by our consent, those pacific meetings through which opinion, constitutionally expressed, reaches the ears of deputies and authorities; we have encouraged our fellow-citizens wisely, constitutionally, and moderately, to act upon this right of public agitation; we have said to them, 'If this right is attacked in your persons, we will defend and preserve it for you. We will restore it to you inviolate, or at least invested with the guarantees and the rules which the law alone can impose for the regulation of its exercise.'

"This has been our language to them in time past; but now pusillanimously yielding not to a law which I have myself invited from the chamber—but to the capricious and arrogant order of a minister from the elevation of the tribune, shall we take his prohibition for law? Shall we surrender to him, without even a legitimate demonstration of our resistance to coercion? Shall we lay at the feet of his absolutism our constitutional weapons? Shall we betray the trust reposed in us, and resign what we believe to be a fundamental security for the liberty of the nation? Shall we allow France to be despoiled of one of her liberties, the guarantee for all the rest, the liberty of opinion, and that without even a verbal protest against the spoliation? Shall we return to our towns and to our departments, and say to our constituents, 'Behold the trophies we bring you back from the political arena to which you sent us to fight your battles, the wrecks of your constitution, the ruins of your freedom of opinion, ministerial absolutism in exchange for national right!'

"We have placed the neck of France under the feet of a minister. (Acclamation.)

"No, no; it is impossible; we should no longer be men; France would no longer be a nation. We ought rather instantly to give in our resignations, to disappear, and become annihilated in public disesteem. (Renewed acclamations.)

"Do not suspect that my words conceal a miserable sentiment of personal pride. I repeat, that to degrade and anni-

hilate ourselves is a small matter; but to degrade and destroy our country would be a disgrace—a crime and an infamy which we could not sustain!

"Gentlemen, let me speak coolly, the occasion demands it; the struggle between the government and ourselves is momentous. Let us fully understand what we desire should be done by France on Tuesday. Do we wish for a sedition? No. Do we desire a revolution? No. May God defer for the longest possible time the necessity of a revolution in our country! What, then, do we desire? An act of the national will and of the national faith in the omnipotence of the legal rights of a great country.

"France has often, alas! during the last fifty years, too often, and perhaps too impetuously, rushed upon revolutionary acts; she has not yet performed a great national and civil act. It is such an act of her citizens that we now desire from her, an act of legal resistance to those absolutists against whom she has not hitherto known how to defend herself by constitutional means, and with no other arms than her attitude and her will. (Applause.)

"It is an act of her citizens that we propose, and of which France will be witness by the eyes of the people of Paris! Let us learn, for once, to guard, to defend, and to establish by such an act, by a firm attitude calmly maintained, by an appeal to the justice and not to the violence of the country, to guard and keep that which we have before been able to conquer, but never to defend. (Applause.)

"This act will be dangerous in the execution; we do not deny it; but the renunciation of her rights by the nation, the submission to ministerial absolutism, the encouragement of attempts at ministerial usurpation, the humiliation of the national character, before all governments, would be no less dangerous.

"There is danger on both sides. Cease, however, to speak of danger, lest you deprive us of the coolness necessary to avert it; lest you present to us the temptation needlessly to brave it!

"It will not be in our power, gentlemen, by all the moderation, reserve, and prudence of word and action recommended to us by our committees, to avoid danger. It exists. Well, that is in God's hand, not in ours. He alone

can inspire the spirit of peace and order into the hearts of those crowds who will flock to assist in the pacific demonstration intended to preserve our institutions. Let us beseech him to grant us that token of his protecting favour to the cause of liberty and progress, and to avert all fearful collision between our citizens who bear arms, and our citizens who bear them not. Let us hope and let us conjure all citizens that it may be so. Then let us leave issues to Providence, and to the responsibility of the government, which has, by its acts alone, provoked and brought on this dangerous manifestation.

"I cannot tell whether the arms confided to our brave soldiers will be all managed by prudent hands. I would hope this; I would believe it; but should it happen that their bayonets transgress the law, that their muskets should be loaded, one thing I know, gentlemen, that we shall defend, first with our voices and then with our breasts, the institutions and future liberties of our people, and that those bullets must penetrate our hearts to wrest from thence the rights of our country. Let us now no longer deliberate! Let us act!"

Such were Lamartine's words. Enthusiasm rather than reflection drew them from him. Until that moment, he had carried his scruples so far as to object, and to avow his objection, to the agitation of the political banquets, as an allurement to revolution. At the last moment he appeared to change his tone. It was no longer the question of a reform banquet, but of the legal right of assemblage, forcibly contested with the deputies by the ministry.

The struggle between the opposition of every shade and this government was embodied in this political duel. Lamartine thought he saw the honour of the opposition lost, if it should recede, after having advanced thus far. The opposition of the left centre was losing its strength, and thereby enfeebling those other parties which it had involved in its manœuvres or its manifestations. Lamartine had not been associated with this branch of the opposition; he deemed it more personal than national, more ambitious than political. The secret satisfaction of finding it now in undisguised weakness, the glory which would attend gaining a march upon it, and convicting it of impotence and inconsistency, might perchance,

unconsciously to himself, lend warmth to his words. Any such resentful feeling, however, evaporated in his speech.

The opposition of the left centre once more melted away. That party abandoned the banquet. The consequences which Lamartine's harangue might have produced were thus prevented, and it went for nothing in the issue of events, which took another course.

But if these considerations excuse Lamartine's fault, they do not absolve it. The incitement which he gave to the opposition might have resulted in a conflict; it was no less calculated to have such result, than was the blindness and obstinacy of government.

Lamartine left something to chance; virtue leaves everything to prudence, when the repose of states and the lives of men are in question. He tempted God and the people. His self-reproaches for this fault have since been extremely severe; it is the only one which weighs upon his conscience in the whole course of his political career; he does not wish to extenuate it either to himself or to others. It is a serious crime to throw back upon God that which he has been pleased to impose upon statesmen—responsibility. By this speech Lamartine threw down a challenge to Providence. The wise man will never tempt fortune, but always anticipate and conciliate it.

In the evening of the day, some few deputies and peers, about seven or eight in number, repaired spontaneously to Lamartine's house. They had come to the resolution to accept, though alone, the challenge which government offered, and which had been declined by the left centre; they were determined to repair to the banquet, in order to protest, by their presence there, against the arbitrary interdict of the ministry. They agreed, on the morrow, to re-assemble at the house of the duke d'Harcourt. A few moments later they learned that no banquet would take place, and dispersed.

The government, however, foreseeing the events which might arise from such an agitation and tension of the public mind, had drawn a large number of troops into Paris or around it. They were rated at fifty-five thousand men. The artillery of Vincennes had orders to present itself on the first summons at the Faubourg St. Antoine. By dispositions carefully studied, and made as far back as 1830, in anticipa-

tion of insurrection, posts had been assigned to different bodies in the various quarters of the city. Each body of insurgents, hemmed in, or intercepted by these posts, would be withheld from joining others; the fort of Mount Valerian was to be occupied by a strong garrison, mounted on the road between Paris and Saint Cloud. Thirty-seven battalions of infantry, one battalion of Chasseurs d'Orléans, three companies of engineers, twenty squadrons, four thousand veterans of the municipal guard, and five batteries of artillery, formed the garrison of the capital.

The night was passed in silence,—the silence of a city reflecting before action. The morning did not prognosticate a day of fate. There were no arms concealed under the garments; no rage was painted upon men's countenances; curious and inoffensive crowds continually moved along the boulevards, gathering numbers as they went; other crowds streamed from the suburbs of Paris; they appeared, however, rather to observe what was passing than to meditate any act. The event seems to have been engendered by the curiosity which awaited it.

The youths of the schools, ever the vanguard in revolutions, assembled in groups from various quarters of the city, and gathering numbers and courage as they rolled along chanting the *Marseillaise*, directed their course to the Place de la Madeleine. The electrified people responded to the hymn. The column increased, crossed the Place de la Concorde, passed the Pont Royal, forced the palisades of the deserted Chamber of Deputies, and spread without a leader or a specific object into the gardens of the palace and upon the quays. A regiment of dragoons advanced, and easily, and unresisted, dispersed the youths. The infantry next arrived; the artillery took its position in the street de Bourgogne; the bridge was defended by the military.

The deputies, saddened but not disquieted, assembled in their hall without being subjected to insult; they ascended the steps of the portico which faces the bridge, and from thence contemplated the increasing force at the disposal of government, and the advanced waves of the multitude which the cavalry were pushing back in the Rue Royale. No cries were heard, not a single shot. The band of a regiment of chasseurs played its pacific notes before the palisades of the

Chamber of Deputies. The contrast between these festive airs and the preparation for combat upon the quay chilled the souls and produced strange dissonance between the ears and the eyes of the citizens.

Within the hall, M. Barrot placed upon the table of the president an act of accusation against the ministry. M. Guizot quitted his place, went up to the desk, perused the accusation, and smiled disdainfully. He had read and written history largely. His bold and lofty spirit loved its magnificent scenes; his eloquence sought opportunities for displays, which would be perpetuated to future times; his eye welcomed the strife. He braved an accusation, against which he was defended within the chamber, by the large majority which he commanded, and without it, by a monarchy and an army.

The distracted chamber, meantine, was engaged in the discussion of the laws of administration.

The day, short and gloomy as one of winter, beheld the wandering crowds augment, and some barricades arise, staking out the field of this revolutionary conflict.

Committees of insurrection sat constantly in the secret societies, and in the offices of the republican journals. We are ignorant of what passed there. They were probably rather engaged in observation than in action. The limited power of a conspirator, who has but scanty numbers at his disposal, only possesses influence as it ministers to a sentiment generally entertained, or a pre-existing passion.

The governments, tyrannies, or despotisms of old days might perish by a plot. Under liberal governments conspiracy evaporates. The only all-powerful conspirator of modern states is opinion.

Night fell, and no blood had been spilt. That night was silent, like the day, but restless, as is the eve of a great event. The rumour of a probable change of the ministry, who were relaxing their hold of power, reassured the citizens in some degree. The troops bivouacked in the streets and open spaces. Some wooden chairs and benches belonging to the Champs-Elysées, which had been set on fire by boys, illuminated the horizon, and disclosed the disorder of the scene. The government was everywhere in possession of the streets of Paris, except in a kind of citadel fortified by the nature of the

buildings, and the narrow tortuosity of the streets, around the cloisters of St. Méry, in the centre of Paris.

There some indefatigable and intrepid republicans, who had eyes for every circumstance and despaired of nothing, had concentrated themselves, either by preconcerted plan, or by that revolutionary instinct which is spontaneous and common in its operation. Their very leaders disapproved their obstinacy and temerity, as they were at most not more than four or five hundred in number. Another detachment of republicans, altogether without leaders, disarmed the national guards of the Batignolles during the night, burned the station at the barrier, and fortified themselves in a neighbouring quarter, where they awaited the event. No attempt was made to dislodge them.

At break of day, the roads which led to the several gates of Paris were covered with columns of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, summoned by the orders of government. These troops presented an imposing effect; they were obedient and in perfect discipline, but silent and dejected. They carried in their countenances their grief at being called to act in a civil war. They successively took up positions in the quarters where the multitude of Paris chiefly reside. The mob did not combat in mass on any point. Scattered groups attacked and disarmed isolated posts, forced their entrance into armourers' shops, and from concealed situations fired random shots at the troops.

Barricades, commencing with, and radiating from, the centre, formed by the church of St. Méry, were raised from distance to distance, and built and multiplied almost before the very faces of the soldiers: they were no sooner erected than abandoned. The troops had only stones to oppose. The battle was a silent one,—its progress was felt; its sound unheard.

The national guard, summoned by the call to arms, was assembling legion by legion. It preserved a neutrality, or limited its manifestations to an interference between the troops and the people, whilst it loudly demanded the dismissal of the ministry, and reform. Thus the national guard became the shield of the revolution.

Such, on the dawn of the 24th of February, was the state

of Paris. The troops, wearied by seeing no enemy, whilst they were the objects of universal hostility, remained at their various posts, unwavering but dejected. The generals and officers conversed in low tones upon the inexplicable indecision of events. At the exit of the principal streets, groups of cavalry, enveloped in their grey cloaks, and holding the naked sabre in hand, might be seen. They had been in the same spot, and maintained the same position, for thirty-six hours; their horses slept under them, and they themselves shivered from cold and hunger. Officers were passing at hard gallop up and down the streets at every second, carrying orders and counter-orders, from one part of Paris to another.

In the distance, borne from the quarter of the Hôtel de Ville, and the deep and intricate labyrinths of the surrounding streets, occasional firing might be heard from the platoons; but as the day drew on, the sounds slackened, and at length ceased.

Few people were in the streets. They seemed to leave their battle to be fought by the invisible spirit of the revolution, and by that small number of obstinate combatants who were dying for the cause in the heart of Paris. Between the great masses of the people, and the small group of republicans who actively fought, there seemed to be a watchword or a secret intelligence which said to the one party, "Resist yet a few hours longer;" and to the other, "Forbear to mix in the struggle, and to shed French blood; the genius of the revolution fights for all; the monarchy is upon the decline; it suffices to give it a gentle thrust, and before the sun sets the republic will have triumphed."

The fate of the day was at the disposal of the national guard. Hitherto the government had forborne to sound the doubtful allegiance of this body by requiring it to take an active part in the event, and fire upon the Parisian people.

General Jacqueminot, commander-in-chief of the force, intrepid and adventurous, but at that moment ill. doubted not but that his officers and soldiers shared with him the devoted martial resolution which he found in himself.

The king, who during eighteen years had pressed the hands of the greater number of individuals forming the civic guard of Paris, and who knew better than any other man how closely their interests and his own were welded together, believed himself sure of their hearts and their bayonets.

The prefect of Paris, Count de Rambuteau, a man sincerely attached to the royal family, but incapable of flattering into a catastrophe those he loved, no longer shared this confidence. His daily intercourse with the mercantile class of Paris, which furnished, almost exclusively, the colonels and officers of this corps, had long since discovered to him as existing within it, a smothered discontent, a disaffection which, however ungrateful it might be, was real, and which, though it had not as yet grown into sedition, might manifest itself in desertion at the hour of danger. He had warned the king of this, and the king had rejected the warning with a smile and motion of incredulity,—"Go," Louis Philippe had said to him,—"go, and take you care of Paris; I will answer for the rest of the empire."

The faithful magistrate had withdrawn distressed, because alarmed by the profound security of his master.

The national guard, called to arms on the morning of the 24th, and ordered to interpose between the people and the troops of the line, obeyed the summons slowly and with indecision.

In the prolonged movement of the people, the guard saw an anti-ministerial manifestation, an armed petition in favour of electoral reform, which it was far from disapproving, and which it secretly favoured.

The name of Guizot was become hateful to this body; his long-continued power was burdensome to it. If it approved his general principles of government, it bore personal dislike to the man. His policy with regard to England had never been satisfactory to it; that policy appeared in its eyes to have been in time past too complacent, and more recently vexatious and imprudent. In Portugal he had bought peace at the price of political servility; and at Madrid war had been rashly risked for the aggrandizement of the Orleans family. It would rejoice, therefore, in the humiliation of a minister equally unpopular in peace and war.

Nor was the guard alarmed to see the people vote with fire-arms against the worn-out system of the king. Louis Philippe had declined in its affections as he had declined in years. His wisdom appeared to the Parisians petrified into obstinacy; and that this obstinacy should be shaken or conquered by the insurrection, appeared to the

bourgeoisie in general, and to the guard, but a just compensation for his long and uninterrupted good fortune.

In the judgment of the national guard, the consequences of the rising would be confined to a change of ministry forced upon the king by the attitude of the people, which would admit the present opposition, in the persons of M. Thiers and M. Odillon Barrot, to the conduct of affairs; to a moderate reform of the electoral law; and to a Chamber of Deputies, which should be regenerated and conformed to the spirit of the nation. The most far-sighted only saw in it a possible abdication of the sovereign, and a regency. In fine, the national guard imagined itself introducing the opposition to power, when in fact it was introducing a revolution to France.

Further, the guard felt confident that during the past night events or persons would have counselled concession to the king, and that a new ministry would be announced during the morning; whereupon it conceived that, the object of the popular demonstration attained, the insurrection would terminate in cries of joy and a general illumination.

The Chamber of Deputies had been assembled since eight o'clock in the morning, in order to await the communications that the king might have to address to it by his ministers. It was as full of security as the monarch; the majority of the deputies, confiding in their own strength and in the number and fidelity of the troops, were quietly talking on their benches of the various ministerial combinations which the next hour was about to disclose to the chamber. All parties saw an approaching transference of power from the hands of the ministry; none as yet anticipated a change of government.

The adherents of ministers, however, were amazed and appalled; ambitious spirits exulted in the glimpse of coming fortune. Men of independent character contemplated with sadness the struggle of two embittered parties, which might issue in the total ruin of the country.

Painful anxiety weighed upon the assembly, though it was not characterized by despondency. Whenever an important person entered the hall, deputies flocked around him, as if eager to learn from his lips the secrets of the future.

One of these men, and one to whom Providence had

decreed an important part in the event, had as yet no presentiment of the catastrophe, which but a few hours later was to overwhelm and entomb the monarchy; that man was Lamartine.

Lamartine was the son of a country gentleman on the banks of the Sâone. His early life had been obscure; he had passed it in study, in travel, and in retreat. His intercourse had been with nature, with letters, and with his own thoughts. He had been educated in hatred to the empire; he felt that that slavery was only glorious in its external aspect, that it was gloomy and sad within. The study of Tacitus had inspired his heart against the tyranny of a modern Cæsar.

The scion of a race characterized by its religion, its military ardour, and its attachment to the royal house, Lamartine, in common with many other sons of the old nobility, had entered the king's guards on the restoration of the Bourbons. Impatience and disgust of that service in time of peace had induced him to quit it; he had resumed his independence, and occupied himself in extensive travels. His poems, written almost involuntarily, had introduced him to fame, and had led the politicians of the day to pay him court prematurely.

Under the auspices of M. de Talleyrand, M. Pasquier, M. Mounier, M. Royar-Collard, M. de Broglie, M. de Bonald, and especially of M. Lainé, he was introduced to diplomacy.

His opinions, and those of his family, growingly liberal, were not pleasing to the court. His independence retarded his advancement. It was only in 1830 that he was appointed minister plenipotentiary in Greece.

After the revolution of July, he resigned his appointment from feeling of respect for the tottering royal house which he had served, and from some sentiments of reserve towards the ascendant fortune of the new line. He had passed two years in Eastern travel. The horizon of the world had given expansion to his thoughts; the spectacle of the ruins of empires, while it strengthens philosophy, tinges it with melancholy. He had, as it were from a geographical elevation, seen races, ideas, religions, and empires spring up, attain maturity, and perish. Peoples had disappeared, and while nations passed

from the stage, the great family of man bore on its course, now halting, now advancing on an infinite career. At the close of such a train of national histories, God is more clearly seen. Men seek to estimate the divine design in human civilization. They catch glimpses of it, and take as an article of faith the unlimited progress of man. Local and temporary political interests dwindle and vanish. A universal and eternal policy comes in view. The traveller sets out a man and returns a philosopher. Henceforth he belongs to no party but that of God. Opinion becomes philosophy, and politics religion.

Such is the effect of long wanderings and profound meditation in the East.

It is only after the ocean is dried up that the secrets of its bed can be discovered. Thus it is with the ocean-bed of nations. History does not comprehend them until they have ceased to exist.

During his Eastern travels Lamartine had been chosen deputy for the department of the Nord.

For twelve years he had kept himself isolated from parties, seeking the path of truth and the light of philosophy; speaking sometimes for, sometimes against, the acts of government. Equally without animosity against the new dynasty, and without affection for it. He witnessed its reign. He was ready to aid and support it, if it would support the growth of democratic power and right; to resist it, if it manifested disposition to fall back upon the past.

The political principles of Lamartine were those of that eternal truth, of which the Gospel is but one page,—the equality of men before God, to be realized on earth by laws and forms of government, giving to the largest number, and in time to all citizens, the right of personal intervention in government, and thereby the means of promoting the moral and material welfare of human society.

Lamartine, however, recognized the rule and government of reason as superior to the brutal sovereignty of numbers; for in his eyes reason was the reflection of the deity in man; the sovereignty of reason was the sovereignty of God. He never pushed his aspirations for equality to the chimera of a violent attempt to produce that which cannot by possibility exist—the actual social equalization of all classes and conditions. He held no society as civilized, unless it was founded on three

bases, which seem laid down by instinct itself, that great Revealer of eternal truths—the state, the family compact, and property.

Communism of goods, which leads, as a necessary consequence, to communism in wives, children, and parents, and to the brutalization of the species, he held in horror. Socialism in its different forms, or styled by its varied names of *Saint Simonism*, *Fourrierism*, and *Expropriation of capital*, under pretext of multiplying produce, and relieving it from restriction, inspired him with pity.

It appeared to him, indeed, that property, in common with all else that appertains to man, may be ameliorated by institutions calculated to develop, not to destroy it. But protected wages appeared to him as the most free and perfect form of association between capital and labour; because wages, fairly competed for, is the exact proportion between the value of labour and the requirements of capital; a proportion expressed in every free country by what is called competition.

Nevertheless, as the labourer, pressed by hunger, has not always, and on the instant, complete liberty to weigh his right, and to proportion thus the price of his labour to the service which it renders to capital, Lamartine admitted that the state might be, to a certain measure, the umpire or go-between of the two contracting parties.

He further wished that the state, which should take the oversight alike of the strong and the weak, should, in certain extreme cases, determined by the administration, furnish assistant labour (*travail d'assistance*) to those operatives who could by no means procure bread for their families. He proposed a tax for the poor.

He could not endure that a highly civilized society should say to its workmen without food or shelter, "Go and die;" he desired that it should rather offer him labour and bread.

Finally, deeply impressed with the advantages of property, he earnestly wished to destroy the levelling policy by making the possession of property accessible to the greater portion, and finally to the entire mass of the citizens. But the first condition necessary to this distribution of property, to its gradual spread and diffusion, must be, he strongly asserted, respect for property; that is, respect for its inviolability and

sacredness in the hands of its actual holders, be they land-owners, merchants, or members of the industrial class, raised by personal labour or inheritance to a share of the dignity and ease attaching to proprietors.

To dispossess some, in order to enrich others, he asserted was not progress, but spoliation, ruinous to all.

Such were the ideas entertained by Lamartine with respect to the character of any social revolution, or rather of any changes in government intended to result in benefit for the masses.

With regard to the form of government desirable to a nation, he had, in his History of the Girondins, given his ideas fully. There he had written largely, as well on the monarchical, as on the republican form of government.

As the character of the man is much displayed in those pages, we shall reprint them at the close of this volume.

From that extract it will appear that, in Lamartine's view, the question as to form of government was rather one of circumstances than of principles. If the constitutional government of Louis Philippe had sincerely devoted its will and energies to the gradual advance and amelioration which the times demanded, whether moral or material, he would have supported it; for in his appreciation, after having calmly and rationally pondered on the happiness of nations or individuals, stability and order appeared the grand conditions of repose. Repose is good; but Lamartine knew that settled powers ("*pouvoirs assis*"), to borrow the experience of which he has availed himself in the History of the Girondins, obstinately resist those measures of a transforming or progressive character, which necessarily shake the existing state of things.

Whilst his conscience forbade him to excite a revolution, yet should circumstances produce one, he would gladly accept it. He was resolved to brave its storms and its perils in order to make it tend to the realization of principles which he considered had been sufficiently matured, whilst he would seek to restrain it, so far as he was able, within the bounds of justice, prudence, and humanity.

The two grand ends that he believed sacred enough to be worth the struggle of a revolution in no way touched upon his own personal interests. They only served the cause of

God and of mankind, and in no degree his own individual passions, or if at all, the passions of his philosophy, and not of his ambition.

In a revolution he had nothing to gain; but there was much that he might lose. He asked nothing from it, but permission to consecrate to its service his heart, his intellect, and perhaps his life.

The objects which he deemed worthy of such a sacrifice were,—

1st. The accession of the masses to political rights as a preparation for their progressive, inoffensive, and gradual accession to justice, to equality of intelligence, and of relative well-being in society.

2nd. The true emancipation of the conscience of mankind, not by the destruction, but by the entire freedom of religious opinion. The means to this was, in his view, the complete separation of the church from the state. So long as the state and the church should be linked to one another by simoniacal contracts, by wages received and investitures conferred, the state appeared to him to be an interposing object between God and the human conscience; whilst, on the other hand, religious institutions appeared to him adulterated and profaned in descending from the dignity of independent belief to the servile condition of political offices.

"The revolution of 1789," he had said at the tribune, "has won liberty for all except for God. Religious truth is the captive of the law, or is enslaved by the salaries and partial favour of government. It is our duty to restore to it its independence, and to leave it to radiate itself by its own laws over the human mind. In becoming more free, it will become more genuine; and in becoming more genuine, it will become more holy; in becoming more holy and more free, its efficacy will be increased. That which is now mere law, will then be faith; that which is now dead letter, will then be spirit; that which is now barren form, will then be action."

Lamartine was created religious as the air was created transparent. The sentiment of the deity was so inseparable from his soul, that his politics could not be distinguished from his religion. All progress which failed to conduct man to clearer knowledge and more devoted adoration of the Creator, the

source and end of his being, appeared to him an aimless, groping movement nowhither.

But whilst his aspirations and his acts invoked progress in faith and greater depth in adoration, he only desired this progress through the action of the general reason on all, and of individual reason on each. He held in horror the persecution, the violence, and even the seduction of conscience. He sincerely respected in others that faculty, the most inviolable of all with which man is endowed—FAITH.

He venerated faith and piety under whatever sacred form they might animate, enlighten, and console his brethren. He took deep note of the many holy virtues of which Catholicism, understood otherwise than he understood it, is the divine parent, in the heart of believers.

He would have died to secure the inviolability of his sincere and conscientious worship to the humblest of believers. Whilst he wished that religions would lay aside the antiquated dress in which they were disguised, he did not wish that they should be violently or irreverently despoiled.

His sole apostle was liberty, the only worthy minister of God in the mind of men. He respected the priesthood, provided this priesthood was the voluntary magistracy of the soul, armed with faith and not with law. His system of liberty of worship on the principle of voluntary association was rational, pious, and *anti*-revolutionary, in the bad sense of that word.

These two principles formed the secret springs which induced Lamartine not to bring about a revolution, but to accept one, or rather the completion of one. He did not close his eyes to the difficulties, dangers, and catastrophes that every revolution brings with it. He loved democracy as justice. He abhorred demagoguism as the tyranny of the many. Humanity in the gross, as each man in particular, is composed of a good and an evil element. Virtue and vice are mingled in the multitude as in the individual. The vicious parts of human nature are stirred and developed by revolution.

All that tends to bring the vicious elements into play appears to multiply and increase them for the passing time; when calm is restored, these elements sink again to the depths of society. It is the strife of the foam against the ocean. The

ocean as it subsides, ever triumphs over and engulfs the foam, but it does not escape its defilement. Lamartine knew that. He trembled in anticipation of the excesses of demagoguism. He was determined to resist it, and to die, if necessary, to preserve the pure portion of the people from its delirium and its fury, and to protect the calm majesty of a revolution.

While he was listening to and observing without fully understanding it, a movement, resembling rather an *émeute* than a revolution, which was in progress in a few streets of the centre of Paris, the course of events was as follows. On the evening of the 23rd, shortly after the decline of day, the populace, assured of a change of ministry, rolled along the boulevards and the streets, hailing with applause the illuminations which lighted up the façades of the houses.

A feeling of peaceful joy filled the breasts of the citizens. There was a sort of tacit proclamation of reconciliation between king and people, after an outburst of anger. It was known that the king, shaken but not subdued, had successively summoned to the Tuileries M. Molé, M. Thiers, and M. Barrot.

M. Molé, a man of political temperament, of ability for a crisis, agreeable to the court, honoured by conservatives, and loved by the superior bourgeoisie, was one of those natural aristocrats whose character accords with their birth, and whose native superiority wins for them honour and affection, even from the most jealous democracy.

M. Thiers, the leader of the personal opposition to the king, with talents fitted for anything, and capable of the most unexpected combinations, could equally amaze the conservatives, govern the king, or fascinate the people.

M. Barrot, hitherto unsuited to office, on account of the inflexibility and democratic character of his principles, but whom the extremity of the danger now rendered necessary, and whose very name promised the people an administration as nearly republican as was possible under a monarchy.

M. Barrot was, indeed, placed by his opinions on the utmost limits of monarchy. He was the Lafayette of 1848. His eloquence was such as to bring strength and brilliancy to a ministry. His character, above reproach, and though some-

times warped by kindly feeling or mental indecision, yet never by any defect of principle, rendered him the cherished idol of the people. He was the opposition personified, but an opposition unbiassed by any ambition except that of honest glory. Such a man might seem to have been kept in reserve for eighteen years in order at the last hour to save the monarch who threw himself into his arms.

The ministerial negotiations had not closed on the evening of the 23rd, the king obstinately refusing to listen to the conditions proposed to him by M. Molé.

A change of men appeared to Louis Philippe a sufficient sacrifice to the exigence of the moment. A change of measures seemed to involve a renunciation of his own sagacity. The names of Thiers and Barrot were repugnant to him as the visible and palpable signs of his personal defeat. He reserved those names in his mind, as a last spell in a last emergency. He could not bring himself to believe that he was destined to avail himself of it. The night was left him to ponder; he would decide according to the more or less menacing appearances of the following morning. Nothing indicated that the evening commencing amidst the splendours of illumination was the last of the monarchy.

A small number of combatants concentrated in that quarter of Paris, which forms by its obliquity and by the narrowness and crookedness of its streets the natural citadel of insurrection, preserved a hostile attitude and impregnable position. These men were almost all the veterans of the republic, formed to voluntary discipline in the secret societies of the two monarchies, inured to conflict, and even to martyrdom, in those days which had inundated Paris with blood, and witnessed a contest for the establishment of the monarchy. None knew by whom they were commanded. Their invisible chief had neither name nor rank. It was the inarticulate whisper of the revolution, the spirit of *secte*, the soul of democracy, enduring the present, but yearning to give birth to the future. It was that disinterested fanaticism, and that cold courage, which delights to die, if in that death posterity may find the germ of amelioration and of life. To men like these, two other species of combatants gave their adherence; classes who ever throw themselves into the tumultuous movements of sedition; savage natures, who luxuriate in blood and

delight in death, and frivolous natures, whom storm attracts and rivets, the genuine children of Paris. But this nucleus did not enlarge. It kept watch in silence, musket in hand. It was satisfied thus to give time for the general rise.

No symptoms of this rise appeared; a war-cry was necessary to excite it—a cry of horror to sow fury and vengeance in that floating mass of population who are equally ready to retire to their dwellings, or to sally from them for the subversion of the government. A few silent groups alone assembled here and there at the extremity of the faubourgs of the Temple and of Saint-Antoine. Other groups, composed of few individuals, appeared at the mouth of the streets which lead from the Chaussée d'Antin on to the boulevards.

These two classes of groups exhibited characteristic difference of air and costume. The one was composed of young men belonging to the rich and refined mercantile classes, to the schools, to trade, to the national guard, to literature, and more particularly to the periodical press. These harangued the people, inflamed popular indignation against the king, the minister, and the chambers; spoke of the humiliation of France before the foreigner, of the diplomatic treasons of the court, and the insolent corruption and servility of deputies, who had sold themselves to the sovereign will of Louis Philippe; they openly gave out the names of popular ministers whom insurrection was to thrust upon the Tuileries. The numerous promenaders and bystanders, whose curiosity was excited by whatever was new, crowded around these orators, and applauded their expressions. The other class was composed of the lower orders, summoned within the last two days, from their shops, by the sound of firing; clad in their working dresses, with their blue shirts open, and their hands still blackened with the smoke of the forge. These came down in silence, in little knots, skirting the walls of those streets which open upon Clichy la Villette and the Canal de l'Ourcq. One or two workmen, better dressed than the rest, with long skirted cloth coats, walked before them, addressed them in a low tone, and seemed to be giving them the word of command. These were the heads of the sections of the Rights of Man and of Families.

The Society of the Rights of Man and of Families constituted a sort of democratic freemasonry, established by some

active republicans in 1830. These societies preserved under different names, from the destruction of the first republic by Buonaparte, the galling sense of liberty betrayed, and some traditional features of Jacobinism, handed down from Babeuf to Buonarotti, and from Buonarotti to the young republicans of that school. The members of these purely political societies were almost entirely recruited from the principal mechanics, smiths, cabinet-makers, printers, joiners, and carpenters of Paris.

Coincidently with these permanent conspiracies against royalty, as the key-stone of the arch of privilege, divers philosophical societies were organized, composed, for the most part, of the same elements, under the auspices of St. Simon, others of Fourrier, some of Cabet, others of Raspail, Pierre Leroux, and Louis Blanc. These were overt conspiracies organized by the sole propagandist influence of harangues, association, and the public press. These heretofore pacific societies now discussed, and promoted the freest discussion of, their principles.

The essence of these was a chimerical fraternity to be realized on earth, and tending consentaneously to the suppression of individual property. By a direct consequence, they also tended to the suppression of the family compact. That compact is the trinity of the father, the mother, and of the child. The father, the mother, and the child which perpetuates their being, unceasingly reproduce that trinity, which of itself completes and continues the race. Without personal and hereditary property, that compact, the source, the charm, and the perpetuating cause of human nature, has no root whence to germinate and maintain its earthly existence. The man is the male, the woman the female parent, and the child the epitome of the human flock. The soil without a master ceases to be fertile; the civilization produced by wealth, by leisure, and by competition, vanishes and disappears; the annihilation of the family compact is the suicide of the human race.

These elementary truths were consigned to the category of prejudices, and insulted with the epithets of tyranny by the ruling spirits of these schools. Philosophers or sophists, ideal adventurers, men for the most part honest, acting on conviction, the fanatics of their own chimerical speculations,

soared in their fancy beyond the point to which the real and social world guides the feet of man. In their eloquence they lost their way in the chaos of systems. Unhappily, with their own bewilderment they caused simple-minded, suffering, and credulous persons to lose their way, in like manner, amidst narrow views, correct intentions, and theories deranged by adversity and dissatisfaction with real life. These systems were the poetry of communism, intoxicating with utopian aspirations, and avenging the cause of men dissatisfied with social order.

The nomadic population of the workshop, evicted from its native soil and from the principles of home, threw itself into the system without perceiving its emptiness, and grieved over the long delay which postponed the realization of the prospects in which they had been taught to confide. Every shock to the government appeared to the members of these anti-social societies as the approaching fulfilment of their dreams. Without in any degree entertaining the purely republican and levelling doctrine of the Society of the Rights of Man, and of the Society of Families, the Socialists joined heart and hand in the strife, hoping to find their treasure beneath the ruin. The difference between these revolutionary classes was, that the first was inspired by the hatred of royalty, the second by the progress of the species. Republicanism and equality were the object of the one; social renovation and fraternity of the other. They had nothing in common but impatience of the existing order of things, and the hope of what they descried looming through an approaching revolution.

About six o'clock in the evening, a little column of republicans, of the younger trading population, issued from the Rue Lepelletier, and formed a silent group before the door of the *National* newspaper, as though it were the appointed place of rendezvous. In all our revolutions, counsel is kept, the word of command is given, and the impulse is directed to the office of a journal. These are the *comitia* of public opinion, the moveable tribunes of the people. A long conference took place between the republicans within and the republicans without. Expressions, brief but energetic, were exchanged through the low and barred window of the porter's lodge. The group, inspired with the flame they were about to spread, advanced with cries of "Reform! Down with the ministers! To the boulevard!"

Scarcely had it quitted the office of the *National* when another column—the workmen and popular partisans—presented itself at the same place and halted at the command of their leader. They seemed to have been expected; a clapping of hands is heard within the house; a young man, of slight stature, with a fiery eye, with lips agitated by enthusiasm, and hair dishevelled by the breath of inspiration, mounted the inner wall of the window, and harangued the assembly. The spectators saw but gestures and heard but the sound of a voice and some thrilling expressions, emphasized by lips of a southern contour. The tenor of his eloquence was popular, but that cultivated and imaginative popularity of style had nothing about it frivolous; it exalted the streets of Paris to the loftiness of the Roman forum; it was modern passion expressed by the lips of a man nursed in antiquity. By the light of a lamp they discerned a man of high qualifications, but unadvanced to the tribune. It was Marrast, the editor, who by turns delighted as a wit and hurled in thunder the sarcasms and the indignation of the republic opposition.

A feeling correspondent to this address soon showed itself in the impatient expression, the attitudes, and inarticulate murmurs of this martial group; they retired and united with the former body which seemed to direct their movements. Two other bodies, in similar silence, advanced at the same instant, like a detached corps, towards a position which had been previously resolved on. The one seemed to come from the populous and ever-disturbed region of the boulevard de la Bastille. The other came from the centre of Paris, having formed its nucleus in the office of the *Réforme* journal. Imbued with the spirit of the most undaunted conspirators against royalty, at whose head marched men of action rather than of words, these had arms beneath their clothes. They marched like a troop inured to war and grown old amidst firing, every soldier in which leaned with careless confidence on the well-tried arm of his comrade.

The column of the boulevard de la Bastille was more numerous, but less compact and less adult; it brought to recollection those revolutionary processions of the same class, which made a descent into Paris in those days that decided our civil commotions. There were seen a number of women and ragged children, the migrating refuse of our faubourgs, who come from time to time to startle the affluent

and voluptuous centre of our capitals with the sight of the indigence and the manly power of our primitive population. To rally these more popular groups, some visible and striking symbols are required; they belong to the herd, and they need the leader; they belong to the army, and they need the flag, the drum, the colours, and the tumult. They carry two or three ensigns, torn in the struggles of yesterday and to-day, and on these might be read some familiar anathemas printed on the white stripe of the tricolor.

A man of about forty years of age, tall, thin, with hair curled and falling upon his shoulders, dressed in a white frock, well worn and stained with dirt, marched with a military step at their head. His arms were folded over his chest, his head slightly bent forward, with the air of one who was about to face bullets deliberately, and to brave death with exultation. In the eyes of this man, well known by the multitude, was concentrated all the fire of the revolution; his physiognomy was the living expression of the defiance of opposing force; his lips, incessantly agitated as if by a mental harangue, were pale and trembling. Still his perfectly martial figure betrayed, as at the bottom of his soul, somewhat of pensive and of compassionate reflection, which amidst his courage excluded all idea of cruelty. There was, moreover, in his carriage and his expression a devoted fanaticism, a bewilderment combined with heroism, which might suggest the idea of the Delhis of the East, who get drunk with opium before they plunge into death. We are told that his name was Lagrange.

In the neighbourhood of the café Tortoni, the rendezvous of idlers, these bodies united their momentum. They cleared a way through the inquisitive and idle throng, which undulated with the natural wave of multitudes to the great thoroughfare of the boulevards. A crowd of inoffensive people followed mechanically in the train of this silent column. A small detachment, composed of workmen armed with sabres and pikes, separated from the principal body at the top of the Rue de Choiseul, and silently took possession of that street. The object of this detachment appeared to be to flank the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, which was occupied by troops, while the head of the column presented itself in front. An unknown system of operation evidently combined and controlled these movements. The unanimous whisper of a revolution raises the masses. None but conspira-

tors can with such precision govern its chances and guide its evolutions.

In the midst of the smoke of torches a red flag waved over the first rank of this multitude. They advanced, multiplying in their progress. A misgiving curiosity attached to this cloud of men, who seemed to carry in their midst the mystery of the day. In front of the Hotel of Foreign Affairs a battalion of the line, drawn up in battle array, with loaded arms and their commander at their head, obstructed the boulevard. Before this hedge of bayonets the column suddenly halts. The flapping of the flag and the flash of the torches frighten the horse of the commander; recoiling in terror on his haunches, he plunged into the battalion, which opened to receive its chief. In the confusion of the moment the report of a musket was heard. Did it come, as was said, from some concealed and disaffected hand, fired on the people by one of their own agitators, to revive by the sight of blood the ardour of a struggle which was subsiding? Did it come from the hand of one of the insurgents directed against the troops? or rather, which is more probable, did it accidentally arise from the motion of a loaded musket, or from the hand of one of the soldiers who supposed that his commander was wounded when he saw his horse take fright? This no man knows. Whether by crime or accident, this explosion created a revolution.

The soldiers, considering themselves attacked, presented their guns; the whole line instantaneously fired. The discharge, reverberated by lofty houses and by the enclosed streets of the centre of Paris, throws the whole boulevard into excitement. The column of the people of the faubourgs falls decimated by the balls. The cries of mortal agony and the groans of the wounded mingle with the affrighted shouts of those who had followed from curiosity, and of flying women and children. They rush into the adjoining houses, into the lower streets, and beneath the archways. By the light of torches, half-extinguished in the blood upon the pavement, heaps of dead bodies are perceived strewing the thoroughfare in all directions. The terrified multitude, supposing themselves pursued, fly with cries of vengeance to the Rue Laffitte, leaving between themselves and the battalions an empty space in silence and darkness.

The multitude supposed that they had been treacherously fired upon in the midst of a demonstration of joy and of

harmony, occasioned by a change of ministry. They turned their rage against ministers, who were so perfidious as to avenge their fall by torrents of blood, and against a king obstinate enough to fire on that very people who had crowned him at the sacrifice of their lives in 1830. The soldiers, on their part, were thrown into consternation by this undesigned massacre. No one had given orders to fire; nothing had been heard but the word of command to fix bayonets, to resist the fire expected from this sudden movement of the people. Darkness, confusion, chance, and precipitation had done the deed. The footing of the soldiery was deluged with blood; the wounded dragged themselves along to die at the feet of their murderers. Tears of despair flowed from the eyes of the general. The officers dropped the point of their swords upon the pavement, deploring this unintentional crime. They foresaw the necessary effect of this involuntary murder of the people, upon the mind of the population of Paris. The commanding officer hastened to prevent this misunderstanding by entering into an explanation with the people. He ordered a lieutenant to convey to the crowd assembled at the corner of the Rue Laffitte expressions of sorrow and explanation.

The officer presents himself at the café Tortoni, which occupies the angle formed by this street and the boulevard. He attempts to address them. The multitude crowd around him and listen. But scarcely has he uttered a few words when a man, armed with a musket, thrust the bystanders aside and put an end to his address. The national guards present themselves under arms, and the murderer is driven away and sent back to his corps.

Meanwhile the news of this event spread, with a rapidity equal to that of the firing, through the whole line of the boulevard and through the one-half of Paris. The body which had marched from the faubourg, scattered and thrown in confusion for a moment, soon regained their order and began to collect their dead. Large waggons, perfectly prepared, were found at hand, even at this advanced hour of the night, as if they had been previously obtained in order to exhibit through Paris those lifeless bodies, the mere sight of which was destined to rekindle the fury of the people. They collect the corpses and arrange them on the waggons, with their arms hanging over the side, with their wounds exposed and their blood dripping on the wheels. They carry them by torch-

light before the office of the *National*, as the symbol of approaching vengeance exhibited on the cradle of the republic.

After a mournful pause, the procession takes its way to the Rue Montmartre, and halts before the office of the *Réforme* paper—a new appeal to the irreconcilable hatred subsisting between the monarchy and the republic. Deep and confused cries, as if smothered by indignation and by the sobs of the procession, rise to the windows of the houses. A man, standing upon the carriage with his feet bathed in blood, raises from time to time, from the lifeless heap, the corpse of a woman, exhibits it to the multitude, and lays it again in its bloody bed. At this sight the pity of the bystanders assumes the character of fury, and they rushed to their houses to arm. The streets become empty. A close array of men, armed with muskets, parades around, and enters the gloomy lanes of the densely-populated centre of Paris. In the direction of the square of St. Martin, the Mount Aventine of the populace, they rapped at every door in succession to summon new combatants to vengeance. At the spectacle of these victims, exhibited to the reproach of royalty, these districts arise, rush where they are summoned by the bells, sound the tocsin, unpave the streets, and raise and multiply barricades. From time to time the noise of firing echoes, and forbids sleep to assuage the anxiety and the indignation of the capital. Peals from church to church carry even to the ears of the king, at the Tuileries, those sounds which were the feverish precursors of to-morrow's insurrection.

BOOK III.

WHILST the insurrection, roused by vengeance and favoured by the darkness of the night, was extending through Paris, the king was meditating, amidst the sounds of the tocsin, on the means of quieting the people, and of putting down the revolution, which he still persisted in regarding as a mere *émeute*. The abandonment of his system of foreign politics, embodied in M. Guizot, M. Duchatel, and the majority of the chambers, who were entirely devoted to his interest, must have been a greater sacrifice than a resignation of his crown. It was the abdication of his theory, of his sagacity, of his

halo of infallibility, before the eyes of Europe, of his family, and of his people. To a great mind it is a small matter to surrender a throne to adverse fortune; but to yield one's renown and moral influence to triumphant opinion and inexorable history, this is the most painful struggle which can agitate the heart of man, for it is one which humbles and which breaks it.

But the king was not one of those rash and blood-thirsty natures which coolly stake the life of a people against the gratification of their pride. He had deeply read history, abundantly traced in his own experience events and their consequences, and much reflected. He did not conceal from himself that a dynasty which should have reconquered Paris by cannon-balls and grape-shot would be perpetually besieged in it by the detestation of the people. Public opinion had ever been his field of battle, it was upon it that he wished to act, and he was desirous of promptly reconciling himself by concessions; but, as an accomplished and a careful statesman, he bargained with himself and with public opinion to obtain this reconciliation at the smallest possible sacrifice of his system and his dignity; he thought that he had many gradations of popularity to descend before descending the steps of the throne. The remainder of the night seemed to him a sufficient interval in which to escape from the exigencies of the situation with which he was threatened by the approaching day.

In this state of mind the king awaited the arrival of M. Molé, with whom he had already had an interview in the course of the day. The events of the evening had inclined him to some important measures. M. Molé, whose nature was prudence and carefulness itself, would, doubtless, three days sooner, have meted out with precision what was required by the preservation of the monarchical principle, to which he had through life been attached, and by the demands imposed by the irritation of parliamentary opposition. But M. Molé, discouraged by the conversation of the preceding morning, kept away.

The king then sent for M. Thiers. This minister, born with the monarchy of July, loaded with the favours of the crown, endeared to parliament by his eloquence, often querulous, and sometimes an agitator at the tribune, but never unforgiving, had pledged his heart and his word to the ser-

vice of the dynasty which had adopted him. The leader of opposition for seven years, M. Thiers could bring over to the king and to monarchy, all that section of the country whose republicanism was only a whim. The name of M. Thiers imported the victory of the opposition over the personal obstinacy of the king; but it did not import victory over royalty itself. Obtruded upon the king in 1840, by an almost factious coalition of different parties in the chamber, M. Thiers had shown that he was not the man to misuse his victory. Master of the king at that time, he had suffered himself in his turn to be honourably conquered by the monarch. He had resigned office into the hands of M. Guizot and of the conservative party, at the very moment when he might have compelled the king to retain him, and have thrown Europe into confusion for the gratification of his ambition. But he did not choose to be the Necker of the Orleans dynasty, though the imprudence of the fused party of the opposition had assigned to him the part of a minister who was master of his sovereign.

He had confined himself to serving the king with the false notion of placing royalty in a citadel by the fortification of the capital, and of agitating Europe by his diplomacy to the very verge of war, in order to attach to his cause a degree of martial popularity in his negotiations with relation to the East. This unfortunate conception of the French cabinet must have issued in the retirement of the ministry, or in plunging France, without allies, into a universal war. M. Thiers, who at a distance had resolutely advanced towards the precipice, had stopped when he saw it at his feet. He did not add a guilty obstinacy to his error; his personal considerations were obliterated before the danger which threatened his country. He would not illustrate his name by the bloodshed of a European war, and this repentance invests his fall with dignity in the eyes of the good. He retired, humbled in the opinion of statesmen, unpopular with extreme and reckless factions, but raised in the esteem of impartial men. Such, at all events, is our conception of his rash accession, his troubled administration, and his honourable retirement. In the estimate of such a statesman, conscience should be admitted to the counsels of history.

M. Thiers, summoned at midnight, did not hesitate to obey the invitation. Providence seemed to have predestined him

to attend at the birth and the obsequies of this monarchy. At the moment when M. Thiers entered the Tuileries, Guizot was again with the king. Deception as to the nature of the movement, and mistaken confidence in the power of his will and in the infallibility of his designs, forbid us to suppose that any retracing of his steps, that any self-reproach, caused the mind of the minister to hesitate at this critical moment. His last act was a defiance of public opinion; by retiring, he provoked it still further. The king and the minister, dissatisfied with the military arrangement intrusted to General Jacqueminot and General Sebastiani, had just signed the nomination of Marshal Bugeaud to the military command of Paris. Marshal Bugeaud, while he possessed the confidence of the army, was at that time most unpopular at Paris; the very mention of his name was the declaration of an uncompromising struggle.

A simple colonel in 1830, and rendered illustrious in that rank by heroic bravery and an intuitive knowledge in the art of war, Marshal Bugeaud had devoted himself without reservation to the new dynasty. As commander of the fortress of Blaye, he had had the Duchess de Berri as his prisoner. The unfortunate captive had quitted her place of confinement, respected as a princess for her heroism, but stained in her honour as a woman. This exhibition of frailty had served the political interests of the Orleans dynasty, but it had given pain to natural feelings. Marshal Bugeaud had undoubtedly neither counselled nor approved that political course which trampled on the ties of relationship, but he had had the misfortune to be placed in embarrassment between his duty as a soldier and his feelings as a man. His position had been constituted a crime. A deep-seated resentment existed towards him from this period in the opinion of the royalists. Since then, he had, as was said, treated some quarters of Paris like a besieged town rather than a capital, in those insurrections which constituted the latest efforts of the republican party. That party, in its curses pronounced against the rigours of the throne, never forgot the name of the marshal. But the general command in Algeria, combining the functions of the civil magistrate, during a period of five years, the subjugation and pacification of Africa, indefatigable campaigns, a battle illustrated by the name of Isly, the government of a province at once supreme and minute, the

solicitude of a father as much as a general for the army, and the attachment of the troops;—all this had reconciled France with the name of Marshal Bugeaud. His intellect appeared to have risen and enlarged with his honours. There was in his exterior, in his style, in his laconic mode of expression, which cut without giving pain, a rough good sense, a military frankness, and an authoritative air, which, while it attracted the attention of the masses, and inspired confidence in his troops, struck terror into his foes. Such a man, placed but the night before at the head of 60,000 men, the army of Paris, would have rendered the victory of the people either impossible or bloody. Summoned at the moment when the minister was giving way, his very name contradicted the proposals of concession; he rendered them suspected on the part of the throne, and unacceptable on that of the people.

Messrs. Thiers and Guizot met at the door of the king's apartment, the one entering and the other leaving it. Both seemed summoned in vain to the aid of a throne, which the politics of both had equally damaged. M. Thiers took upon himself the formation of a ministry, on the condition that Odillon Barrot, the head of the oldest and most powerful opposition, should be a member of it. In order to settle monarchical power, it was necessary entirely to change its position. Parliamentary revolution could alone arrest a popular revolution. The mere instinct of preservation dictated this measure, and the king acceded to it. The new minister perceived at once that the appointment of Marshal Bugeaud to the general command of the troops would be regarded as an additional provocation, and would still more "embroil the fray." He wished for a suspension of hostilities, in order to make terms with public opinion. This suspension he ordered for the following day, and drew up a proclamation to the people. The proclamation, having been intrusted to the police, was placarded before daylight; and satisfied with these pacific measures, of whose efficacy he entertained no doubt, M. Thiers withdrew. Guizot, who had not left the palace, returned to the royal closet, where he remained another hour, in close conversation with the king. The object of this last interview between the monarch and his minister is unknown. It doubtless embraced provisions for the future rather than retrospections of the past. Power-

ful wills are the subjects of delusion, but never of repentance. Such a will was the grand characteristic of Guizot. That will might be broken, but the hand of God himself could not bend it.

At this moment Paris seemed lulled in silence and fatigue. The tocsin had ceased to sound; a silent host, concentrated in the heart of the ancient city, around the square of St. Martin, had broken up the streets, and piled up the pavements, those fortifications of the campaigns of the people; numberless barricades arose in all directions, and the reports of fire-arms reverberated far and wide at the earliest dawn of day. The Tuileries was aroused by the firing. The tardy proclamation, placarded with difficulty in the insurrectionary districts, was not even signed. The people regard it as an anonymous snare, designed to trip them up in the struggle. Instead of disarming, they arm, recruit, rally, and group themselves, here in tumultuary bodies, there in close column. M. Thiers returns to the Tuileries to complete his ministerial arrangements.

The principal members of the constitutional opposition, attached by principle to liberty, and to the throne by devotedness, are joined there by several generals, who offer the aid of their swords in the perils of the day. There were seen arriving in succession, the Marshal Gerard, a veteran of the empire, bound by affection to the royal person, the counsellor and friend of the monarch in his days of difficulty; General Lamoricière, adorned with the lustre which his name had won in Africa, and now the commander of a brigade in the army of Paris; M. Duvergier de Hauranne, whose ambition is rather to be the invisible director than the ostensible possessor of power; M. de Remusat, a minister under M. Thiers; M. Crémieux, M. de Lasteyrie, and several other members of both chambers. The common danger seems to recall to the Tuileries men who for a long period had never crossed its threshhold; an honourable but ineffectual attempt to prop up what was destined to fall; a tumultuous assembly, interrupted every minute by fresh arrivals, and incessantly influenced by contradictory reports from without, touching the dispositions of the capital and the success of the insurrection, holds its sittings in the antechambers of the royal closet. The king, worn out with

anxieties, with watching, and with the disturbances of the night, was reposing, dressed as he was, upon a sofa, amidst the hum of conversations, of which the subjects were his triumph, his defeat, or his abdication.

During the brief interval of the king's repose, every hour brought accessions of strength to the insurrection. The rumour of a massacre of the people in the boulevards had spread throughout the night, and produced a universal influence. The tocsin had spread to the very suburbs that feverish spasm which makes man incapable either of sleep or of quiet. The whole population was on foot, armed, and prepared for extreme measures. The students of Paris, that embodied intelligence of the populace, which naturally assumes the guidance of the blind force of the masses, were in agitation within the walls of their colleges. They forced the gates, sallied forth in companies from the Polytechnic School, fraternized with the company of workmen, and singing the *Marseillaise* and the *Girondins*, descended from their elevated region into the centre of Paris. A general inspiration pervading the mind of the people seemed spontaneously to direct them to those military positions which could most embarrass the troops and control the fortune of the day. Every minute narrowed the circle of iron and stone with which the barricades enclosed the palace and approaches of the Tuileries. It seemed as if the paving of the streets had risen of its own accord, to bury royalty beneath its heaps.

Between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, on the Place du Palais Royal, on the Place de la Concorde, and on the two wings of the Louvre, the troops who had been concentrated there were passively listening to the shouts, and gazing at the attacks of the multitude which thronged around the palace of the Tuileries and the principal hotels of the government. The men wore an air of astonishment, languor, and dulness. The soldier who is not acting loses all the impulse and enthusiasm of the charge: so much easier is it to brave death than to await it. The national guard, evidently divided, showed themselves in small numbers, endeavoured by exhortation to pacify the crowd and check the violence of the insurgents; but yielding to the pressure from without, to the infection of example, and to their own normal habits of discontent, they formed a line to let the insurrection pass, and cheered it on by

their gestures and their cries of "*Vive la réforme*," sometimes swelling its numbers by their defection, sanctioning it with their uniforms, and even arming it with their bayonets.

The Place du Palais Royal had just been taken by the people. That ancient and stately residence of the house of Orleans was being sacked by the conquerors. The same people which had so often issued from its precincts in 1789 as from the cradle of the French revolution, which had repaired to it to seek their king in 1830, returned thither after half a century as the Nemesis of a fatal popularity. The furniture, pictures, and statues were being destroyed, in the spirit rather of rage than of plunder. A battalion of infantry, which had evacuated the court and crossed the square under a fire from the windows, had retired to the station at the Château d'Eu, which was already filled with wounded municipal guards. A capitulation was presently entered into, and they were suffered to withdraw, while the edifice was ravaged by flames, in which not a few wounded men, unable to effect their escape, are said to have perished.

All this passed within a few paces of large bodies of troops, motionless, and stunned as it were to insensibility, under the orders of commanding officers, whom the king and his new ministry had forbidden to fight.

The Place du Carrousel and the court of the Tuileries were occupied by horse, foot, and artillery. Within the palace they seemed to be expecting, in a state of unconcern, that the news of the change of ministry and the promised concessions would of themselves cause the insurrection to subside. M. Odillon Barrot rode through the boulevard, surrounded by a few popular officers of the national guards. He hoped that his name, his presence, his verbal assurance, and his accession to power, would be the visible and sufficient pledge of victory and concession to public opinion. But the lengthened agitation of the people, excited at the banquets of his party, went beyond that honourable and courageous democratic feeling. He was sacrificing himself to the danger of the dynasty. M. Barrot, though universally respected as a man, had been rejected as a peacemaker. He returned in mortification to his residence. He made preparation for assuming, by an appeal to the king, to the ministry of the interior, a power which had already, by anticipation, been broken in his hands. At the same instant a brave

officer, M. de Prebois, inflamed with a desire of stopping the effusion of blood, threw himself, on the spontaneous impulse of his own feelings, before the armed multitude which was inundating the Place du Palais Royal, to attack the Carrousel. "What do you want?" said he; "what is necessary to induce you to lay down these fratricidal arms? Royalty concedes to public opinion all that you can possibly demand. Do you want reform? It is already promised you. Do you stipulate for the dismissal of ministers? They have already retired. Who, then, are the men of your choice and confidence, in whose hands you would consider your liberties secure and your wishes met? The king has just summoned M. Thiers! Does that satisfy you?" "No," shouted the multitude. "What, if he appoints M. Barrot?" "No, no," was again the cry. "Would you, then," rejoined the peacemaker, "lay down your arms, if the king would send for M. de Lamartine?" "Yes, yes," cried the multitude, "Lamartine for ever! That is the man we want. Let the king give us Lamartine, and everything may be presently settled. He is the man of our confidence." To such a degree did the isolation of Lamartine in a confined Chamber of Deputies cause his popularity to burst forth within the deep and settled sentiments of the people.

But neither the king, nor the chamber, nor the opposition party of M. Thiers, nor that of Barrot, nor even the republican party of the *National* or the *Réforme*, ever dreamed of putting forward Lamartine before the people, either as their minister, their peacemaker, or their tribune. He was neither the man of the Tuileries, nor of the opposition journals, nor of the reform banquets, nor of the plots against royalty. He was powerless and unsupported, and did not doubt that he was named by the people in a moment of unpremeditated confidence. M. de Prebois made his escape from the armed groups which surrounded him, and with difficulty regained the Tuileries, where he detailed to some of the courtiers what he had just seen and heard. But the time had passed when it was ossible to discuss the choice of one or another who was absent from the court. The king was compelled to avail himself with precipitation of whomsoever happened to be at hand; and, besides, Lamartine was the last man whom the

king would have summoned to power at a moment of emergency. He liked Lamartine little, and he understood him less. Herein lay the real cause of the estrangement.

The family of M. de Lamartine, on his mother's side, had under the old *régime* been adherents of the house of Orleans; from it they had received both honours and favours, and Lamartine himself had been educated in sentiments of grateful respect for that branch of the royal family. He had never forgotten those affectionate recollections of that royal house which had been instilled into his mind by his mother. But his father's family were constitutional royalists, and consequently opposed to those revolutionary opinions and pretensions which had placed a usurped crown on the head of the duke of Orleans. Nevertheless, at the return of the Bourbons in 1815, the father of M. de Lamartine had presented his youthful son to the duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis Philippe, and had requested for him the office of aide-de-camp or staff-officer about his person. The prince, thinking M. de Lamartine too young, or wishing rather to attach to himself some families who had been devoted to the empire, had refused. Subsequently M. de Lamartine had seen the prince from time to time, but without in any degree entertaining the hope of power or sharing the confidential position of those who were worshipping the rising sun. Having been at a later period elected to the chamber, he maintained, with respect to the new monarch, a perfect independence and a respectful reserve.

The king doubtless concluded that M. de Lamartine was either an enemy of his dynasty, or that he was an insulated political theorist, who preferred chimeras to the substantial realities of power. From this time the prince, although the member sometimes did homage to him, and not unfrequently good service at the tribune, had always spoken of Lamartine as a dreamer, always hovering above the world and never alighting; a man whose vision was incapable of distinguishing shadows from realities. In this respect the king entertained the views of the middle and commercial class. There are certain men whom these can never forgive for not holding the platitudes of the vulgar, or sharing in the vices of the times. The name of Lamartine was the last which the lips of the king could pronounce. The people alone could think of him;

and even they only repeated his name by chance, and as an echo returns an expression which has been uttered.

At the moment when that name was resounding for the first time amidst the reports of musketry on the Place du Carrousel, and in the vestibule of the palace, Guizot, who had kept in an inner apartment of the king to the last minute, as if watching for a symptom of the returning fortunes of royalty, secretly escaped from the Tuileries, in order to fly from a revolution which had been provoked by his name. Being recognized as he issued from a wicket which communicates with the Carrousel, he was compelled by some shots fired at him to retrace his steps, and took sanctuary in a part of the Louvre which was occupied by the staff officers. There he remained in concealment until the darkness of night allowed of his seeking a safer asylum at the house of a female artist whom pity induced to receive him. He could descry through the open windows of the Louvre the occupation of the Carrousel by the populace, the defection of the national guards, the passiveness of the troops, the ineffectual efforts of the generals, the last retrospective effort of the king, the flight of the whole royal family on foot, and the short and mortal struggle of that dynasty to which he had consecrated so much of effort, so much earnestness, so much of character, and such ruinous pertinacity of devotion. What a spectacle for a statesman! What a recapitulation of a life condensed into an hour! How many errors might not be expiated; how much of revenge might not have been satisfied, and even melted into pity, by that crash before the eyes of a man, of all the purposes of a life. These purposes, however, of the statesman, whether right or wrong, all tended directly to these disasters and to this pitiable result. There often remains after a while to statesmen, wrecked by such storms, only the consciousness of having been misled with right intentions.

Meanwhile, what was occurring at the palace amidst the ever rising deluge of the insurrection? The king had given orders that the troops should cease firing, and only maintain their position. The Marshal Bugeaud, who had already mounted his horse to fight, was recalled by the announcement of the cessation of his functions as commander-in-chief of Paris. M. Thiers imagined that in thus putting a stop to resistance, he had also disarmed aggression. The duke de

Nemours repeated in all directions the order to stop hostilities. The duchess of Orleans, in her own apartments, had abandoned herself to the anxieties of her mind and the perils of her position. The queen, in whose veins was the blood of Maria Theresa, of Marie-Antoinette, and of the queen of Naples, exhibited that masculine courage which neglects political considerations. "Go," said she, to the king, "and show yourself to the disheartened troops, and to the irresolute national guard. I will place myself in the balcony, with my grandchildren and my princess daughters, and I will see you die in a manner worthy of yourself, of your throne, and of our common misfortunes." The countenance of this beloved wife, and of this so long happy mother, was animated for the first time with the energy of her twofold concern for her husband and for her children. In her anxiety for their honour, all her tenderness for them became concentrated and impassioned. Their life came but second in her love. Her grey locks, contrasting with the fire of her eyes and the animated flush of her cheek, impressed upon her countenance something at once tragical and sacred,—the combination of the Athalia and the Niobe. The king soothed her with expressions of confidence in his own experience and wisdom, which had never yet deceived him. At eleven o'clock he felt so sure of controlling the insurrection, and of reducing the crisis to such a change of ministry as would be acceptable to the people, that he came down with a smiling countenance, and in a negligent dress, to the dining-room, to partake of the family breakfast.

Scarcely had the meal commenced when the door opened, and two intimate and trusty counsellors of the crown hastily entered, intended, it was said, by M. Thiers, for ministerial office. These were Messrs. de Rémusat and Duvergier de Hauranne. They requested a private audience of the duke de Montpensier. The prince rose, made a gesture of unconcern to the king and queen, and ran to the two messengers; but their majesties, unable to restrain their impatience, rose at the same moment, and interrogated Rémusat by their looks. "Sire," said he, "your majesty must know the truth; to conceal it at such a moment would be to render one's-self an accomplice in the result. Your unconcern proves that you are under a delusion. Three hundred paces from your palace the dragoons are surrendering their swords

and the soldiers their muskets to the people." "Impossible!" cried the king, drawing back with astonishment. A staff officer, M. de l'Aubépin, respectfully replied to the king, "I saw it."

At these words the whole family arose from the table. The king retired to his chamber to put on his uniform, and mounted his horse. His two sons, the dukes de Nemours and Montpensier, and a body of faithful generals, accompanied him. He rode slowly past the line of troops, and before the scanty battalion of national guards who occupied the Place du Carrousel and the court of the Tuileries. The air of the king was downcast; that of the troops cold; that of the national guard irresolute. A few cries of "*Vive le roi*," mingled with shouts of "*Vive la reforme*," issued from the ranks. The queen and the princesses, standing at a balcony of the palace, like Marie-Antoinette, on the morning of the 10th of August, followed the king and the princes with their eyes and with their hearts. They saw the military salute of the soldiery as they presented arms along the front of the line, and heard the confused echo of cries, the words of which they were unable to distinguish. They thought it a return of loyal enthusiasm, and withdrew in exultation to their apartments.

But the king could not mistake the coldness of his reception. He had marked the restless and the hostile glances; he had heard the cries of "*Vive la réforme*" bursting, like the shell of revolt, at the very foot of his horse, and reverberating to the gates of his palace. He returned dispirited and perplexed, fearing alike to provoke or to await the struggle —in that state of compelled passiveness which seizes on men who are encompassed on all sides by equal difficulties—situations in which action alone can save, but in which action itself is impossible. Despair is the presiding genius of desperate circumstances. The misfortune of the king was, that he had not felt it sooner. He had been habituated to good fortune, and the last hour of his reign was beguiled by the prosperity of a long life.

M. Thiers, a witness of this accelerated catastrophe, waited upon the king to give back the power which was escaping from his hand ere he had grasped and exercised it. He saw the fugitive popularity of a single night glide away from his name to that of another. To the king he recommended M. Barrot alone. It was impossible to go to a greater length

of opposition without the surrender of the monarchy. M. Barrot had already experienced before the people of the Boulevard the powerlessness and the frailty of a name. He devoted himself, nevertheless, to the king, and to the task of pacification, without considering that he was about to throw away in a few hours a popularity of eighteen years. This devotedness to the monarch at the moment when fortune deserted him shows a generosity of character and of courage which must exalt any man in the opinion of future times. It may be the theme of raillery for the frivolous creatures of the day, but it will be his title to esteem with an impartial posterity. Informed in a few moments of his nomination by the king, he did not hesitate to go and take possession of the ministry of the home department, and to grasp the shattered helm of the state.

At that moment the king himself constituted the whole of the council at the Tuileries. Three administrations had melted away in his hands in a few hours,—that of Guizot, of Molé, and of Thiers. The queen, the princes, the deputies, the generals, the subordinate officers of the army and of the national guard, pressed around him. They besieged him with information and opinions, interrupted by fresh information and contrary suggestions. There was paleness on the cheeks and tears in the eyes of the ladies. The children of the royal family affected the hearts of all by the careless unconsciousness expressed in their countenances. All betrayed in their air and gestures, their agitation and their language, that oscillation of thought and resolution which gives time to misfortune and discourages fidelity. The doors and windows of the lower apartments opening upon the court made the soldiers and the national guard almost present in eye and ear at this scene of distress, by which their dispositions might well have been shaken.

It was necessary to cast a veil over the disordered thoughts of the monarch and the confused state of his family, lest a contagious despondency should enervate the military. A citizen of the national guard, who was on duty beneath the portico of the royal apartment, was melted to tears at the spectacle. Belonging to the opposition, and almost a republican, but a man of sensibility, and above all of loyalty, he desired progress without aspiring to destruction. Least of all did he desire that the cause of liberty should owe its triumph to a cowardly desertion of an old man, his wife, and

his children, on the part of those who were charged with their protection. He accosted a lieutenant-general who had command of the troops. "General," said he, in a low voice, and with an emotion which gave to entreaty the tone of command, "draw off your soldiers out of sight of these mournful scenes; it is not desirable that the military should witness the agony of kings." The general understood the meaning of these words, and ordered the battalions to draw back.

The king, returning to his cabinet, was listening again to the alternate suggestions of Thiers, Lamoricière, of Rémusat, and of the duke de Montpensier, his youngest son, when a prolonged firing burst forth at the extremity of the Carrousel, in the direction of the Place du Palais Royal. At this moment the door of the cabinet opened, and M. de Girardin rushed in to the king. M. de Girardin, who had not long since been a deputy, and was still a journalist, less a member of opposition than a man of settled principles, and less a revolutionist than the hero of a crisis, had thrown himself into the current where danger, rapid changes of fortune, and great events attracted him. He was one of the few characters who ever seek an opportunity of coming upon the stage in the moment of danger, from that restlessness which belongs to their activity, their energy, and their talent, and from the consciousness of being equal to great occasions. M. de Girardin entertained neither a fanatical predilection for royalty nor an antipathy to republicanism; all he loved in politics was action. Ambitious of intellectual supremacy rather than of position, of playing a part rather than of possessing power, he had hastened to the palace with no other summons than that of his own impulse. As editor of the *Presse* he had obtained a European notoriety and publicity in Paris, which placed him in constant intercourse with public opinion. He was one of those men who think aloud among the people, and whose every thought constitutes the event or controversy of the day. Antiquity only boasted the orators of the forum — journalism has created these orators of the hearth.

M. de Girardin, in that brief and abrupt style, which economizes moments and cuts off reply, informed the king, in a tone of respectful sadness, that the time for groping after names for a cabinet was passed; that the crisis was sweeping away

the throne and its counsels together, and that there was only one word which corresponded to the urgency of the occasion, and that word was "ABDICATION."

The king was in one of those momentary moods in which truths can strike without offending; nevertheless, he let fall from his hand the pen with which he was arranging on paper the names of the ministry. He would fain have discussed the subject, but Girardin, hasty as the crisis, and unpitying as the evidence, allowed of no discussion. "Sire," said he, "the abdication of the king, or the abdication of the monarchy. Such is the dilemma. The crisis does not permit you a single instant to seek a third alternative."

With these words M. de Girardin presented to the king a copy of a proclamation which he had written beforehand, and had already sent to the press. This proclamation, with the conciseness of a fact, contained only four lines, with which it was necessary to strike the eye of the people instantly and in every direction:—

Abdication of the king.
Regency of the duchess of Orleans.
Dissolution of the chamber.
General amnesty.

The king hesitated; the duke de Montpensier, his son, carried away, doubtless, by the energetic countenance, gesture, and language of Girardin, pressed his father with more precipitation, perhaps, than consisted with the respect due from a son to royalty, age, and misfortune. The pen was presented, and the king was deprived of his sovereignty with an impatience which did not wait for his own full and free conviction. The harshness of fortune towards the king ought not to be recognized in the precipitation of the council. On the other hand, blood was flowing, the throne was rocking, the very life of the king and his family was in danger. The anxiety and kind consideration of his counsellors of itself explains all. History should always take that view which is least humiliating and afflictive to the human heart.

At the sound of the firing, Marshal Bugeaud mounted his horse and went to interpose between the combatants. A thousand cries entreat him not to show himself, as his presence and his name would only be the signal for redoubled carnage. He insists and advances, braves the infuriated looks

and arms of the multitude, and returns without having gained anything but admiration for his bravery. He dismounts in the court of the Tuileries, but already the command had passed from his hands; the duke de Nemours had been invested with it. The young General Lamoricière, to whose name belonged as yet only the *prestige* of his valour in Africa, galloped across the Carrousel; he gained the outposts amidst a shower of bullets; he faced the first ranks of the combatants. Whilst he harangued them, he was stormed with shots, his horse rolled under him, and his sword was snapped in the fall. The general, who was wounded in the hand, and dressed in a neighbouring house, remounted his horse and crossed the Carrousel in silence to announce to the king that the troops were worn out, and that the multitude was inaccessible to counsel. On the heels of Lamoricière the people rushed from the Rue de Rohan, and overspread the Carrousel. They hold a parley with the soldiers. The latter retire in disorder, and throw themselves into the court of the Tuileries. Amidst the turmoil of the rising insurrection, the king wrote these words:—"I abdicate in favour of my grandson, the count de Paris, and I trust that he will be more fortunate than I."

To the subject of the regency the king made no reference. Was it out of respect to the law which he caused to be passed in favour of the regency of his son, the duke de Nemours? or was it in order still to leave a last concession to be debated between the people and the ministry for the purpose of gaining time? or was it for the purpose of retaining to his family after him a jealous power over the mother of the count de Paris, his grandchild, which, in spite of the feelings of nature and the dictates of true policy, he himself had never been disposed to resign? This no one knows. M. Thiers had gone with the wishes of the king, when he joined a party of the opposition in deprecating the regency of the duchess of Orleans. M. de Lamartine had vigorously maintained the right of mothers. "There is no sound policy," cried he, "that is opposed to nature." He had been conquered by a small majority through the combined influence of the court and of its adherents in the opposition. The event sadly confirmed the justice of his views. The duke de Nemours, the proposed regent, though young, brave, well educated, and laborious,

was not a favourite of the people. Nature, while she gave him intelligence and the precocious sagacity and courage of his family, had denied him that expansion of feeling which attracts the hearts of others. Distance was not favourable to such qualities as his; they required a near point of view. This may not be a disadvantage in a private individual, but it is a misfortune for a prince. *Prestige* is necessary to every one who would take a position at the head of the people, whereas the duke de Nemours only possessed esteem. They saw in him a continuation of the virtues and the defects of his father, and under him they would have had no change of the reign, but only of the monarch. On that change, however, the people were resolved.

This error, which the king and M. Thiers committed in wresting the regency from the young mother of an infant king, weighed fatally on this last hour of the reign. Louis Philippe and his minister perished under the unforeseen consequences of this act. If instead of laying before the people that ambiguous abdication which made no provision for the regency, and which suffered contending parties to catch sight of the duke de Nemours behind the formal abdication, M. de Girardin, the bearer of the intelligence, had represented before the imagination and the heart of the nation, a young widow and a young mother reigning by popular favour in the name of her son; if this beloved princess, untainted with the shadow of a charge, had herself appeared in the court of the palace, and presented her child to the adoption of the country, there is no doubt that nature would have triumphed over the people. Natural feeling would have found an accessory in the heart and in the countenance of every combatant. So true it is, that the faults of kings and of statesmen lie dormant for a time, but rise unexpectedly to crush them at a time when they are supposed to have been forgotten.

But the duchess of Orleans, even at this last hour, was, as it were, in exile, with her children, in the apartments of the palace which were assigned to her. The king feared the influence of this young, beautiful, and thoughtful lady; clad in her widow's dress, irreproachable in her conduct, a voluntary exile from the world, lest the involuntary radiation of her loyalty, her gracefulness, and her talents, should attract to her the attention of the country, and make her the object

of the jealousy of the court. This princess lived in retirement, with her maternal affections and her sorrows. She could not, however, but perceive the last faults of the reign, and become alarmed for the future prospects of her children. She must, too, have painfully felt the dynastic harshness of that regency bill, which had been proposed and carried against her, and which, together with the political instruction of her son, took from her the opportunity of exhibiting to the world the high qualities with which she was endowed. But these sorrows brooded in her heart, without transpiring in outward expression. Not a single complaint had ever escaped her lips. She showed her pride by her resignation, and her merit by her silence. M. de Lamartine, the defender, without her knowledge, of her natural rights in the discussion on the regency bill, had never had any intercourse with this princess. He had never even received from her any token of satisfaction or of gratitude for the disinterested homage he had rendered to her at the tribune. It was thought that, for some time, M. Thiers, dissatisfied with the court, and repenting perhaps of the part he had taken in favour of the regency of the duke de Nemours, turned his thoughts towards this princess. It is possible, that his growing disaffection towards the princes had brought this statesman to reflection, and that he hoped eventually to rekindle the monarchical feeling through popular sympathy with the woman and the child. This cannot be affirmed: but nature herself seems sufficiently to suggest the idea that a well-regulated mind would return to her influence after having strayed from it.

As for Girardin, he had sustained with great force and perseverance, in his journal, the system which at the tribune Lamartine had supported with his oratory. Since then he had once seen the duchess of Orleans, but from that brief and single interview he had brought away his conviction still further confirmed by admiration for this princess. Not a word, however, from her had indicated a mortified ambition or a concealed sorrow. Her griefs were unmingled, not only with all political intrigue, but even with the feelings of ambition. She had exhibited the calmness and disinterestedness of a mother who entirely forgets herself amidst her recollections of her husband and her hopes for her son. Still it is

supposable, that in extorting so precipitately from the king that vague abdication which made no transfer to a successor, Girardin, and Thiers with him, had an involuntary reference to the regency of the young widow, and expected to hear her proclaimed by the voice of the people.

If such an idea was ever conceived, it died before its birth; it was dissipated by the effect of a mistake. Through forgetfulness, occasioned by the hurry natural at such a moment, no signature had been appended to that proclamation, which M. de Girardin threw to the crowd on the Carrousel and Place du Palais Royal. In vain did he brave fire and bayonets to regain possession of this proposal of terms. The crowd, after having read it, seeing a mere manuscript promise of abdication, unaccompanied by any sanction, took it for a stratagem and advanced as before. The son of Admiral Baudin, who had left the palace with Girardin to distribute the proclamation on the Place de la Concorde, was met by the same incredulity and the same dangers. The king was burning with impatience. The arrival of an aged servant, who had become a friend of the king without ceasing to be the friend of the Parisian people, afforded him a last ray of hope. It was the Marshal Gerard, a man of simple and even antiquated style, who had passed from the battle-fields of the empire to this court, without having lost in it the recollection of freedom. Heartily devoted to the king for a long time, his principles had lost nothing of their complexion or of their independence. Brave as a soldier, popular as a leader, Marshal Gerard was just the man for the last hour. "Go before these multitudes," said the king, "and acquaint them with my abdication."

The marshal, in a morning dress of rustic cut and faded colour, and wearing a round hat, mounted the horse that Marshal Bugeaud had just left in the court. General Duchant, a brilliant officer of the empire, celebrated for his martial beauty and for his bravery, accompanies Marshal Gerard. They emerge from the gateway and are received with cheering and cries of "*Vivent les braves!*" The aged marshal recognizes in the crowd Colonel Dumoulin, an old officer of the emperor, an adventurous man, whom the giddy din of firing attracted and whom action intoxicated. He called him by his name. "Come," said he, "my dear Dumoulin; here is

the abdication of the king and the appointment of the duchess of Orleans as regent, of which I am the bearer to the people. Assist me in inducing them to accept it." Saying this, the marshal held out a paper to Colonel Dumoulin; but the republican Lagrange, more agile than Dumoulin, snatched the proclamation from the general's hand and disappeared without communicating its purport to the people. That single movement deprived the dynasty of Orleans at once of the throne and of the regency. Before the name of a woman the advancing republic might perhaps have paused.

Meanwhile, the king, who had promised M. de Girardin, his son, and his ministers, who surrounded him with panic, to abdicate the throne, had not yet formally executed that abdication; he seemed to be waiting for another council more in sympathy with his temporizing habit, and still to be parleying with necessity. One circumstance failed to favour his delay, and to reseat him and his family on the throne. Marshal Bugeaud, riding again across the Tuileries at a rapid pace, returning from a fresh observation, threw himself from his horse, and entered almost by force the cabinet of the king, which was in the utmost disorder, filled with defunct ministers, and with those who were for the time in office, congregated around the monarch. He made his way through these groups, and approached the king.

Let us go back a single night, and see what part Marshal Bugeaud had acted up to this time. The marshal, as we have already seen, had held for a short time the general command of the national guard and the troops. At two o'clock in the morning he had been waited upon with the intelligence of this appointment. Immediately he mounted his horse, and rode to his staff at head-quarters, to arrange his plan and give his orders. The staff officers' quarters were empty. Generals, officers, and soldiers were all reposing from the fatigues of the two preceding days, asleep in their cloaks, on the Place du Louvre, or in the apartments, and on the roofs of that immense building. The marshal had lost a great deal of time before he could summon to him a few generals and staff officers, and acquaint himself with the number and position of the troops under his command. The number of these troops, which was supposed to be at least 50,000 men, did not exceed an effective body of 35,000.

Deducting the number of soldiers appointed to guard the forts and barracks, and those who were not in active service, from whatever causes, not more than 25,000 fighting men of all arms were found available;—a sufficient corps against scattered and confused masses, not consolidated by any discipline, and which melt away as fast as they form; but troops already worn out by forty-eight hours of standing in the mud, benumbed with cold, and exhausted with hunger, harassed by doubt, uncertain where lay the right, ashamed of deserting the king, horrified at making war upon the people, and looking for their guidance to the attitude of the national guard, which itself vacillated between the two armies.

The marshal, with his intuitive military knowledge, ripened by reflection, and confirmed by experience in the management of troops, knew that inaction is the great bane of the *morale* of armies; he had instantaneously changed the plan, if plan it could be called, which had till then been followed. He had summoned to him the two generals who commanded these forces. The one was Tiburce Sabastiani, brother of the marshal of that name, a cool and resolute officer; the other was General Bedeau, who had obtained distinction in Africa, and whose name was greatly respected by his companions in arms at Paris. He had ordered them to form two columns of 3,500 each, and to advance to the centre of Paris, the one by the streets which skirt the boulevards and issue at the Hôtel de Ville, the other by the streets which skirt the quays. Each of these columns was furnished with artillery. The generals were to carry all the barricades which they encountered in their progress, to demolish these insurrectionary fortresses, to sweep the multitude before them, and to concentrate on the Hôtel de Ville the decisive position of the day. General Lamoricière was to command the reserve of about 9,000 men in the immediate vicinity of the palace.

The king and M. Thiers had already sent for and appointed Lamoricière, as a man of distinction, young and ardent, and impatient to signalize himself, before the arrival of the marshal at head-quarters. This young general and Marshal Bugeaud had had some serious disagreements in Africa, and the association of the chief and of the lieutenant might have occasioned some collisions and dangers, had they not both subordinated their resentments to their devotion to the king. This

they had done with a soldierly cordiality which was worthy of them both. The marshal, observing Lamoricière in the group of officers under his command, had advanced to him, and, offering him his hand, had said, "I hope, my dear lieutenant, that we have left our differences in Africa, and that here we have only mutual esteem, and our common devotion of our duty as soldiers." Lamoricière, well qualified to understand such language, was moved by it to tears. The tears of the soldier are but the tears of courage. Moved to the heart, Lamoricière had surrendered his whole being to the inspiration of the marshal.

The two columns had set off at daybreak. Every moment staff officers, disguised as civilians or as artisans, reported their progress, and other intelligence, to the commander-in-chief. These columns encountered no resistance till they arrived at the approaches of the Hôtel de Ville; they made their way through the crowd, which opened before them, with cries of "The army for ever!" "Reform for ever!" Unresisted they cleared away the commencements of barricades, which seemed to vanish beneath their feet. Fresh armed but inoffensive masses of the people presented themselves in their way at all the great *termini* of the streets. With no pretext for fighting them, the two generals did not dare to disperse them by the bayonet or the cannon. The troops and the people having been thus brought together, conversations took place, and false intelligence was circulated. The peaceful instincts which stir in the breasts of citizens of the same country, whose interests are identical; the horror of useless bloodshed at the Hôtel de Ville, when, perhaps, at the same moment a reconciliation had been effected at the Tuileries by political negotiation, or by the abdication of the king, paralyzed their orders in the hearts of the generals, and the weapons in the hands of the soldiers.

The marshal, compelled by repeated commands from the king, had sent orders to his lieutenants to return. General Bedeau had made his battalions fall back; some of the soldiers, it is said, reversed their muskets in the presence of the populace, as a token of fraternal disarmament. Their return thus through Paris had the appearance of defection, or of the vanguard of the revolution itself marching to the Tuileries. The troops, already conquered by this one movement, had returned, uninjured, indeed, but powerless, to resume their posts on the

Place de la Concorde, in the Champs Elysées, and in the Rue de Rivoli. The French army, when humbled, is an army no longer. It now had in its heart the mortification of this retreat, and there it still preserves it.

The marshal, reduced to inactivity by his duty to the king and the ministers, had hoped to stem by his presence and his orders the masses who were endeavouring to take possession of the Carrousel. Twice, as we have seen, he had rode to their front, and twice had been received with cries of "Long live the conqueror of Isly," and had succeeded in persuading them to await the result of the deliberation of ministers. Once only, when insulted with the name of the "butcher of the people" in the Rue Transnonain, he had confronted the vociferator, wiped away the insult, and shown that he had been no party to the transactions of those ill-fated days, and thus had regained his respect and popularity with the masses.

Lamoricière, on his part, had rushed single-handed and on horseback into the turbid waves of this same multitude, had harangued them, and had returned vanquished, but still honoured, from his attempts of pacification.

Amidst these scenes on the Carrousel, the insurgents, finding the Boulevard and the Rue de la Madeleine unguarded, had filled it up to the entrance of the Place de la Concorde, burnt the guard-houses which skirt the Champs Elysées, fired on the sentries, and massacred the municipal guards, who were obnoxious to the populace, as being the ordinary repressive force of all the agitations and *émeutes* of Paris. These unfortunate soldiers were dying beneath the weapons of their murderers at the sentries and in the hotel of the minister of marine. Their cries of distress summoned defenders and protectors. Battalions and squadrons took up their position in the immediate vicinity. Officers and soldiers begged for the word of command to charge the murderers. The commanding officers, fettered by their orders, hesitated to repulse these assailants, and confined themselves to protecting the lives of the municipal guards with their sabres. So afraid were the ministers to afford by their resistance a pretext for the universal insurrection of Paris. But this unavenged bloodshed by no means extinguished, but rather kindled, the conflagration, and at once destroyed the impression both of victory and defeat.

It was now eleven o'clock, and reports were brought in

rapid succession to the marshal that the king had revoked his appointment, and that Marshal Gerard had succeeded to the command. He had yielded with reluctance to these orders; he had hastened to the king to represent to him the danger of abdicating his post at the moment of defeat. While entering the Tuileries he was met by the news of the king's abdication. He had rushed, as we have seen, into the royal closet, and was now at the side of the king.

His majesty was sitting at the table with a pen in his hand; he was deliberately writing his abdication with a calligraphic carefulness and symmetry, and in capital letters, which seemed to carry on the very document the majesty of the royal hand. The ministers of the last evening, of the night, and of to-day—courtiers, officious advisers, princes, princesses, the children of the royal family—filled the apartments with a disordered throng, with conversation, with whispers, and with agitated groups; their countenances wore the expression of that consternation which precipitates measures, and breaks through the dignity of character. It was one of those last critical hours when hearts exhibit themselves naked to the gaze; when the mask of rank, of title, and of dignity, falls from the countenance, and exhibits man's nature in the undignified attitude of fear. High above the hum of the apartment was heard the reverberation of the firing from the further extremity of the court of the Louvre. The practised ear of the marshal distinctly caught the whiz of a ball which penetrated the roof of the palace. He did not communicate to those around him the ominous meaning which that sound conveyed to himself. The ancestral palace of kings might become a field of battle, and in his view this was the time to fight, and not to capitulate. "What, Sire," said he to the king; "do they dare to recommend your abdication in the very thick of a fight? Do they not know then that they are leading you to more than ruin—to disgrace? Abdication amidst the calmness and the freedom of deliberation is sometimes the safety of an empire and the wisdom of a king; but abdication in the midst of firing looks like weakness. And more than that," added he, "that weakness which your enemies would interpret as cowardice would not avail you now. The battle is fairly commenced. There is no means of announcing this abdication to the dense masses that are rising, and whose attack cannot now be arrested

by any proclamation published from the head of your army. Let us first re-establish order, and then deliberate." "Then," said the king, rising as he spoke, and convulsively grasping the hands of the marshal, "you counsel me not to abdicate?" "Yes, Sire," replied the brave soldier, with respectful earnestness; "I take upon myself to advise you not to yield, at least at this moment, to a course which can save nothing, and which may lose all."

The king exhibited a perfect radiance of joy at seeing his own feelings shared and confirmed by the decided and martial language of his general. "Marshal," said he, with much emotion, and almost in a suppliant tone, "pardon me, that I have broken your sword in your hands, by cancelling your appointment in favour of Gerard: but he is more popular than you." "Sire," replied General Bugeaud, "so that it saves your majesty, I am far from envying him your confidence."

The king withdrew from the table, and seemed to renounce all thought of abdication. The groups of counsellors around him appeared thunderstruck. Some of these had advised it from a consideration of their own safety, some for the safety of royalty, some perhaps from a secret motive of ambition. All saw in it at least one of those alternatives which occasion a diversion at critical moments, and relieve the mind from the pressure of continued uncertainty. The duke de Montpensier, the king's son, who seemed influenced more than all the rest by impatience for a settlement of the question, came nearer to his father, plied him by entreaties and by gestures, which were almost imperative, to resume his seat and sign his abdication. Those gestures and that language remained in the memory of all who were present, as one of the most painful impressions of the scene. The queen alone, amidst the confusion and amidst this predominance of timid counsels, preserved that dignity, that calmness, and that resolution, that befitted her position as a wife, a mother, and a queen. After having resisted with the marshal the proposal of an immediate abdication, she yielded to the pressure from without, she retired into the recess of a window, when she gazed upon the king with indignation on her lips and tears in her eyes.

The king left his abdication to his ministers, and rejoined the queen in the recess. He was no longer king, but none else

had legal authority to assume the crown. Already the people no longer advanced to a conflict with the king, but with monarchy. In a word, the abdication came either too soon or too late. Marshal Bugeaud again respectfully called the attention of his majesty to this circumstance before taking his departure. "I know it, marshal," said the king, "but I am unwilling that any more blood should flow for my sake." The king was a man of personal courage. This remark, therefore, was not a pretext to cover his retreat or his cowardice. This one expression ought to form the consolation of exile, and to mitigate the verdict of history. What God approves, men should not condemn.

The king took off his uniform, laid his sword upon the table, put on a plain black coat, and gave his arm to the queen, leaving the palace to the new *régime*. The silence of this last moment was only interrupted by the stifled sobs of the spectators. Without any striking prestige as a king, this prince was beloved as a man; his long experience inspired men's minds with confidence, while his attentive affability attached to him the hearts of all. His old age, deserted for the first time by fortune, excited commiseration. Political superstition stood aghast at the sight of this last fugitive from the throne. It seemed as if with him the wisdom of the empire was retiring. The queen, leaning upon his arm, seemed proud to fall at her post with the husband and the monarch who had been, and who remained without a throne, and without a country on earth. The aged couple, inseparable in prosperity and in exile, presented a more affecting spectacle, with their whitened hair, than a couple of young sovereigns entering for the first time the palace of their sovereignty and their prospects. Hope and happiness are attractive, but age and misfortune are majestic. The one dazzles, the other melts. Even republicans would have dropped a tear at the departure of this father and mother, driven from the hearth where they thought to leave their children. The spectators kissed their hands and touched their dress. Brave soldiers, who an hour afterwards were acting in the service of the republic, such as Admiral Baudin and Lamoricière, bedewed the footsteps of the king with tears. The queen, it is said, while receiving these affectionate farewells, could not restrain a reproach to M. Thiers, whose indirect opposition to

the king had deeply wounded her womanly heart. "Oh! Sir," she said, "you did not deserve so good a king; his only revenge is to retire before his enemies." The ancient minister of a dynasty, which he had in effect propped up and overthrown, respected the grief of a woman and a mother, stifled all reply in his heart, and bowed in silence to this parting address. Did these words leave in the minds of the bystanders a remorse for a too personal opposition to the crown, or pity for the short-sightedness of courts? Their silence only knows.

At the moment of crossing the threshold of his cabinet, the king, turning back to the duchess of Orleans, who had risen to follow him, exclaimed, "Remain here, Helena." The princess threw herself at his feet, conjuring him to take her with him. She forgot royalty, and thought only of the father of her husband. She was no longer a princess, but she was a mother. Her entreaties, however, were in vain.

M. Cremieux, an eloquent and an active member of the opposition, had hastened to the palace to assist with his advice at the last crisis, and to interpose between the crown and civil war. On hearing these words, he rushed to the king, and seizing his arm, said, in a tone which compelled a reply, "It is perfectly understood, Sire, is it not, that the regency belongs to the duchess of Orleans?" "No," replied the king; "the law gives the regency to my son, the duke de Nemours. It is not my province to alter a law; it is for the nation to do in this respect what may comport with its wish and its safety." So saying, he walked on, leaving a problem behind him.

One of the solicitudes of his reign had had reference to the regency, which had been decreed to his son. He was humiliated at the thought of leaving the government for a series of years in the hands of a female, who was not a member of his family. Perhaps, too, his far-sighted sagacity suggested a fear that the difference of religion which existed between the duchess and the nation foreboded troubles to the state, and prejudices against his grandson. The king, naturally of a meditative cast of mind, had had more than twenty years of privacy, of exile, and of reflection on the future. Prudence was his genius, but it was also his defect. It may be said with truth, that in three instances an excess of regal prudence had been a principal cause of his fall: the fortifications of Paris, which threatened liberty from a distance; the marriage of the

duke de Montpensier in Spain, which was ominous of a war of succession; and, lastly, the conferring of the regency on the duke de Nemours, which deprived at that moment the monarchical cause of that infallible prestige of popularity, which arises from the innocence of a young lady and from natural interest in a child.

The duchess on her knees before the king, remained for a long time in that attitude. A messenger had been sent to order one of the royal carriages, but the mob had already burnt them on the Place du Carrousel, and the groom who had gone to order one had been killed by a discharge from the insurgents. It was necessary, therefore, to abandon this mode of departure. The king left by the door of a subterraneous passage, which leads from his apartments to the garden of the Tuileries. He crossed on foot that same garden which Louis the Sixteenth, Marie Antoinette, and their children, had crossed on the morning of the 10th of August, in their flight to the National Assembly,—that path to the scaffold, or to exile, which monarchs never retrace.

The queen comforted her husband with a few words, uttered in a low tone. A group of faithful servants, of officers, of women and children, followed in silence. Two little hackney carriages, engaged without selection by an officer in disguise, on the public stand in the street, drew up at the exit of the Tuileries, at the bottom of the terrace. Here the nerves of the queen, over-excited by the prolonged crisis she had suffered, altogether failed her at the last moment; she gasped for breath, tottered, and fell. The king was obliged to raise her in his arms, and place her in the carriage, which he himself immediately entered. The duchess de Nemours, the ornament and beauty of the court, bathed in tears, entered the second carriage with her children, seeking with a restless eye for her husband, who was still engaged amidst the difficulties and dangers of his duty. A squadron of cuirassiers surrounded the two carriages, which set off at full speed along the Quay de Passy. At the extremity of the Champs Elysées a few shots were fired from a distance at the *cortège*, and two horses of the escort were killed before the king's eyes. They hastened forward in the direction of St. Cloud.

The duke de Nemours had remained with the duchess of Orleans, more attentive to the condition of that princess and

of his nephews, who were intrusted to his care, than to his own ambition. That unpopular prince showed himself deserving of popularity, if only for his disinterestedness and his courage. The Carrousel and the courts were from this time undefended. The palace, if forcibly occupied, might be the tomb of the duchess of Orleans and her children. From that moment the duke de Nemours had upon himself the responsibility of all these lives, and of the blood of the people. Some members of the chamber accosted him under the portico of the Clock Pavilion. They charged him to withdraw the troops, and surrender the palace to the national guard. The prince, convinced that the armed and victorious people in the civil force could alone control the insurgent multitude, gave the order accordingly. The troops withdrew in silence, and defiled through the garden. The duke de Nemours remained to the last, to secure the safe departure of the duchess of Orleans.

Whilst the evacuation of the palace by the troops was thus effected, a small number of officers and of counsellors, some devoted to the dynasty, some to the person, and some only to the misfortunes of a lady, were in consultation around the duchess of Orleans and her children. Among them was General Gourgaud, a friend of the emperor, and the voluntary companion of his exile at St. Helena, a man habituated to misfortune and fidelity; a son of Marshal Ney, M. d'Elchingen, MM. de Montaguyon, Villaumez, and De Bois Milon. The report of three cannons shook the windows of the apartment. The duchess uttered a cry. It was the artillery of the palace which was firing on the people as they issued from the quay to the Carrousel. The princess sent General Gourgaud to stop the firing, and the artillerymen extinguished their matches in token of peace. General Gourgaud returned, and M. Dupin followed him.

M. Dupin, less a jurist than a legislator, for a long time the president of the Chamber of Deputies, an eminent orator, and the living embodiment of that spirit of resistance and of constitutional liberty under the monarchy which had formerly characterized such men as Harlay, Molé, and l'Hopital, a democrat in manners and in dress, but a royalist in temper and sentiment, had been, from the year 1815, the domestic counsellor and the friend, by turns rough and affectionate, of

the duke of Orleans, afterwards king. The austerity of his style of conversation and the sharpness of his sarcasm had concealed from the eyes of the country the obsequiousness of his personal attachment to the royal family. He avenged himself for his compliance to the king on the heads of the ministers of the crown. His popularity, which was compromised by the court, was regained by his independence in parliament. Learned, eloquent, clever, the oracle of the administration, inflexible in tone, pliant to revolutionary movements, feared by the weak, respected by the strong, and adequate to all occasions. M. Dupin was one of the great authorities of public opinion. Whatever course he took, multitudes followed in his steps. He presented himself at that decisive moment when the revolution was in want of a standard around which to rally. This he naturally found in this lady and in this child. No hand was so fit as his to bear it, and to attract to it the affections of the people.

The duchess saw him enter the apartment, the presage at once of strength and of peace. "Well, Sir," cried she, "what are you come to tell me?" "I come to tell you, Madam," replied M. Dupin, in a saddened but hopeful tone, "that perhaps the part of a second Maria Theresa is reserved for you." "Direct me, Sir," replied the princess; "my life belongs to France and to my children." "Well, then, Madam, let us depart; we have not a moment to lose. Let us go to the Camber of Deputies."

This, in fact, was the only course for the duchess to take. The cause of the regency, already lost in the streets, might be retrieved in the Chamber of Deputies, if that body, in discredit among the people, by its courtliness of spirit, had preserved sufficient ascendancy to arrest the fall of monarchy. The presence of a woman, the grace and innocence of a child, were more powerful attractions than any speeches. Eloquence in action is pity. The bloody mantle of Cæsar, exhibited at the tribune, was less affecting than the tears of a young and beautiful woman, presenting her orphan child to the representatives of a chivalrous people.

The duke de Nemours, after having received the parting benediction of his father, and protected his departure in person, entered as the last battalion of the troops from the Carrousel were defiling through the garden and along the quay.

The duchess left the palace, leading her eldest son, the count de Paris, by the hand, while her other child, the duke de Chartres, was carried in the arms of an aide-de-camp. The duke de Nemours, prepared for all sacrifices to save his sister-in-law, and to secure the regal claims of his ward, walked beside the princess. M. Dupin was conversing with her on the other side. A few officers of the household followed in silence. A valet-de-chambre, named Hubert, who waited on the children, formed the entire escort of the regency. This prospective royalty had only to traverse the space between the royal gardens and the hall of representatives before it was swallowed up, together with the throne.

Scarcely had the princess proceeded two-thirds through the garden, when a column of republicans, who had been fighting from the previous night, increasing in number as they approached, forced an entrance into the palace in spite of the troops, filled its apartments, swept away every trace of royalty, proclaimed the republic, tore away the drapery which served as a canopy to the throne; and having taken the palace, made but a short halt, and formed again, to march to the Chamber of Deputies, on the heels of the regency party. It was the column commanded by Captain Dunoyer, which multiplied itself in the course of the day.

BOOK IV.

Let us retrace for a moment the rapid and varied course of events, and relate what was simultaneously passing at the Chamber of Deputies. Lamartine, a stranger to every species of combination against the monarchy, had retired the night before horrified at the bloodshed on the Boulevard, but firmly convinced that the night which had interrupted the conflict, and the day which would bring forth fresh concessions from the king, would allay the insurrection. Without a party in the chamber, without an accomplice in the street, and confined by indisposition, he did not think of going forth from his retirement. Of what consequence was his presence in the assembly, merely to hear the names and the usual programme of a new administration? Events were passing above his sphere; he, like the public, would hear of them with indifference or

with pleasure, according as they might seem to serve or to prejudice the cause which he had disinterestedly at heart. Some of his colleagues visited him at short intervals, to relate to him the casualties of the two days. None of them foresaw the final catastrophe of the dynasty; they confined themselves to conjectures as to the names and the projects of the ministers, whom a lengthened insurrection had obtruded on the king.

At half-past ten, however, one of his friends hastened to announce to him that they were apprehensive the people were about to attack the Chamber of Deputies. Lamartine arose at this intelligence, not, however, imagining for a moment that the 50,000 troops who were supposed to be collected in Paris would be unable to prevent such a measure. But the danger which might be anticipated for his colleagues he felt it his duty to share. The popularity which he enjoyed both within and without the chamber might render his presence useful, and his interference might be the preservation either of the citizens or the deputies. Political questions seemed to him to be set aside for the time. He was impelled by an instinctive sense of honour, and not by political considerations.

He considered that the crisis had arrived. "Yesterday," said he to himself, as he left his house, "was a 20th of June; it certainly forebodes a 10th of August. A royalty disarmed, and capitulating under firing, is a royalty no more. A 10th of August is approaching, but is still distant."

He proceeded alone, and on foot, to the Chamber of Deputies. A lowering and gloomy sky, pierced occasionally by a gleam of wintry sunshine, resembled the fortune of the day. It was undecided and stormy. The streets were deserted. Some outposts of infantry standing in the mud, and of horse soldiers wrapped in their white cloaks, with their bridle on the drooping neck of their horses, occupied in small groups the approaches to the chamber. They suffered him to pass. As he crossed the open space before the hall of assembly, he heard the sound of a carriage, and his attention was arrested by cries of "Barrot and reform for ever!" A hackney carriage, covered with mud, and drawn with difficulty by two jaded horses, passed before him. He recognized on the side of the coachman M. Pagnerre, president of the Paris committee of opposition. Behind the carriage two or three

well-dressed citizens were waving their hats and handkerchiefs, and signifying by their gestures that tranquillity was restored. A small group, chiefly composed of young persons and children, followed the carriage with shouts of joy; in the inside, the pallid and pensive countenance of M. Odillon Barrot indicated the agitation of his thoughts and the sleeplessness of the past night. He was repairing courageously to his post, to the ministerial office of the interior; not knowing whether he was followed thither by the pacific or the insurrectionary designs of the multitude. He knew that the king had fled, and that the palace had been taken, but he advanced to his duty without looking behind him. Such an hour redeems many moments of indecision. The heart of this leader of opposition never shared the fluctuations of his mind; and the fluctuations of that mind were never, as it is said, aught but the scruples of his conscience.

Lamartine looked at him, pitied him from his heart, and passed on. Under a portico of the Chamber of Deputies, two cavalry officers, sword in hand, with the animation of rapid action in their countenance, and their uniforms bespattered with mud, had just met, and holding one another by the hand, were talking in a loud voice. The one was Perrot, the general of cavalry; the other unknown. "Well, general," said one of the officers to his colleague, "what news in your quarter?" "Nothing important," answered General Perrot; "the crowds on the Place de la Concorde are thinner, and waver before the least movement of my squadrons. As to the bridge, the best troops in Europe could not carry it." When the general said this, he was not aware of the flight of the king, of the retreat of the troops from the Carrousel, of the quiescence of the generals in command on the other side of the river, and of the occupation of the palace by the people. Events outstripped the hours.

Lamartine, assured of the safety of the chamber by these words, which he caught in passing, crossed the court, and entered the hall. Seven or eight persons were waiting for him in the vestibule; they were for the most part journalists of the opposition, and some active men who had become conspicuous, since 1830, by their maintenance of republican opinions sympathetic with those of the *National*. M. de Lamartine had never had any connection with that journal. The

injustice of its editors towards him often assumed the character of a dogged hostility. The *National* represented Lamartine as an ambitious orator, coquetting with the opposition to borrow from it popularity, but prepared to surrender that popularity to the court if he could get power in return for it. More frequently he exalted the orator in order to throw the politician into the shade, but never lost an opportunity of combining the disparagement of his political views with his exaggerated panegyrics upon his talent, by way of corrective. He affected to class the deputy with those poets whom Plato expelled from the state. Lamartine, for his part, defied the clamorous opposition of this journal. He thought he could descry beneath this emphatic denunciation against the throne some manœuvres, and perhaps some evidence of a secret understanding with the parliamentary party of M. Thiers. He was doubtless mistaken; but an opposition, composed of such alliances, seemed to him equally fatal to a constitutional monarchy and to a republic. He loved to have questions openly and clearly put. To the ambiguity of parliamentary coalitions he was as repugnant when evincing itself in the public press as in the chamber.

As to the writers in the *Réforme*, Lamartine only knew them by the misrepresentations and burlesques which that journal, more frank in its tone, but extreme and bitter in its opinions, made of his speeches. He had only five or six opportunities of meeting M. Ledru Rollin, his colleague in the chamber, and the political genius of that journal; while, apart from politics, his position had never brought him into any proximity with the spirit of the *Réforme*, and he had refused to take part in the banquets of Dijon and Châlons, presided over by M. Ledru Rollin and M. Flocon. He had pointedly condemned in the journal of the department he represented, the inauspicious symbols, the long-forgotten terms, and the violent language revived at these banquets. All that he had praised in the party of the *Réforme* was its openness of opposition and its talent; with its doctrine he had broken long ago.

The groups of republicans who surrounded Lamartine on his entrance into the passages of the chamber requested a private and urgent interview with him in a remote apartment of that palace. M. de Lamartine led them thither, and the

doors were closed. The greater part of these men were only known to him personally; one of them opened the conference in the name of the rest. "Time presses," said he, "and events are suspended in uncertainty. We are republicans; our convictions, our thoughts, our lives, are devoted to the republic. This is not the time to disavow it, when our friends have been for three days shedding their blood in defence of a cause endeared in common to the people and to ourselves. It will ever be the soul of our souls, the supreme object of our hopes, the determined tendency of all our acts and writings. In short, we will never desert it; but we are prepared to suspend and to postpone it to interests which are in our view superior to republicanism itself,—the interest of our country. Is France ripe for this form of government? Would she accept it without resistance, or would she bend to it without violence? In a word, is there not more danger perhaps in launching it to-morrow in all the entireness of its institutions, than in keeping it on the threshold, exhibiting it from a distance, and thus causing it to be more ardently longed for? Such is the state of our minds, and such our scruples; let us resolve them; we do not know you, and we do not flatter you, but we esteem you. The people shows its confidence in you by invoking your name. In our view you are the man for the crisis; what you say shall be said, and what you will shall be done. The reign of Louis Philippe is at an end; between him and us no reconciliation can possibly take place. But might not a temporary continuance of royalty in the name of a child, in the feeble hand of a woman, and under the direction of a popular minister as the proxy of the people and dear to republicans—might not this put an end to the crisis and initiate the nation into a republic with only the empty name of monarchy? Will you be the minister, the guardian alike of expiring royalty and of nascent liberty, by assuming the guidance of this lady, this child, and this nation? The republican party offers itself to you by our accredited voices. We are ready to bind ourselves by a formal engagement to carry you to power by the henceforth invincible hand of the revolution, which is thundering at these doors, and to sustain and perpetuate you in it by our votes, our journals, our secret societies, and the disciplined force we can control in the mass of the people. Your cause shall be ours. As the minister of a

regency for France and for Europe, you shall be the approved minister of a virtual republic."

The animated and earnest orator ceased; his colleagues assented by their silence and their gestures to his language. Lamartine requested of them a moment's time for reflection, that he might weigh in his mind a decision and responsibility so terrible. He rested his elbows on the table, and hid his face in his hands. He mentally invoked the inspirations of that Being who alone never deceives. He spent five or six minutes in almost breathless thought. The republicans were standing opposite to him and grouped around the table. At length Lamartine removed his hands, raised his head, and thus addressed them:—"Gentlemen, our situation, our previous positions, are very different; and the parts assigned to us here are strangely new to us. You are the long-standing advocates of republicanism at all hazards. For my own part, I am not a republican of that class, and yet at this moment I am about to show myself more a republican than you. Let us understand one another. Like yourselves, I regard republican government, that is to say, the government of nations by their own reason and their own will, as the sole end and object of civilized societies, as the sole instrument for the introduction of those great general principles which a people would enshrine in its laws. Other governments are the guardians and the expression of the minority of the people;—imperfections in the eyes of philosophy, humiliations in the view of history. But I have no intolerance of the man who would fain outstrip the progress of ideas, nor any bigoted preference for this or that form of government. All that I wish is, that these forms should be progressive, and that they should keep ever neither in advance nor in arrear of the foremost rank of the people, but at the exact level of the ideas and the instincts of the age. I am not therefore an absolute republican like you, but I am a politician; and it is in that character that I think I ought to refuse at this time the flattering proposal which you make me to procrastinate the republic if it should burst into existence the next hour. It is as a politician that I declare to you that I neither conspire nor overturn, that I do not desire the overthrow of royalty; but that if royalty falls of itself, I will not attempt to raise it; and that I will give my adhesion to none but a complete movement; that is, to a republic."

There was a moment of silence. Astonishment—a kind of stupefaction mingled with doubt—was expressed in the countenances of all. Lamartine resumed.

"And I will tell you why. At great crises society stands in need of great powers. If the government of the king falls this day, we are about to enter on one of the greatest crises that ever a people had to pass through before it could adopt another definitive form of government. A reign of eighteen years by a single individual, in the name of a single class of citizens, has accumulated a mass of revolutionary ideas and of uncontrollable impatience, of rancours and resentments in the nation, which will make such demands of the new reign as it would be impossible to satisfy. The undefined reform which is at this day achieving its victory in the streets will not be able to assume a definite form without instantly throwing into an aggressive attitude all those classes of the people who will be excluded from the possession of power. Republicans, Legitimists, Socialists, Communists, Terrorists, though contemplating different objects, will combine their resentments to upset the feeble barrier which a temporizing government would in vain attempt to oppose to them. The hatred felt by the people against the court is shared by the Chamber of Peers. The Chamber of Deputies has lost all moral influence, through the combined action of corruption which disgraces it, and of the public press which makes it unpopular. The elective body are but an imperceptible oligarchy in the state. The army is thrown into disorder, and shrinks from committing a parricide by turning their arms against their fellow-citizens. The national guard, an independent force, has sided with the opposition. The old respect for the king is eradicated from every heart by his obstinacy and by his fall. With what force then will you encompass to-morrow that throne which will be raised for a child to be seated on it? Is it reform? That is but the curtain which conceals the republic. Is it universal suffrage? That is an enigma, and contains a mystery. With one word and with one gesture it will annihilate that remnant of monarchy, that phantom of opposition, those shadows of ministers who may think to rule it. Its second word may be monarchy or empire. 'REPUBLIC' will be its first. All you would have done would be to prepare a royal prey for it to devour. Who can support the regency? Will it be the

great proprietary body? That is cordially attached to Henry the Fifth. For it the regency will be but a field of battle on which to win legitimacy. Will it be the middling proprietary classes? They are selfish and devoted to business. A stormy minority, a reign of perpetual sedition, would be the ruin of their interests and would cause them to demand the instant establishment of a definite form of government. Lastly, will it be the people—the popular class? That again is in arms and everywhere triumphant. For fifteen years past it has been impregnated with doctrines, which will seize the opportunity of pushing their victory over royalty, to the destruction of the whole social system.

"The regency will be the *fronde* of the people, containing popular communist and socialist elements in combination. Society, defended only by a government of scanty numbers, under a form of royalty which will be neither monarchy nor republic, will be overthrown to its very foundations without the possibility of defence. The people, tranquillized perhaps this evening by the proclamation of a regency, will return to-morrow to the assault to snatch a fresh concession. Each of these irresistible demonstrations, by a kind of half-concession, will carry off from the ruling power another and another of its last shreds. To these the people will be led on by republicans more implacable than you. You will only have left enough of the throne to irritate the sentiments of liberty, and not enough to restrain them. That throne will be the perpetual mark of the oppositions, the seditions, the assaults of the multitude. You will advance from the 20th of June to the 10th of August, and thence to the ill-starred days of September. To-day their demand of this feeble power will be the scaffold at home; to-morrow they will insist upon war abroad, and every demand, if not conceded, will be enforced by violence. You will entice the people to blood. Woe and shame to the revolution if once they taste it! You will fall into the horrors, the fanaticism, and the socialism of 1793. A civil war, with want on one side and property on the other, that nightmare of Utopians, will be the momentary reality of our country. In your attempt to check the descent of a woman and a child down the declivity of a pacific dethronement, you will plunge France, property, and family ties into a common gulf of anarchy and bloodshed."

The countenances of the listeners betrayed their emotion,

and Lamartine continued, "For my own part, I see too clearly the series of catastrophes which I should be preparing for my country to attempt to arrest the avalanche of such a revolution on an incline, on which no dynastic power can retain it without adding to its mass, its momentum, and the crash of its fall. There is, I repeat to you, but one force capable of preserving the people from the dangers into which they must be plunged by a revolution, marked by such social conditions as ours; it is the force of the people itself; it is complete liberty; it is the suffrage and the will, the reason and the interests, the hands and the arms of all; in a word, it is the republic.

"Yes," continued he, with a tone of deep conviction, "it is the republic alone, which can save you this day from anarchy, from civil and foreign war, from spoliation and from the scaffold; from the decimation of property, from the overthrow of society, and from foreign invasion. The remedy is heroic, I am aware, but at such critical junctures of time and opinion, there is no effectual political course, but one which equals the greatness, and the boldness of the crisis itself. By giving to the people the republic to-morrow, by that name you disarm them of the cry which now agitates them; nay, you instantly change their anger into joy, their fury into enthusiasm. All that have the republican sentiment in their heart, all that have the image of the republic in their fancy, all in France that regrets and aspires, all that reasons and that dreams; the republicans of secret societies, fighting republicans, speculative republicans, the people and their tribunes; the youth, the schools, and the journalists, men of action and men of thought, utter but one cry, assemble around their standard, arm themselves for its defence, rally at first confusedly, but afterwards in order, to protect the government of all, and to preserve behind that government the social system itself. A sovereign power, which may have its agitations, but never a dethronement or a fall; for that government rests on the very foundation of the nation itself, it makes an individual appeal to all; it alone can preserve and guide itself; it alone can, by the voice and by the hand of all, furnish the reason, the will, the suffrage, and the arms required to save, not only the nation from slavery, but the social and the family compact, property and morals,

threatened alike by the deluge of opinion, that is seething beneath the foundations of the falling throne. If anarchy can be subdued, rest assured it is by a republic. If communism can be vanquished, it is by a republic. If the revolution can be moderated, it is by a republic. If bloodshed can be spared, it is by a republic. If universal war,—if the invasion which it would perhaps bring upon us as the reaction of Europe, can be warded off, again rest assured it is by a republic. This is why, in obedience to my reason and to my conscience, as a statesman, in God's presence and in yours, without deception, and without fanaticism, if the hour in which we are deliberating is big with a revolution, I will not conspire for a half-revolution. I conspire for none; but if there must be one, I will accept it entire; I decide for a republic!

"But," added he, rising from his seat, "I still hope that God will spare my country this crisis. While I acquiesce in revolutions, I will not bring them about. He who would take upon himself the responsibility of a people, must be either a villain, an idiot, or a god."

"Lamartine is right," cried one of the group; "more impartial than we, he still has a more earnest faith in our principles than we have ourselves." "We are convinced," was the universal cry. "Let us now separate; and do you," said they, addressing Lamartine, "take the course which circumstances shall suggest to you as the best."

While this was passing in one of the private offices of the chamber, a similar scene was occurring in a neighbouring one.

A young man, possessed, notwithstanding his youth, of a great influence amongst the oldest republicans, M. Emanuel Arago, son of the illustrious citizen who had founded the name, was endeavouring to draw M. Odilon Barrot to the side of the republic.

M. Emanuel Arago having left the office of the *National*, where he had harangued the people from a window a few moments before, had drawn away with him by his name and by his voice crowds of combatants from the Place de la Concorde. Having been stopped at the top of the Rue Royale by the bodies of troops who were stationed at that position, he had asked to speak with General Bedeau. The general rode up to him, and suffered him to pass as a representative of the people, who was going to present to the chamber information and advice calculated to put a stop to the conflict.

M. Emanuel Arago was in conversation with a few deputies of every shade of party in this apartment, when M. Odilon Barrot entered it, invited by his friends. Arago and his associates, the editors of the *Réforme* journal, could not draw away M. Odilon Barrot. His opinion might be fluctuating, but his duty was fixed. He was a minister. Concessions from him would have been treacheries. He resisted with firmness and with eloquence, inspired by decision of character. There are some men who turn round and assume more gigantic dimensions on the edge of the abyss. Such a man was Barrot; his despair was heroic, and his accents worthy of antiquity.

Lamartine, on leaving the republicans who had lately surrounded him, returned to the chamber.

The galleries were full and gloomy; the benches of the floor were occupied by but few deputies. Pale and downcast countenances indicated the sleeplessness of the previous night, and the forebodings of the day. The deputies, incessantly driven from their seats by the agitation which was passing within their minds, conversed in an under tone, and directed searching glances at the members of opposite parties. They sought to read the fate of the day in the countenances of the members of the opposition. Some went for information to the passages, others ascended to the top of the portico, to observe from a higher point of view the unintelligible movements of the people, and the troops on the Place de la Concorde. Every minute the reverberation of distant cannonading made the windows on the dome tremble, and the women in the galleries turn pale. Lamartine was sitting alone on his deserted bench. He exchanged not a word with any of his colleagues during that two hours' session. His fears, like his hopes, found no expression, or rather, he knew not himself which predominated in his mind. Revolutions are sphinxes whose oracle none ask save with terror.

M. Thiers appeared for a moment in that part of the hall above the enclosed space, with his head uncovered, and his expression of countenance confounded by the strange scenes in which he had just been either an actor or a spectator on the flight of the king. The deputies favourable to the monarchy crowded around him, and overwhelmed him with inquiries. He bent as if under the weight of destiny, then recovering his position, and raising his hat in his right hand above his head, with the gesture of a pilot in the jaws of destruction, cried out,

"The tide is rising, is rising!" and instantly disappeared in the crowd. This expression struck all who heard it with consternation. It was the utterance of the resignation of despair. The chair of the president was empty, as if the thinking faculty of the chamber were manifestly absent from this phantom show of deliberation.

At length, the president, M. Sauzet, the favourite of the assembly and of the king, took his seat in it. M. Sauzet betrayed in his countenance the presentiment of the events of the meeting, and the sadness which was suited to the funeral obsequies of the dynasty. Not a single minister occupied the government benches. Everything told of the interregnum. The eyes of the chamber seemed in quest of a man to inquire of, or of an emblem of power around which to rally. Silence reigned. A young deputy, M. Lafitte, a name fatal to thrones, ascended the tribune; he addressed himself to all parties, especially to the opposition, generous because triumphant, and proposed that the chamber, occupied entirely with the public safety, should declare itself in permanent session. That symptom showed the extremity of the crisis. The chamber unanimously adopted the motion, but the royalist deputies confined themselves to this proposal. No energetic measure was originated from their ranks, and an hour was lost in fruitless expectation. Meanwhile, an officer in uniform suddenly entered the chamber, ascended the stairs of the tribune, and whispered into the ear of the president. M. Sauzet rose and called for silence; he announced, with a firm voice, but with much emotion, that the duchess of Orleans and her children were about to enter the house. The announcement of the arrival of the princess created agitation without surprise. Every one foresaw the abdication, and awaited the proclamation of the regency. The flight of the king was unknown, but it seemed natural that the princess, the mother of the young king, should come to present her son through the Chamber of Deputies to the adoption of the country. The attendants placed two seats and a chair of state at the foot of the tribune, facing the assembly. A respectful silence reigned through all the benches; the deputies came down from the higher parts of the chamber, to be nearer the scene. The spectators in the gallery leaned over, with their eyes directed towards the doors. The universal aspect and air was inspired by the dignity of the place, and the anxious nature of the spectacle.

The large door which is situated opposite to the tribune, on a level with the most elevated benches of the chamber, opened, and a lady, the duchess of Orleans, made her appearance. She was dressed in mourning. Her veil half-raised on her bonnet gave a view of her countenance, on which was imprinted an emotion and a sadness which enhanced its youthful beauty. Her pale cheeks bore the traces of a widow's tears and a mother's solicitude. It is impossible that the glances of a man could have rested on those features without emotion. All feeling against the monarchy vanished from the mind. The blue eyes of the princess wandered through the expanse, with which they seemed for a moment dazzled, as if appealing to the looks of all for aid. Her frail and slender figure bent to the thunders of applause with which she was received. A slight blush, the gleam of hope in her fall, and of joy in her mourning, tinged her cheeks. Her smile of gratitude beamed through her tears. She evidently felt herself surrounded by friends. In her right hand she held the young king, who had fallen upon the steps, and with her left hand the other child, the little duke de Chartres — children to whom their catastrophe was a mere sight. They were both dressed in a short tunic of black cloth; a white open collar fell from their neck upon their shoulders—living portraits of Vandyke, which seemed to have stepped forth from the picture of the children of Charles I. The duke de Nemours walks by the side of the duchess of Orleans, faithful to the memory of his brother perpetuated in his nephews;—a protector who must presently need protection for himself. The countenance of the prince, ennobled by misfortune, breathes the intrepid but modest satisfaction of having performed a duty at the sacrifice of his ambition and the risk of his life. A few generals in uniform, and officers of the national guard, formed the train of the princess. She salutes the assembly with a graceful timidity, and seats herself motionless between her two children, at the foot of the tribune;—an innocent culprit before a tribunal without appeal, who is about to hear the cause of royalty pleaded. At that moment that cause was gained in the eyes and in the hearts of all. Nature must ever triumph over politics in an assembly of men moved by the three most powerful influences which woman can exert over the human heart,—youth, maternity, and pity. All seemed to be expecting an address; but

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the tribune of the speakers was empty. Who could dare to speak in the face of such a spectacle? The scene was left to speak for itself, and every one wrapped himself up in his own emotion.

Meanwhile the time was pressing. The revolution must be forestalled by a vote, or all such measures would come too late. A deputy well known for his independence and fearlessness, M. Lacrosse, rose, generous and frank, like the men of Bretagne; falsely distrustful of his own influence. He requested, with the manifest design to call forth the eloquence of one of the masters of the tribune, that M. Dupin should occupy the attention of the chamber.

This proposal originated in good feeling, but was wanting in tact. A movement of displeasure pervaded the assembly, and raised a whisper, which increased almost to a murmur. M. Dupin passed for the personal and confidential friend of the king, and the most influential member of his private councils. He seemed at such a moment less the orator of the nation than as the accredited interpreter of the wishes of the court. "The king is the speaker," was exclaimed in a low voice. Distrust arms men beforehand against persuasion, and natural pride hardens them to the detection and avoidance of a snare. It was a drama concocted in the night at the Tuileries. Its plot was perceived, and it failed of its effect. A heartfelt expression, or a military gesture from M. Lacrosse, would have carried away the assembly, while a pompous oration would freeze it. All depended on the time, and this was not the time for M. Dupin. It was the hour of a half-formed but contagious sentiment, and that sentiment Lacrosse had in his heart. M. Dupin felt it also, and was as if instinctively inclined to silence. "I have not asked to speak," said he with surprise; but the impatient assembly pointed to the tribune, and he ascended it.

"Gentlemen," said he, with a tone in which the monarchy itself seemed to be trembling, "you know the situation of the metropolis, and the demonstrations which have taken place. They have resulted in the abdication of his majesty, Louis Philippe, who has declared that he laid down power, and that he left it to descend unfettered to the count de Paris, under the regency of the duchess of Orleans."

The friends of the dynasty instantly applauded, as if to grasp, at the first moment of surprise, the regency, which

further discussion was likely to annul. They affected to accept the demonstration of respectful affection which saluted a child and a lady with the names of regent and king, as a pledge that the new monarchy was already inaugurated.

M. Dupin wished to register these cries at the tribune, as if to render them irrevocable. "Gentlemen," said he, "these acclamations, so acceptable to the new king and the regent, are not the first which have saluted her; she has crossed the Tuileries and the Place de la Concorde on foot, escorted by the people and the national guard, who expressed the same desire. As it is the first wish of her heart, only to conduct the administration with the deep recognition of the public welfare, of the national wish, and of the glory and prosperity of France, I propose that these acclamations of yours be reduced to a verbal form." These words met with a far more scanty response. Enthusiasm, like the lightning, is but a flash; we raise our eyes, and it is gone.

M. Sauzet attempted to rekindle it. "Gentlemen," said he, "it appears to me that the chamber, by its unanimous acclamations"—That sentence was never finished; an unusual clamour burst forth at the left hand door, at the foot of the tribune; an unknown multitude, composed of armed national guards, and of the populace in working dresses, burst open the door, elbowed the ushers, who were gathered at the foot of the tribune, forced their way to the *hemicycle*, and called in hoarse voices upon the duke de Nemours.

A few deputies threw themselves in front of the invaders, to protect the princess by the interposition of their persons. M. Mauguin, calm and erect, repulsed them with his gesture and his chest. General Oudinot addressed them with soldierly sternness, and then crossed before them to the court, to call in the assistance of the national guard. He urged the inviolability of the assembly, the respect due to a princess and to a woman before French bayonets. The national guards listened to him, and affected to sympathize in his indignation, but slowly resumed their arms, and ended by temporizing with the event.

Oudinot, indignant, returned to the hall. His indecisive views as a senator, towards the dynasty, were now confined to his own breast. As a man and a soldier, he sprung up to defend a woman from insult.

The sitting which had been interrupted by this invasion of

the people is resumed. The deputies protested against the insinuation of the president, who had affected to interpret the cheers of certain individuals as a vote of the whole body. They hastened to the bottom of the two flights of steps which lead to the tribune, to enter that protest. M. Marie, an imposing and dignified speaker, whose opposition was stern but moderate, succeeds in ascending the tribune; but others strove to share with him both the room that he occupied and the attention of the assembly. He crossed his arms upon his chest, and showed that he should abide by his right.

The esteem which attached to his character aggravated the effect of his address. His lofty stature, his small, but expressive features, gave to his appearance a dramatic character, which suggested the idea of the classic bust. He surveyed the storm without yielding to it, but without subduing it.

Lamartine felt that discussion would be necessarily fettered, if the regency was to be debated in the presence of the regent and her children. He was anxious at once to preserve the tone of the assembly from the oppressive influence of a mere sentimental feeling, and the duchess herself from the profanation of her affliction. He rose from his seat and exclaimed, "I request of the president to suspend this sitting, from the twofold motive of the respect due to the national representation, and from that which is due to the august princess who is now before us."

The president acquiesced in this advice, calculated at once to reflect dignity on the decisions of the assembly, and to pay a becoming homage to rank, sex, and misfortune. The duchess of Orleans hesitated to withdraw; she seemed to have a presentiment that her presence was the only remaining guarantee for the re-establishment of royalty. General Oudinot sprung to the tribune in order to delay the departure of the princess, or to honour her with a parting salutation. "All our generous sentiments are appealed to," said the brave soldier. "The princess, we are told, has crossed the Tuileries and Place de la Concorde on foot with her children, in the midst of public acclamations. If she is desirous of withdrawing, let the doors be opened before her, and let her be surrounded with our expressions of homage, as she was just now attended with the respectful demonstrations of the metropolis." As no responsive demonstration was made to prevent the departure of the princess, notwith-

standing the dexterous allusions of the speaker to the attachment of the people, he continued, "Let us accompany her whithersoever she would wish to retire." The princess had only to say, I wish to retire to the Tuileries, and the entire chamber, and the populace, moved by the sight, would have borne her to it, on the same tide which had just carried her thence. Ondinot seemed to expect this reply; his sword would doubtless have protected the widow and her children, but she had not the resolution to interfere. "If," continued, he, "she wishes to remain in this chamber, let her do so. And," added he, in a tone which seemed to nail the princess to her seat, "she will do well, for here our devotion will protect her."

But as the tumult thickened at the two doors, and at the foot of the tribune, the duchess was respectfully led away by the officers in attendance on her, by the duke de Nemours, and by the members of the centre; left her seat, walked up the steps by which she had lately descended, and sat down on one of the back benches facing the tribune. A group of deputies stood around her for her protection. Increasing murmurs from without filled the chamber, and M. Marie disregarded the presence of the august *protégée* of the senate.

"Gentlemen," said he, "in the situation in which Paris is, you must not lose an hour in taking those measures which are calculated to influence the population. Since the morning the evil has made rapid strides; what course then must we take? The regency of the duchess of Orleans has just been proclaimed; but a bill has been passed which appointed the duke de Nemours as regent. You have not this day the power to constitute a regency, you must obey the law. Still deliberation is necessary; and first, an effective government is required at the head alike of the metropolis and of the empire. I move that we establish a provisional government."

Not a murmur replied to these decisive words; all idea of monarchy and regency vanished from the minds of all. The supporters of the regency of the king's eldest son, now thrown into consternation, felt how great a mistake they had made in violating that law of nature which nominated the duchess of Orleans. But for that, there would not have been an hiatus to fill up by a new law, a constitution t.

be violated, a necessary interval for the repeal of the one measure and the passing the other, and a monarchy and a regency to be engulfed together.

"When this government shall have been appointed," continued M. Marie, "it will consult with the chambers, and have authority throughout the country. That course adopted, Paris must be instantly acquainted with it; it is the only means of re-establishing tranquillity. At such a moment as this we must not lose our time in fruitless discussion. I demand that a provisional government be forthwith constructed."

The tribunes applauded, and no opponent arose. The duchess of Orleans grew paler; and the duke de Nemours took notes with his pencil, as if he were preparing to make a noble renunciation of his claims.

A popular orator, M. Crémieux, who had just attended the king to his carriage, affected by the imminence of the crisis, and the pathos of the spectacle, slipped into the hand of the princess a few words adapted to flatter the nation, and to effect the restoration of the supreme government by the hands of the people themselves, to the widow of the duke of Orleans. If this was a crime, pity was the essence of that crime. Who would not have committed it, had he then been standing by the side of that defenceless woman?

M. Crémieux, nevertheless, ascended the tribune immediately after M. Marie. "In 1830," said he, "we were too hasty, and now, in 1848, we are obliged to make a fresh beginning. Let us not now be hasty; let us proceed in a more orderly, legal, and decisive manner. The provisional government that you will appoint will not only be charged with the maintenance of order, but with the introduction of measures which may protect every class of the population; in fact, of what was promised in 1830, and has not been performed. For myself, I declare to you I have the profoundest respect for the duchess of Orleans. It has been my melancholy honour just now to attend the royal family to the carriages which have borne them from the capital. In this duty I have not been wanting; but now the population and the national guard have declared their opinion,—the proclamation of the regency which has just been proposed to you would violate a law which we have already passed. Let us appoint a provisional government." (Loud and general cries of "Bravo!") "Let it be just, firm, and vigorous, and possessed of the confidence of

the nation to which it must appeal. We have this day obtained what the revolution of July ought to have given us. Let us profit by events; let us not bequeath to our children the necessity of repeating this revolution. I move the appointment of a provisional government to be composed of five members."

Whilst almost the whole assembly was adopting this proposal, either by its cheering or by its silent acquiescence, the young king, sitting on the lap of his mother, gazed with an astonished air at this tumultuous movement in the assembly, and applauded with his little hands the resolution which dethroned him. The duchess of Orleans crumpled up in her hand the paper containing the words which had been written down by M. Crémieux. She showed them to M. Dupin, who seemed to approve of them.

M. Odilon Barrot entered, and with a slow and measured pace ascended the steps of the tribune, which he had so often mounted and descended amidst the cheers of the opposition. His countenance was pale; his eyelids wrinkled with disquiet, and his eye more hollow and anxious than ever. His brow seemed overshadowed with the clouds of the future. He was gazed at with respect; every one perceived through his face what was passing in his heart. Doubts might be entertained as to his decision of character, but none doubted his conscientiousness. Disinterested patriotism was his religion; the love of popularity his only weakness. He had oscillated all his life between republicanism and monarchy; ever found on the side of the people, yet ever clinging to the throne. He was now to make his choice, and this hour at once examined and summed up his life. With pitiless sternness it demanded that decisive answer which in 1830 it demanded of Lafayette at the Hôtel de Ville. M. Barrot was now the Lafayette of the speakers. The monarchy and the republic were suspended on his lips.

"Never," said he, "did we stand more in need of calm, collected wisdom. Oh, that you may all be united in one and the same resolution, to save the country from the most horrible of all scourges,—civil war! Nations never die; but they may sink into feebleness through intestine divisions; and never has France so much needed all her greatness and all her strength. Our duty is clearly marked out. It is happily so simple as to impress unanimity in a nation. It appeals to its deepest and most generous impulses, — its

courage and its honour. The crown of July rests upon the brows of a woman and a child."

The centre of the chamber, where the adherents of the reigning family were seated, hailed these expressions with the most enthusiastic applause. They seemed to see destiny itself inclining to the side towards which leaned the popularity of Barrot. The duchess herself, with a happy instinct of gratitude, rose at this instant, and curtsied to the tribune. Every gesture of hers gave an impulse of curiosity and affectionate interest to the attitudes and countenances of all.

She resumes her seat; the little king rises from a signal from the princess, and bows to those who had applauded his mother. The duke de Nemours whispers in the ear of the duchess. She rises again with a more marked expression of timidity; she holds a paper in her hand; with much agitation she presents it to the president. A feminine, clear, vibrating voice, yet rendered tremulous by emotion, issues from the centre of the group by which she was surrounded, and seemed to strike a chill through the assembly, which it distinctly pervaded. It was the request of the duchess to address the representatives of the nation. Who could have resisted that voice? Who would not have felt the tears by which it would have been interrupted drop on his own heart? There must have been an end of the debate. The president sees not this gesture, hears not that voice, or affects not to have seen or heard them, in order to leave to M. Barrot sufficient collectedness to proceed. The duchess, confused and scared at her own boldness, resumes her seat; conquered nature took refuge in silence. What then will eloquence be able to effect?

M. Barrot resumed. "It is in the name of political liberty in our country, it is above all in the name of the necessity of order, and for the sake of that harmony and concord required by circumstances so difficult, that I implore my country to rally around its representatives—around the revolution of July. The more of greatness and generosity is required to sustain the cause of purity and innocence, the more courageously will my country devote themselves to that cause. For myself, I shall be happy to consecrate all I possess in the world, and even my existence, to its success, for in it is involved the true liberty of this country.

"Is it by a mere casualty that we have had our decisions at the revolution of July again brought under discussion? Gentlemen, I admit the difficulties of the case; but there are in this country such elements of generosity, greatness, and good sense, that I am convinced it is only necessary to appeal to them, for the population of Paris to rise and rally around this standard. We have in abundance the means of securing all the liberty which this country can rightfully claim, of making it compatible with all the requisitions of public order, of rallying all the energies of this country, and of passing through the immense trials to which perhaps it is still destined. This is our simple duty, marked out by honour and the true interests of our country. If we cannot fulfil it with firmness, perseverance, and courage, I know not what may be the consequences. But rest assured as I commenced with telling you, that he who has the hardihood to undertake the responsibility of a civil war in the bosom of our noble France is culpable in the highest degree;—a traitor to his country and to the liberty of France and of the world. For myself, gentlemen, I cannot take that responsibility. The regency of the duchess of Orleans, and a ministry formed on the most tried principles, would give the fullest guarantees to freedom; and I trust that an appeal might then be made to the country and to public opinion in all its freedom, and made without being bewildered about the rival pretensions of a civil contest—made in the name of the interests of our common country and of true freedom. Such is my advice, such my opinion. I cannot charge myself with the responsibility of taking any other ground than this."

This address closed amidst silence or murmurs. Whilst the orator was speaking, his day had passed away. Barrot was already in the past. The present no longer belonged to him;—the future had eluded him.

M. de Larochejaquelein sprang to the tribune. The son of the heroes of La Vendée, he assumed the responsibility of his father's cause and of his father's glory. But though a Vendéean in feeling, he was in intellect liberal and almost republican. In default of a legitimate monarch beheaded or proscribed by the omnipotence of circumstances, he recognized no king but the people. He appealed to the insurrection of 1830, to the liberty of all time. His frankness stood in the place

of dexterity, and his honour of parliamentary strategy. His eloquence was the momentary and ever high-minded outburst of his conscience. In the midst of so many speakers he was the patrician orator—the gentleman of the tribune. His voice was the explosion of artillery on the battle-field. His fine countenance, his curling and lion-like hair, his lofty stature, his expanded chest, his heroic gesture, alike imposed upon the eye. A certain joviality of tone which he had, prepossessed the people, who forgave him his royalist name in consideration of his opposition to the new dynasty. On seeing him spring to the tribune, it was supposed that he was about to claim the crown for Henry the Fifth. This impression was disclosed by a murmur. M. de Larochejaquelein understood it and refuted it with a single gesture. "No man," said he, slightly bowing towards the duchess of Orleans, "no man respects or feels more deeply than I, the imposing beauty of certain occasions; this is not the first time that I have been tried by them. I do not stand here foolishly to urge pretensions contrary to those to which M. Barrot has referred, but I think that M. Barrot has not served those interests which he desired to preserve in the way he would wish to have served them. It is well, perhaps, for those who in the past have always served kings, to talk now of the country and of the people." Then raising himself to his full height, and hurling at the deputies of the centre an overpowering gesture of truth and defiance, he exclaimed in his voice of thunder,—"This day you are annihilated. I tell you, you no longer exist."

This expression seemed to have transported into the assembly the insurrection of the streets; the centre party rising burst forth into cries and gestures of indignation and revolt. The orator, perfectly unmoved, continued, "When I told you that you no longer exist, I did not think to raise such a stormy demonstration. It is not I as a deputy who tell you that you no longer exist in that character; I say that this chamber no longer exists, as"—

The people took upon themselves to finish the interrupted sentence of the speaker; a violent knocking was heard at the door on the left, at the foot of the tribune, the rattling of arms, cries, clamorous shouts, and the confused noise of men crowding one upon another echoed through the corridors.

The occupants of the hall and of the tribunes start instantly

to their feet; men with outstretched arms, with bayonets, sabres, crowbars, and tattered draperies above their heads, attempted to penetrate the *hemicycle*. It was the party of Captain Dunoyer, augmented by the republicans, who had joined it on its way. This body had at first entered the Tuileries pell-mell with the insurgent masses, who had invaded that palace at all its gates. There it had saved the municipal guards, and the soldiers who had been forgotten at the retreat. Arrived at length at the throne-room, the column had already been preceded thither by Lagrange, who had been rendered conspicuous by the insurrections of Lyons and of Paris.

Lagrange was holding in his hand the abdication, which, as we have already seen, he had snatched from the Marshal Gerard at the moment when the aged warrior was unfolding it before the people, in the hope of quelling the insurrection.

Lagrange, standing on an ottoman, read this abdication to the people; then, casting round upon his auditory an inquiring look and a scornful smile, he seemed to ask if that pitiful satisfaction would compensate for the blood which had been shed for three days. "No, no," cried the victors, "no more royalty! no other reign!" "Bravo! my friends!" cried Lagrange, "what we must have is a republic." A burst of applause greeted the expression. The speakers took the very throne for their tribune, stood upon it successively, brandishing their arms, and there proclaimed the abolition of royalty. Captain Dunoyer and his men tore down one of the hangings which adorned the canopy of the throne. Others did the same, tore them up, and distributed the tatters, which were speedily made into trophies, scarfs, and cockades. Captain Dunoyer rallied around his own party a number of men whom his voice had summoned to witness the spoliation of the palace. He formed his column anew, and cried out, "To the chamber; let us pursue royalty to the sanctuary where its shadow has taken refuge."

The column crosses the Seine, and marches along the Quai d'Orçay, with cries of "Down with the regency!" It was swelled on its way by such men as are always drawn into insurrectionary currents, as an overflowing stream draws into itself indiscriminately whatever there is, pure or impure, on its banks. A butcher-boy with his tray stained with blood, and brandishing a long knife in his hand; an old man, with his head uncovered and bald, and a white and shaggy beard,

armed with a naked and antique sword, plundered from some museum, the hilt of which was formed by an ammunition-loaf transfixed by the blade, looking like a live model from a painter's studio;—these and a rabble of similar vagabonds, distinguished by their ragged and uncouth dresses and arms, preceded the national guards and the insurgents;—the eructated contents of the popular volcano. Between these men and the column of Dunoyer the youths of the Polytechnic School marched with a military step; the front ranks of the regular troops in vain crossed their bayonets; the republicans beat down the arms of the soldiery, passed them in safety, and descried the royal carriages, which were waiting for the duchess at the gates of the chamber. They feared that their revolution should be snatched from them. They advanced tumultuously to the iron gates which faced the bridge; 2,000 soldiers, drawn up under the command of General Gourgaud, arrest their progress, without driving them back; all remonstrance was fruitless; in vain were they conjured to respect the inviolable sacredness of the representation. "What," replied one of them, "have our fathers so often forced the threshold of the National Assembly and Convention, and shall we not for once cross the threshold of court corruption?"

General Gourgaud presented himself, and harangued them; he attempted at least to temporize with them. "Wait," said he, "I will go myself into the hall, and will bring you a report of what is taking place."

During the short absence of the general, a party of the republicans climbed the wall of the enclosure, mounted the steps of the portico, and attempted to force their way through the openings within the columns of the *façade*. "Stop, my friends," cried Gourgaud, who had just then returned, "M. Crémieux is at the tribune, he is at this moment opposing the regency; M. Marie, whose name you know as an uncompromising advocate of your cause, is now coming out to make the announcement in person."

The name of Marie was listened to with respect. The military figure of the general, the reflection on his name of that of Napoleon, spoke for him. "We believe you, general," replied the leader of the column, Captain Dunoyer; "but the friends of the people are few in the chamber. A venal majority will stifle their voices. It will be too late, and the country will curse you for having arrested our progress." At

these words, Gourgaud, unable to control their onward movement, yields, and stands aside. The troops remain neutral, and the national guard applaud. M. Marie presents himself in vain, his voice is drowned in the tumult, and his arms confined by the crowd. That crowd thrust aside, overthrow, and bear away the sentinels, officers in waiting, and representatives who attempt to obstruct the torrent.

Colonel Dumoulin, an old staff officer of Napoleon, who combined the enthusiasm of republicanism with that of his military recollections, rushed to the head of this column as if to lead it on to the assault. He tore the hangings of the throne from the hands of one of the combatants, ascended the staircase of the tribune, and fixing the staff of this flag to the marble front, seemed to be waiting for some orator to follow him, there to proclaim the revolution. At the foot of the tribune, beneath the folds of this drapery, an old man, with mild and calm expression of countenance, was resting on the hilt of a long and naked sword, like a statue representing a triumphant and appeased populace. The butcher-boy, with his knife in his hand, crosses alone the unoccupied space between the tribune and the steps. The deputies draw back with horror and avoid the contact of his blood-stained clothes. They form a denser group on the upper benches around the duchess of Orleans. The princess, without being alarmed, is taking notes with her pencil on her knee. She is doubtless searching in her own heart for those expressions that will best secure the safety of her sons. No gesture, no cry on the part of the invaders offered to impose their will on the national representation. They seemed to have come as spectators rather than as directors of the destiny which that assembly might present to them. Everything appeared suspended, and as it were petrified in one common expectancy.

A report now spread in the tribune of the journalists that the revolution was betrayed; that some persons, excited and drawn thither by the partisans of the regency, had mingled themselves with the conquerors of the Tuileries as they entered the chamber in order to embarrass and to stifle the *dénouement*. This rumour appeared well founded. A republican, surprised at the apathy of the foremost groups who had introduced themselves into the chamber, M. Marrast, sprang from the tribune assigned to the press in which he was

noting the successive stages of the revolution. "This," cried he, as he crossed the passage, "is the sham people. I am going to call in the real people."

Whilst a new wave of popular invasion was swelling without the chamber, silence and irresolution reigned within. M. Ledru Rollin, standing at the foot of the tribune, at the left, was striving to force his way up the steps.

Almost the only republican in the assembly for some years during which he had had a seat in it, the inspiring spirit of the republican press, the orator of the democratic banquets, the declared enemy of compromise, and of the concealment and half-hearted agitation of the dynastic left, pushing his opposition within the chamber to the limits where faction begins, and without it to that point beyond which it would become sedition,—M. Ledru Rollin, young, tall, of sanguine countenance, and of impetuous voice and gesture, but preserving the reflective calmness of the politician beneath the apparent fervour of the orator, seemed the man marked out for and awaited by the occasion. His style of speaking, strongly modified by the study of all the forms of democratic eloquence, had somewhat of the posthumous tone of the Convention. His speeches smelt of the oil of Danton. It was evident that his active and fertile fancy was frequently turned to the past, in order from it to foreshape the future, and that he regretted the lost opportunities of struggles, glory, and historic death which occurred in the concluded drama of the great revolution.

At the outermost limits of the chamber, isolated in a premature republicanism, M. Ledru Rollin was only conspicuous by his talent. Hitherto his colleagues had listened to him with more of curiosity than of terror. In their eyes he was only a revolutionary apparition; to their ear only a sonorous echo, from a time now for ever buried and silent. But suddenly situations changed. It was his colleagues that vanished away into the past; it was the impossible which was becoming the reality.

"In the name of a people, everywhere in arms," said he, with the gesture of a general pointing to his soldiers behind him; "in the name of the people now masters of Paris, do what you will, I rise to protest against the kind of government that has just been proposed at this tribune. In this, unlike yourselves, I am doing nothing new; for in 1842, in the

discussion of the regency bill, I alone in this chamber declared that it could not become a law without an appeal to the country. For two days we have been fighting for our rights. If now you resist, if you pretend that an ephemeral government exists, constituted by acclamation, and which revolutionary fury is sweeping away, we will still fight in the name of the constitution of 1791, which looms upon our history, and hovers over our country. No regency of a usurping kind is possible. Against such a usurpation I protest, in the name of the people. You speak of order, and of the effusion of blood. Ah! it is the effusion of blood that moves me, for no one has had a nearer view of it than myself. Three thousand lives are lost!"

At these words the butcher-boy sprung to the steps which led to the seat of the duchess of Orleans, evidently for the purpose of avenging his comrades, and muttering between his teeth, "This must be put an end to."

M. Mornay, son-in-law of Marshal Soult, a member of the opposition, but a generous and intrepid man, held back the butcher by his coat. The deputies obstructed his way, and thrust him back under one common impulse of indignation. The fellow was turned out. M. Ledru Rollin resumed, and continued to develop and prolong the same line of argument. But the general feeling was as impatient as the crisis was urgent. "Press the question then," cried M. Berrière, "and propose a provisional government." The party favourable to legitimate royalty and the republican party combined, though without concert, to suppress a government, a creature of momentary surprise and acclamation, which was interposing between their hopes and the issue of events. M. Ledru Rollin continues. He cites the abdication of Napoleon and of Charles the Tenth, both of which were deceptive. The assembly became uninterested and time was wasting. "Move! move!" again cried M. Berrière; "we are all acquainted with history." At length M. Ledru Rollin concluded by proposing the nomination of a provisional government for the people, and a convention.

The steps on both sides of the tribune were besieged with national guards, young men from the schools, combatants and speakers. A cry of "Lamartine! Lamartine! let Lamartine speak!" burst from the people and from part of the assembly.

Deputies from all the benches of the chamber pressed around Lamartine, while others made signs to him, pointing to the tribune; some with the expectation that in rising there he would put the finishing stroke to the revolution; while others supposed that, by throwing himself into it, he would impart to it moderation and order.

Lamartine, who had been motionless and silent from the commencement of the sitting, trembled to speak. He felt that a word would drag the wavering revolution either into a republic replete with problems, or to a regency replete with anarchy. A third element of indecision caused his heart, though not his convictions, to falter, and that was pity.

Having been repeatedly requested to appear at the court of the duchess of Orleans, who was fond of literature, he had rigidly forbidden himself all intercourse with that princess, lest a sentiment of gratitude might hereafter interfere with his political independence. Still he admired from a distance this widow of the duke of Orleans,—a foreign lady, exiled and thrust out of her rightful position as a mother, by a jealous and cruel law. Alone at the Tuileries, between a throne and a tomb, she had nought of happiness but her mourning, nought of royalty but a prospect, nought of maternity but its cares. Yet with her genius, her sensibility, and her tears, she was said to be in all respects equal to her destiny. All these secrets were revealed by her physiognomy. Her beauty visibly enveloped her thoughts. A hundred times had the heart of Lamartine been tempted to yield to this living and poetic charm, and to compass the restoration of that sovereignty which had been wrested from her by the harshness of the law. Was she not queen in imagination? And now the hour was come to realize the dream. To this nothing was necessary, but to utter from the tribune that cry which was in the deepest recesses of every heart. The gestures and the voices which forced him thither constituted Lamartine the arbiter of fortune; while the somewhat rigid impartiality which he had hitherto exhibited gave a leading influence and authority to his decision. The presence of the duchess, her pallid countenance, and her suppliant looks, constituted of themselves one-half the eloquence which was necessary to subdue an assembly of men of sensibility. Never had a pleader such clients behind him. They suggested the recollection of those trains of dethroned women and children

whom the Roman orators used to exhibit to excite the pity of that people. The French are far more open to the influence of tears.

Lamartine had only to say to the princess and her children, "Arise! you are the widow of that duke of Orleans whose death and whose memory the people have crowned in your person. You are the children bereaved of that father and adopted by the nation! You are the innocents and the victims of the faults of the throne, the wards and the suppliants of the people. Flying from the throne, you take refuge in a revolution. That revolution is just, it is generous, it is French. It does not contend against women and children; it does not take the patrimony of widows and of orphans; it does not despoil its prisoners and its guests. Go, reign! it restores to you in compassion the throne that has been forfeited by misdeeds of which you are only the victims. The ministers of your grandfather have wasted your inheritance. The people restores it to you. It adopts you, itself will be your parent. You had but a prince for your guardian, henceforth you shall have a mother and a nation."

At such words as these the chamber would have risen as one man, stimulated by the spectacle, the tears, the stifled accents of the duchess, and by the child carried to the tribune in the arms of its mother. Lamartine would have led the assembly, and what national guards were present in the chamber, in the train of the princess to the platform of the portico. From that spot he would have exhibited the widow and the child to the irresolute people and the faithful troops. Their acclamations would have been secure. That procession, swelled by torrents of national guards and of the populace, would have attended the duchess and her children to the Tuileries, and there would have proclaimed the regency. What a turn of events! what a drama! and what a *dénouement!* what a triumph of the affections over reason, of nature over politics!

Lamartine had such words on his lips, that gesture ready to his hand, that act in his imagination, those tears in his eyes. But he yielded not to those noble temptations of an imaginative man; he tore his heart from his breast, and restrained it beneath his hand, to listen only to the voice of reason. More powerfully still did that reason recall to him the views he had expressed but two hours before to the council of the republicans.

The regency in the midst of a crisis which had aroused the people, drawn away the national guard, dissolved the army, overturned the throne, expelled the king, provoked the demand for universal suffrage, suspended labour, and thrown out of employment two hundred thousand workmen, panting for their rights and hungering for food, would not have been a peace, but only a short and stormy truce. The bloody revolution was not yet ended, but only beginning;—terrible, convulsive, unsatiable;—with a feeble government, the creation of a sentiment and of a momentary surprise. Lamartine would have saved the present and sacrificed the future. He would have indulged his emotions, but ruined his country. At the expense of that country he felt that he had no right to gratify his own feelings, and to sacrifice thousands of lives for the sake of playing the brilliant part of a moment, in an unmanly drama of sentimental politics. It would have been easy, it would have been delightful to him, to shed at the tribune that tear, which, like every one else, he had gathering in his eyes. But that tear would have become a torrent of civil bloodshed, and he restrained it. That is one of the violences done to the heart which costs human nature its severest sacrifices. It was no fault of which his conscience will ever repent. He would have lost not only the republic, but the very victims of the catastrophe, whom, by crowning, he would have devoted to destruction. At length he ascended, or rather was carried to the tribune. A profound silence reigned, as soon as the name of the orator was uttered to the assembly. He dared not raise his eyes to the princess, lest a look from her should cause his tongue to falter, or his struggling resolution to fail.

With a voice deep as the abyss of destiny he was about to fathom, he spoke as follows:—"Gentlemen, I participate as profoundly as any man among you that twofold sentiment which has just pervaded this assembly at the sight of one of the most touching spectacles which the annals of humanity can present,—that of an august princess sheltering herself in her affliction beneath the innocence of her child; who has fled from the recesses of an invaded and deserted palace, and thrown herself into the sanctuary of the popular representation."

At these words, in which some foreboded an appeal to their pity, and others a failure of patriotic feeling, a hum of applause

from the centre, and of dissatisfaction from the people, rises and mingles in a low murmur. Lamartine perceived it, and throwing around upon both parties a look which revealed his thoughts, exclaimed, "I beg to be allowed to finish my sentence, and I entreat your attention to the sequel."

The silence and anxiety became more intense. "I told you, gentlemen," he continued, "that I had shared with you the emotion by which this chamber has just been agitated. And here I make no distinction between the national representation here assembled, and that representation of the people of Paris, which has introduced itself to our benches. This is a moment of equality; and that equality, I am convinced, will only cause to be spontaneously recognized, through the people who have joined us, our authority to re-establish concord and to restore the public peace." (Expressions of assent from the groups of insurgents who were standing to the right of the speaker at the foot of the tribune.)

"But, gentlemen," continued Lamartine, "if I partake of that emotion which the affecting spectacle of the greatest human catastrophes inspires, if I share that respect which misfortune still more intensifies in our minds, whatever may be our political opinions, I have no less a lively sense of the respect due to this people, who have been fighting for three days to overturn a retrograde government, and to re-establish, upon a henceforth immoveable basis, the reign of order and the reign of peace. Under this impression I shall not subject my mind to the delusion which has just lately been exhibited at this tribune. I cannot suppose that a momentary acclamation, drawn by an honourable emotion from an assembly melted to tenderness by natural feeling, can establish a stable and undisputed government over a population of thirty-six millions. I know that what one burst of popular enthusiasm may create another may destroy. I know that whatever may be the character of that government which it may be compatible with the wisdom and with the interests of this country to establish, in order to escape from the crisis in which we are placed, it is of consequence to this people, to all classes of the population, especially to those who have shed their blood in this struggle, to have, cemented with that blood, not an ephemeral government, but a stable, national, popular—in short, an immoveable order of things."

"Yes, yes," cried the combatants, waving their flags, brandishing their arms, and exhibiting the marks of blood and gunpowder on their hands.

"Well," resumed Lamartine, with a more resolute tone of conviction in his voice, "how to arrive at this? how to find a government amidst these floating relics of the wreck, and amidst this tempest by which we have been carried away, in which the popular wave is accumulating every moment, and even in this chamber is now swelling the billow which has submerged us—how to find this immoveable basis? how, do I say, gentlemen? Why, by going to the very foundations of the people and the country, by extracting from national rights that great secret of universal sovereignty, whence issues all order, all liberty, all truth. For this purpose, far from having recourse to those subterfuges, to those surprises, to those emotions of the hour, to those fictions of which a country repents when the fictions themselves have vanished; for this, I say, I am about to support both the motions that have been made, which in their combination I shall have been the first to propose at this tribune,—the proposition of a government of urgency, and of necessity, imposed by circumstances; of a government which may stanch the blood which is flowing, of a government which may suspend the civil war."

The people immediately applauded these words, as if they had embodied a proclamation of peace accepted by themselves. With a gesture significant of the acceptance of these conditions, the old man with a long beard, who was standing at the feet of the speaker, deliberately returned his sword to its scabbard.

"Of a government," resumed Lamartine, "which may clear up the terrible and unsuspected state of things which has for years existed between the different classes of our citizens, and which, by hindering our settlement and mutual recognition as a united people, has prevented our loving and embracing each other in unaffected harmony.

"I demand then that there be instantly established, in consideration of the rights of the public peace, of the rights of the blood which is still flowing, and of the rights of this people exhausted by the glorious work which it has been accomplishing within the last three days—I demand, I say, that we instantly constitute a provisional government."

Universal cheerings burst from every part of the assembly, who clearly perceived that the position of affairs presented no other path of safety.

"A government," continued the speaker, "which shall in no degree be prejudiced, either by our retrospective opinions, our desires, or our present excited feelings, with respect to that definitive form of government which it may be the pleasure of the nation to accept, when that nation has been consulted."—(A thousand cries of "Bravo" burst forth at this reservation of the rights of the nation. "That's it! That's it!" cried the populace. "Name! Name! Name the members of the government.") "Stay," resumed the speaker. "The first object of that government must be to establish an instant cessation of hostilities among the citizens. The second must be to convoke the entire electoral body of the country; and when I say *entire*, I mean all that is imported in the name of MAN; that is, of a being capable of intelligence, of will, and of the name of a CITIZEN. One last word, the sovereignties which have succeeded each other for the last fifty years—"

The last sentence of the speaker was cut short by a volley of musketry, the reverberation of which shook the tribune, and boomed through the corridors. The populace present uttered a cry of exultation, stretching out their hands towards the door. The members of the chamber sprang to their feet. The doors which separate the tribune from the passages were broken down by the butt-ends of muskets, or by the pressure of the brawny shoulders of a new reinforcement of assailants.

It was the front ranks, consisting of about three hundred men, who had issued from the Tuileries after the sacking of the palace, all flushed with three days' fighting, and some giddy with the fumes of powder and the excitement of the march. They had just crossed the Place de la Concorde, under the eyes of the generals, who had caused a path to be opened for them between the bayonets of the troops. Arrived at the outer gates of the chamber, their comrades within had admitted them at a signal given by M. Marrast. Guided by associates who were acquainted with the secret passages of the building, they crowded the corridors, and rushed with the cries of mortal combat into the spectators' galleries. Their torn clothes, their shirts open, their arms bare, their fists clenched and resembling muscular clubs, their hair wildly dishevelled, and singed with cart-

ridges, their countenances maddened with the delirium of revolution, their eyes smitten with the spectacle, so novel to them, presented by this chamber, in which they looked down from above on thousands of heads,—all revealed them as desperadoes, who were come to make the last assault upon the last refuge of royalty. They climbed over the benches, they elbowed and beat down the attendants of the tribunes, they raised with one hand their hats or their seal-skin caps, they brandished their arms, pikes, bayonets, sabres, crow-bars, with cries of "Down with the regency!" "The republic for ever!" "Turn out the corrupt!" The very roof shook with their cries.

The same irruption burst and thundered through the spacious but already obstructed doorways which lead to the foot of the tribune. The chief of the column, Captain Dunoyer, waved over the head of the speaker the tricolour flag, fringed with gold, the token of the dismantled throne of the Tuileries. The deputies, in consternation, turned pale at this evidence of the victory of the people. "This flag," cried Captain Dunoyer, "demonstrates that here there is no longer any will but ours, and outside these walls are a hundred thousand fighting men who will no longer submit to kings or regents." A number of deputies now quietly withdrew from their benches, and one by one retired by every egress. "Make way for the traitors," cried the people from the galleries; "shame for the cowards." Meanwhile the duchess of Orleans remained, almost exposed and deserted, and pale and trembling for her children. The populace, however, did not observe her, concealed as she was behind a screen of deputies.

Lamartine was still standing at the tribune, the possession of which was incessantly disputed by new assailants. President Sauzet put on his hat, as an indication of the disruption of the sitting, and the violation of the assembly. But the indication came too late. The populace, irritated by this signal, threatened the president by their voices and their gestures. One individual rushed to him and forcibly removed his hat, in order to save his life by this compulsory submission to the victory of the people. At this moment the ominous sound of a suppressed struggle directed the eyes of all to the tribunes on the right. A throng of combatants rushed in that direction, as if into a breach of a city that had been taken by storm. Their arms, their gestures, their

impatient cries, indicate the last degree of guilty resolution. Other combatants, mingling with these, strive in vain to restrain them. The barrels of muskets and the glitter of bayonets were seen confusedly undulating, like standing corn agitated by opposing winds. "Where is she? Where is she?" cried some of the combatants, more through curiosity than evil intention, as they pointed to the part of the centre, at which the duchess and her children still sat, forgotten and hidden behind a group of deputies scarcely numerous enough for the purpose.

At these cries and gestures, the princess was drawn away from the chamber. With her feeble suite and her children she fell into the midst of the invading mob, which was pouring from the outer passages of the tribunes. With difficulty she escaped suffocation and death, thanks to her sex, to her veil which prevented her being recognized, and to the arms of a few courageous deputies, among whom M. de Mornay was still conspicuous. Separated, however, by the undulations of the crowd from her two children and the duke of Nemours, she succeeded alone with her defenders in penetrating the throng of insurgents, and descending the flight of steps which leads to the Salle des Pas Perdus.

Here she was surrounded and overwhelmed by a fresh torrent of the populace, amidst which she floated from one side to the other, like a wreck in a storm. At length she was thrown, half-stifled and almost swooning away, against a glass door, the squares of which were broken by the shock of that slender frame. On recovering her consciousness, she missed her children. She calls them. Her attendants promise to bring them, and hasten to seek them beneath the very feet of the multitude. During this time a few friends succeeded in forming a circle round the princess. They opened one of the glass doors on a level with the president's garden. Through this garden she was led in safety to the mansion of the president, there to bide her destiny, and await the arrival of her children.

The count de Paris, separated from his mother by the crowd, and indicated to the people as their future king, had been brutally seized by the throat, by a man of colossal stature. The huge and bony hand of this madman had nearly strangled the poor child, in the jocose pretence. A soldier of

the national guard, who was looking for the child, witnessed this detestable outrage, and with one vigorous blow of his fist, beat down the arm of this unfeeling wretch. He seized the young prince, and carried him, all trembling and soiled as he was, to his mother, who burst into tears as she embraced him.

But still her other son was missing, the little duke de Chartres. She cried out for him, and kept close to the windows of the garden, hoping to catch the most distant prospect of his restoration to her. The child had fallen under the tumultuous mass of the populace, while passing from the tribune into the passages. He was trampled under the feet of the multitude, whose din did not allow his little stifled cries to be heard. For a short time he was lost.

The duke de Nemours, similarly separated from the duchess by the crowd, had succeeded in making his way through it without insult. He had taken refuge in an office of the chamber; there he was supplied with other clothes, in which he disguised himself, for the purpose of escaping without being recognized.

A fresh body of men now entered the chamber. They held up their helmets, their fur caps, and their swords, still covered with the blood of the municipal guards, whom they had slain in the Place de la Concorde. A few were armed with muskets. One of these, a workman stripped to his shirt, with his sleeves blackened by work, with a deranged expression of countenance, and with the quick and abrupt gesture of insanity, placed himself on the edge of the same tribune from which had just issued the threats against the princess. He levelled his piece at the president. A thousand cries were uttered to warn M. Sauzet of his danger. M. Sauzet did not change colour; but at length quitting his seat, in order to avoid a pretext for crime, rapidly descended the steps, and left the chamber.

At the same moment the young workman, no longer seeing the president in the chair, but perceiving Lamartine standing alone, in black clothes, in the centre of the tribune, surrounded by arms and flags, supposed that it was another president, or some orator who was hostile to the people. He slowly pointed his musket at him, like a sportsman taking a deliberate aim. Captain de Dunoyer, who was standing at

the left of M. de Lamartine, attempted to cover him with his person, exclaiming, "Screen yourself, they are firing at you." "I see the musket," said Lamartine, with a smile, "pointed to my breast; but he has taken a false aim, he will not hit me. Besides, what matter if they kill me? If at such a moment I fall at the tribune, I die at my post."

From all quarters hands were raised towards this second tier of galleries, from which the barrels of muskets were presented. "Don't fire," cried the people below to the people above, "it is Lamartine." The armed man did not heed the cry; the serjeant of the national guard de Villard rushed upon him and diverted his aim. A few intrepid men disarmed him, and in spite of his cries of rage, dragged him from the chamber in which he had sought to stain the tribune with blood and the revolution with disgrace.

Almost all the deputies from the centres had withdrawn on the departure of the president, the flight of the duchess, and the sight of the muskets. A number of intrepid men, members of the opposition, among whom M. de Lascases, a man who, in a feeble frame, possessed a resolute heart, retained their seats confounded amongst the press of the populace and the national guards who had forced their entrance. An invasion of speakers unconnected with the chamber alternately besieged and retired from the tribunal itself, where they exhibited gestures of fight and of triumph, and shouted words of command, and motions which were lost in a tumult of clamour.

Lamartine remained firm at the tribune, in order not to surrender it to a chaos of motions, simply standing on one side, and waiting till the tumult had exhausted itself with its own violence. From all quarters the deputies and the populace made significant signs to him, in order to keep him at his post, and to conjure him not to quit it till a government had been proclaimed. A thousand voices cried, "Take the chair; let Lamartine preside over us." This he declined. He knew that the chair was too remote from the people, and that they needed at this moment a guiding voice close to their ear, and not a guiding president. "Go," said he, to a few active, intrepid youths who were crowding round him to convey his suggestions to the multitude, "go, summon that old man from his seat; that is Dupont de l'Eure. That name will be the

most influential on free and republican France. His direction will be sanctioned by public esteem. The only power at this moment is public respect. In the eyes of the people, the sanctity of veneration will attach to that resolute old man. His name will impress the seal of moral authority and virtue on the course we are about to attempt for the re-establishment of order. Should he through modesty decline, offer violence to those hoary hairs, and drag him against his will to the president's chair. That man is indispensable; Providence has preserved him for this hour.

The youths obeyed, and carried Dupont de l'Eure to the chair. At the sight of him every head was uncovered. All hands applauded. Every countenance beamed a welcome. The revolution had a moderator. In the midst of their frenzy, the people had a conscience, and the tribune a voice worthy to pronounce their behests.

Lamartine leaned forward, and said in a low voice to Dupont de l'Eure, "Lose not a moment in proclaiming the names of a provisional government, which shall gain by acclamation the assent of the deputies and the people; seize the opportunity before it has escaped." Dupont de l'Eure made a sign of acquiescence by bowing to Lamartine.

Confused voices now loudly demanded the nomination of the provisional government. Several lists of names were presented to Lamartine, hastily arranged, by young men who wrote them at random on their knee. Lamartine cast a rapid glance over the lists, tore up some of them, and altered others. Meanwhile confusion and impatience were spreading through the ranks of the people. Those who were nearest to the tribune burst into exclamations; the more vehement cried out, "Name them! name them! announce yourself!" This Lamartine refused to do. He would not compromise beforehand the scrutiny of the people, by impressing on the proposed names the arbitrary authority of an individual choice. He confined himself to whispering to the scrutineers the names which most naturally suggested themselves to his own mind, and which seemed to him best suited to the purpose of harmonizing the people in a combination of authority and order.

After protracted efforts on the part of MM. Crémieux, Carnot, and Dumoulin to restore tranquillity, Dupont de

l'Eure proclaimed the names of the members of the provisional government. These were MM. Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Ledru Rollin, and Crémieux. The announcement of each of these names was ratified by a volley of applause. In them every shade of popular opinion found its representative. It constituted the requisite conditions of peace, suddenly embodied in these diversities of character, position, and political principle; a provisional unity of action amidst the past and future fluctuation of events. It was a government of action, awaiting and preparing for a government of right. It was the explosion of a revolution, before time had separated and cooled its antagonistic elements.

It approved itself to the instinct of the people; their acclamations anticipated the wisdom and the strength which resided in this apparently confused combination of individuals. Dupont de l'Eure represented public virtue; Lamartine, the fraternization of classes in a democracy; Arago, the glory of intellectual power; Garnier Pagès, hereditary esteem and popular gratitude paid to a tomb; Marie, stern authority, combined with moderation; Ledru Rollin, the impetuosity, the enthusiasm, and perhaps the excess of republicanism; Crémieux, the power of debate suited to every purpose, and liberty of conscience embodied in the government.

Scarcely had these names been proclaimed, when opposing cries began to arise among the populace. One was demurred to, and another was feared. Some names were sought to be withdrawn from, and others added to the list; three or four voices pronounced the name of Louis Blanc, and a few hands wrote it down. Lamartine passed it by in silence. He was aware of the popular power of that young writer, and appreciated his talents; but he dreaded the spirit of a foregone conclusion in a government of pacification and concord. Absolute dogmas, even when they are true, render governments impracticable; when they are false, they cause them to miscarry. Lamartine did not choose that the republic should be stranded on an Utopia. He felt that if the discussion was prolonged, the exactions of the multitude would increase with every fresh name that was uttered in the crowd, and that the provisional government would be decomposed before it was organized.

He descended with precipitation from the tribune, and

mingled in the mass of combatants, national guards, and populace, which thronged the hall. They wished to conduct him to the mansion of the president of the chamber, there to install the government. "No, no," exclaimed he; "to the Hôtel de Ville."

"To the Hôtel de Ville," repeated the crowd. With difficulty they stemmed the torrent of people which was pouring into the halls and corridors, and reached the iron gate which opens upon the quay.

Lamartine had intuitively felt that if this provisional government were installed at the Chamber of Deputies, or at the office of the minister of the interior, it would probably be attacked and annihilated before night. The civil strife which had been extinguished by the proclamation of this government would be rekindled in the evening between two rival administrations. The Hôtel de Ville, the head quarters of the revolution, the Palace of the People, the Mount Aventine of seditions, was occupied by innumerable multitudes of people from the surrounding quarters, and from the armed faubourgs. These masses, directed by the most enterprising and intrepid men, would not fail, on hearing the defeat of royalty, the flight of the regency, and the triumph of the revolution, to name a government for themselves. The sanguinary anarchies and tyrannies of the Commons of Paris under the first republic naturally occurred to the thoughts of Lamartine. He instantly saw them afresh in all their horror, still further augmented by those elements of social strife which the absurd doctrines of communism, socialism, and expropriation were causing to ferment, and would cause to burst forth in these masses of workmen, destitute of food, but possessed of arms. To allow a single hour for the proclamation of a municipal and socialist government at the Hôtel de Ville was to allow the organization of a servile in the midst of a political war; it was to open the veins of France for the shedding of torrents of blood. Garnier Pagès, who possessed all the sagacity of lively feeling, had perceived all this just as Lamartine had, though without having spoken to him. He hastened to the Hôtel de Ville, and there, by right of his foresight, assumed the office of mayor of Paris. In these quarters his very name had the force of magistracy. It recalled to the people two popularities embodied in a single individual.

Garnier Pagès was the brother of the young republican deputy, the first of that name, who had recently been carried off in the very prime of life. This orator, whose reputation was increased by every speech he delivered, was, at the tribune, what Carrel was in the daily press, the personification of progress. His brother had inherited his popularity and his principles, tempered in him by a more cordial and courteous disposition. His deep study of economical and financial questions; his eloquence, which came directly from the heart to the lips; his laborious probity, which had long and honourably struggled with fortune, before it had conquered; his winning voice; his physiognomy, radiant with serenity in the midst of fervour; the gestures, in which his soul was revealed,—rendered Garnier Pagès powerful over the masses by that greatest of all influences, goodness. This evident goodness, however, in Garnier Pagès in no degree detracted from his strength of character. Intrepidity was only another element of simplicity in his nature. His self-devotion required no effort; it was the intrepidity of a child.

Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Crémieux, and Lamartine, succeeded in rejoining one another at the gate of the palace. Whilst, amidst the acclamations of the people outside, they were waiting for their colleagues whom they had lost in the halls, the tribune which they had left behind them deserted, already served as an arena for the combatants who had remained within. Armed men dressed as labourers mounted it by turns, there to play the part of the departed speakers. "No more civil list!" cried a pauper. "No more royalty!" cried an old man, proud of the recollection of having lived without a king in his youth during the fantastic days of liberty. "Let us tear down the canvass where royalty still reigns in effigy," cried the men of the new creed.

They already had sprung upon the platform of the president's chair, in order to cut to pieces the picture of the coronation of 1830, when a workman, armed with a double-barrelled gun, exclaimed, "Wait, I will do justice to kings;" at the same moment he fired both barrels into the canvass. These mock-regicide discharges pierced the red ribbon which decorated the breast of the king. Destruction and mutilation commenced. A young man named Théodore Six, himself a working man, ascended the tribune. "Respect to

monuments," cried he; "inviolability to national property;" "decency and order in victory." The multitude applauded. The populace of Paris, though lavish of their blood, are slow to devastation, and superstitious in respect to the arts. Works of genius inspire them with respect, as they did the people of Athens. They seem to be aware that intelligence is their royalty, in the eyes of history and of time. The chamber was evacuated. Captain Dunoyer and Colonel Dumoullin, who had till then remained at the tribune with their flags, to protect the palace of the national representation, now went to resume by the side of Lamartine and his colleagues, their station at the head of the column which set out for the Hôtel de Ville.

BOOK V.

THE people, impressed with respect for grey hairs, had gone in search of a hackney cabriolet, drawn by one horse, which they induced Messrs. Dupont de l'Eure and Arago to enter. Garnier Pagès was at the Hôtel de Ville. Marie and Ledru Rollin were kept back, and smothered in the crowd of men fluctuating in the interior of the palace. Lamartine walked alone at the head of the army of the people, surrounded by a few members of the Assembly, who resolved to follow the fortunes of the day, by eight or ten national guards rallied by their general, and by an increasing stream of men, women, and children, clapping their hands, brandishing arms, and uttering every moment cries of victory and of peace.

Crémieux presently joined him. His column was feeble both in numbers and in arms. It was composed in all of about six hundred men, of whom two or three hundred were armed. A single company or squadron charging this confused and disorderly procession, easily would have dispersed it, and deposed this government established by acclamation.

Lamartine and his colleagues did not disguise this from themselves. They had devoted themselves, without looking behind them at all the hazards which that devotion involved.

They had no other right than their own conscientiousness. An arbitrary and partial suffrage, limited to a small number of insurgents at the foot of an invaded tribune under the semblance of an election, was but a usurpation, powerful in purpose, but destitute of authority. Their title might have been disputed in the name of royalty. It might have been disputed in the name of the people. Behind them at the Tuileries, before them at the Hôtel de Ville, all was illegal. Their invasion of the sovereign power bore the appearance of a twofold outrage. They had no answer to give to any who should have challenged them to show their commission. They could only point to the city in arms, the throne vacated, the chambers expelled, buildings in flames, the people fighting against each other, and blood flowing in the streets, and say, "We assume the government to put an end to these disasters, to extinguish this fire, to stanch this blood, to save this people. We take it by the right of a passer-by, who generously throws himself, though unauthorized, between two men who are murdering each other. That passer-by has no written authority in his hand, but he has a duty eternally written in his heart. It is that of saving his brethren. His right is ours. Condemn us, if you please. We will not resist the letter of your decision; we consent knowingly to be the victims of logic, so that we may be the pacificators of this people."

With the exception of what had just taken place at the Tuileries and at the chamber, everything was unknown. The duchess of Orleans might be at the Champs Elysées or on the esplanade of the Invalides surrounded by the princes, her brothers-in-law, at the head of one of the divisions of the army. The Tuileries and the Champs Elysées were still covered with regiments. The forts around Paris were still to supply their ammunition, soldiers, and artillery. Vincennes was doubtless impregnable. The king was in all probability waiting at Saint-Cloud or Versailles until reinforcements summoned from the departments should come to swell the army of Paris, which was retiring intact. On the opposite side of the Seine battalions and squadrons were seen defiling, who looked with contempt upon the popular procession which was marching in an opposite direction on the other side of the river.

The pavements were slippery with mud and gore; here

and there the dead bodies of men and horses strewed the quay, and obliged the head of the column to turn aside.

They arrived at the barracks of the Quai d'Orçay. The dragoons who occupied them had shut the gates; the fury of the populace might rekindle by the sight of the soldiers who had charged them the last three days. The firing of a musket might be the signal for a massacre, similar to that of the municipal guards.

Lamartine hastened forward and approached the gate of the barracks. He stopped, exhausted with the thoughts, the words, and the actions in which the day had been spent. He was thirsty, but he feigned a degree of exhaustion greater than he really felt, and accosting the dragoons who crowded to the iron gate, "Soldiers," said he, "a glass of wine."

This request, instantly repeated by the group that surrounded him, was heard by the dragoons. They brought a bottle and a glass and poured out some wine. Lamartine raised the glass in his hand before drinking, and smilingly alluding to the banquets,—which preceded and caused the revolution, "My friends," cried he, "this is our banquet; let the people and the soldiers fraternize together with me," and he drank.

Then, accompanied by these words, the dragoons and the people burst simultaneously into cries of "Lamartine for ever! the provisional government for ever!" They grasped each other's hands, and the peace was sealed..

The column resumed its march, and crossed the Seine by the Pont Neuf. At the Pont Royal, some citizens took M. Crémieux, and compelled him to get into a cabriolet which followed the carriage of Dupont de l'Eure. Lamartine continued to march alone at the head of the column. Here a young woman dressed as a soldier, and wearing the uniform of a municipal guard who had been slain and stripped before the palace of the Tuileries, rushed sword in hand from the midst of a dense mass of combatants, towards Lamartine, crying "*Vive la république.*" She wished to embrace the orator, but Lamartine pushed her back. "Women," said he, addressing the Amazon, "do not fight. They are on the side of all the wounded. Go, take them up, and carry them indiscriminately to the temporary hospitals." The young woman embraced one of the national guard, and retired into the crowd, amidst the "bravos!" of the populace.

In the middle of the Quai de la Megisserie, barricades, erected at intervals, obstructed the progress of the vehicles. Dupont de l'Eure, being obliged to alight, advanced, supported by two of the combatants. His name and his age, the respect and the admiration in which he was held, powerfully impressed the multitude with a sense of decorum. The veneration which was felt for this aged man was reflected upon the government, and contributed not a little to procure its acceptation. At every step they were obliged to lift Dupont de l'Eure over the dead bodies of men and horses, broken fragments of arms, and the pools of blood, which covered the approaches to the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. Litters conveying the wounded and the dead, borne upon the shoulders of their comrades, were slowly threading their way towards the hospitals.

At the turn from the quay to the Place de Grève, the members of the government found themselves engulfed in a sea of men. The entire square, as well as the bridges and the spacious quay by which it is skirted, was covered by so dense a multitude, that it seemed impossible to cross it. The cries of "Make way for the government!" were lost in the tremendous din which arose from this vast throng; the reports of musketry here and there mingled with the din of the tocsin clanging from the towers of the cathedral, and from the neighbouring belfries. Prolonged shouting succeeded to the harsh reverberation of the firing; whilst yells and deep inarticulate murmurs issued from the entrances of the Hôtel de Ville, blended with the crash of broken windows on the pavement, and the rattle of the butt-ends of muskets in the hands of the combatants.

The first ranks which the government attempted to penetrate threw wild and suspicious looks on these unknown deputies, who came under the sanction of a conquered senate, to throw themselves unarmed into the midst of the people, and assume the direction of a victory which had been gained over themselves. They rudely hustled them, turned their backs upon them with contempt, and refused to allow them to pass.

The names, however, of Dupont de l'Eure and of Arago, repeated from mouth to mouth, commanded a respectful attitude even among those who were the most rebellious to

all respect. These names, with those of their colleagues, spread rapidly from group to group over the surface of this ocean, and by degrees caused the looks of the whole multitude to turn towards that part of the open space where the government were striving to effect a passage. But the breathless curiosity of the populace, still hot from the fight, and awaiting a *dénouement* either from heaven or from man, impelled them with such force in the direction of the deputies, who were bringing to them both victory and peace, that Dupont de l'Eure and his colleagues narrowly escaped being thrown down, and crushed to death by the reflux of this mass. It was necessary that the column which constituted the train of the government should form a rampart before it, composed of its most robust and intrepid men. This head of the column, like pioneers, who demolish obstacles, slowly opened a path which every moment closed before this living rampart.

Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, and Crémieux, sometimes united, and sometimes separated by the involuntary, convulsive, and irresistible movements of this undulating multitude, advanced in this way obliquely towards the Hôtel de Ville, beneath a canopy of pikes, rusty muskets, swords, bayonets fastened upon long poles, cutlasses, daggers, brandished over their heads by bare arms scorched with powder, stained with blood, and still trembling with the fever of three days' fighting. Their costumes were hideous, their countenances pale, and excited to madness; their lips quivered with cold and excitement; their eyes were fixed as in insanity. It was the madness of freedom.

Their mouths, opened to utter cries, only gave expression to deep murmurs. It was evident that these people had, within the last sixty hours, exhausted their strength, their blood, their breath, and their voices. It was the still feverish debility of a nation raising itself on its ensanguined bed, to gaze at the approach of those who were bringing them the cup of refreshment and the respite from death.

After long circuits through this multitude, the members of the government at length reached the grand entrance of the Hôtel de Ville, surmounted by the bronze statue of Henry IV. But the mass of combatants was so dense and so furious beneath the roof of those flights of steps,—such a

forest of steel bristled both on the stairs and within the inner hall,—that the members of the government were unable to make their way, notwithstanding the constant struggle which was maintained between the opposing currents of those who were entering and those who resisted their pressure. An irresistible undulation threw them back, with their train of national guards and citizens, towards a gate nearer the river, and bore them away into a court-yard filled with horses whose riders had fallen, with wounded men and dead bodies lying in their blood. The crowd, which already filled the court, and that which followed them — the trampling and neighing of the horses, breaking their bridles and prancing with terror—the firing from the open square, and the upper stories of the hotel—the throng and swarming of thousands of men on the staircase—kept the deputies for a long time separated from each other, and overwhelmed, as it were, in this furnace of the revolution. At length, after superhuman efforts of the multitudes who overwhelmed and carried them away, and now swayed them back again, bearing them backwards and forwards like shipwrecked men on a ridge of rocks, they landed in the long corridors of the lower story which form the outlets of this immense palace.

The torrent of armed men which filled the hotel, though more densely confined in the interior, were only the more violent. Finding it impossible to rejoin, or to hold any communication with each other, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Ledru Rollin, and their colleagues, in vain entered by turns the secret halls and apartments of the building. All were equally thronged with people. Wounded men were expiring on straw; orators, mounted on the furniture or on the window-ledges, were madly gesticulating, exhibiting the blood upon their shoes, and yelling forth proposals of combat and extermination.

All association of the deputies with their colleagues,—all silence, privacy, and collective deliberation, and consequently all action, were impossible. Despair took possession of them. They did not indeed betray it in their countenances; but they trembled lest the night should fall before they should have succeeded in obtaining the recognition and the acceptance of the people. Such a night, with three hundred thousand

men in arms, intoxicated with the fumes of gunpowder, standing on the ruins of all government, and this in a capital containing fifteen hundred thousand men! The strife, the murder, the conflagration which, under such circumstances, might be spread and perpetuated during hours of bloodshed and fire, made them shudder; they drifted at the mercy of their fatigue, their impotence, and their distress. Their voices were exhausted in calling for silence, for a place of refuge from the tumult—for a table, a pen, and a sheet of paper, in order to throw to the people from the windows one word of safety, one sign of authority.

No human utterance could from the height of that balcony have overpowered the roar of a hundred thousand voices, the clang of arms, the groans of the dying, and the reports of fire-arms, prolonged in echoes through the vaulted roofs, the staircases, and the corridors.

Lamartine felt himself seized by the arm with a vigorous grasp. He turned round, and a man in black, with an intelligent, commanding, and finely-marked countenance, said to him in a low tone, "I will open for you an unoccupied apartment in the inmost recesses of the chambers of the prefect of Paris. Place a strong guard of your armed men at the entrance of the narrow corridor which leads to it. I will go and seek your colleagues one by one in the crowd. I will bring them to you. You will then be enabled to deliberate and to act."

This man was M. Flottard, an *employé* of the municipal authorities of Paris, who knew all the windings of the Hôtel de Ville. He threw himself into the crowd as if it had been his natural element. His lofty stature, his powerful shoulders, the calm, resolute, and jovial carriage of his head, which overtopped all around, enabled him to subdue and cleave his way through the multitude, and to put aside the bayonets with his hand, as if they had been ears of corn in a field. The people seemed to know him, and to allow the bold and somewhat rough familiarity of his gestures and his commands. There was something of the Danton in his countenance, but of Danton before the crime of September.

M. Flottard, with a few members of the government, made their way to the extremity of a corridor, and to a little door, which they broke open. They entered a narrow cabinet, fur-

nished with a table and a few chairs. They posted a dense column of armed volunteers in the corridor, to prevent approach, and waited till their other colleagues, sought by M. Flottard, should be rescued from the throng, and conducted to this place of meeting.

The council seated themselves around the little table, amidst the noise of firing through the windows, of shouting in the open square, of panes broken by the butt-ends of muskets, and of gates burst in by the pressure of the masses.

Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Marie, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, and Lamartine, leaned on the bare wood of their narrow council-table. Every minute fresh men, summoned thither by the danger and by their patriotism, rushed to the Hôtel de Ville, made their way through the crowd, announced their names, were introduced into the private apartment, and, standing behind the members of government, or leaning against the wall, offered their counsels, while awaiting the employment of their devoted courage.

These were deputies, magistrates of Paris, colonels of the national guard, citizens, well known in their vicinity, and journalists of every shade of liberal opinion. Conspicuous among these were M. Flocon, the editor of the *Réforme* republican journal, a man whose arm was wearied in the fray, but who in that strife only sought to realize another form of order; M. Louis Blanc, concealed amidst the crowd by his diminutive stature, but ever and anon revealing himself by the fire of his eye, the energy of his gestures, the metallic ringing of his voice, and the earnest activity of his movements; M. Marrast, with a composed and quietly sarcastic expression, even in the heat of action; and M. Bastide, the editor of the *National*, a man of military air, preserving with cool and resolute courage the motionless silence of a soldier on duty.

A crowd of other countenances around were impressed according to their several characters with the energy or the gravity of the moment,—a thoughtful auditory bending over the focus of a grand decision.

The air of all was as solemn as the event; each one was communing with his conscience, and deliberately weighing every word he intended to utter.

Their first step was to organize themselves into a govern-

ment council, to assign to each his functions, and to appoint ministers. On this point there was neither deliberation nor voting. Everything was done on the first proposition in concert and by acclamation. Each adopted, without preference and without demur, the part most suited to his qualifications, and consented to by his colleagues.

Dupont de l'Eure was the president of the council and of the provisional government. His eighty years and his virtues caused his nomination. Distrusting not his strength of mind, but his physical powers, and his voice, amidst the storms of the public square, Dupont de l'Eure wrote at the end of the table a delegation of the presidency in favour of Lamartine. He loved Lamartine, who repaid his affection with respect. Dupont de l'Eure authorized his colleague to occupy his place in case of his absence or inability to preside. Lamartine received the office of minister for foreign affairs. The ministry of the interior was given to Ledru Rollin. Bethmont, a young deputy belonging to the constitutional opposition, was appointed minister of commerce and agriculture. A man of pure heart, of calm temperament, and of mild address, Bethmont was, indeed, the ornament of the revolution. Nothing could be feared from a government of which his eloquence was the organ and his physiognomy the expression.

The office of minister of justice fell to M. Crémieux, an orator and a man of business, active and indefatigable alike with his voice and pen; a universal pleader; the earnest adviser of the duchess of Orleans in the morning and of the republic in the evening;—ever present, everywhere popular.

M. Marie was appointed minister of public works. This was a vast task, that of directing the labour of the people, and at this particular crisis the regulator of social order. But M. Marie, a man of high talents and elevated policy, was too superior in intellectual endowments to confine himself to this function of detail and contrivance. His particular office was only his title to a seat at that council, of which he constituted the fundamental strength.

M. Arago took the office of minister of naval affairs by right of his knowledge, of his authority on military science, of his renown,—wide as the globe over which his name was about to float.

A minister of war was still to be found—a person most difficult to fix on, on the evening of a day on which all the generals had fought against the people. Lamartine proposed General Subervie, a man who preserved the recollections and the fervour of republicanism beneath the silvery locks of age. He was sent for, and hastened to obey the summons, and to devote himself to his country's service. This choice, though censured at first by the ignorant, on account of the years of the brave soldier, was a happy one. When old age is green, it is but a new youth. It loses not a moment of time, because it feels its value; nor an opportunity of glory, because glory is fleeting away with life. If Subervie, whom prejudice afterwards removed from office, had continued minister of war, the government would have been served in a more soldier-like manner.

M. Goudchaux, a banker, respected for his integrity and his knowledge, took the financial department. His name preserved that credit which vanishes at the approach of revolution.

Lastly, Carnot was appointed minister of public instruction and worship. Carnot, the son of the famous member of the convention of that name, inherited from his father what unquestionably formed part of his public virtues, philanthropy, devotion to truth, firmness, and moderation. His countenance, with its sweet serenity, its masculine expression, its benevolent look, its fascinating smile, suggested the idea of a philosopher of the Athenian school. His revolutionary name was a guarantee to the republicans. His religious philosophy was a pledge of toleration and of freedom to all forms of worship, to which, through veneration for the Divine Being, the republic wished to afford protection and liberty.

After the ministers, the provisional government appointed secretaries to register their acts, and more especially to make room in the new government for all those possessed of energy and popularity, who might otherwise have established themselves against it, as a rival body in power and influence. M. Marrast was too celebrated in the republican press; M. Flocon, too vigorous both in journalism and in action; M. Pagnerre, too influential in the constitutional propaganda of Paris; and M. Louis Blanc too enterprising in his ideas,

and too dear to the Socialist sects, to be, with impunity, excluded from a government, which was founded on popular unanimity. They were therefore appointed secretaries of the provisional government. As such they had at first consulting, and soon after deliberative voices.

Their names, originally subscribed at the foot of all decrees, with the title of secretaries, became insensibly connected with the names of the provisional government themselves; and by a gradual encroachment on the page, they rose to a rank which at first did not belong to them. No one contested this usurpation. It was tacitly conceded by all. On what legal ground could the government have rested in excluding these new-comers? They, themselves, had no other title than their own usurpation over anarchy, and their courage in throwing themselves between the people and civil war. These others had the same claim, and they were admitted.

M. Pagnerre alone remained indefatigable at the post to which his modesty confined him, as general secretary of the council.

M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, a celebrated scholar, a practised rhetorician, and an intrepid man, was associated with him. These two individuals, placed on the second rank of the government, often supported its weight, without receiving enough of its glory. Messrs. Buchez and Recurt, old republicans, organized the mayoralty of Paris under Garnier Pagès —men equal to every emergency and every danger. Concealed in the foundations of the republic, at the Hôtel de Ville, they bore unseen the brunt of the exigencies, demands, and distresses of the people of Paris, from the first hour to the last.

M. de Courtais, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, a gentleman of the Bourbonnais, and an old officer of the royal army, was appointed general-commandant of the national guard at Paris. The popularity which he enjoyed in the opposition, his martial exterior, his soldierlike and popular manners, recalled to Lamartine those generals of the people who restrain them by treating them with imperious roughness. Courtais appeared one of those natures created for the occasion, a combination of Santerre and Mandat—unpolished in his bearing

like the former; popular, like the latter. Lamartine presented him for the latter quality. There was no time to discuss names and to study conventualities. Courtais was appointed. He did not temporize with the danger; his position might give him immense influence in a revolution. It assigned to him the military administration of Paris during four months of interregnum, and subsequently made him the republican dictator of a national assembly. The government destined to him this part. He understood only the spirit of bravery and popularity, not that of an inflexible dictatorship against political masses. He fell between the people of Paris and the National Assembly.

Thus some elements of power began to be re-established. As each minister, general, or authoritative agent, of whatsoever kind, was appointed, he received summary instructions. He departed inspired with the spirit of the council, and the fire of the emergency. He surrounded himself with such of the revolutionary party as first came to his hand. He drew away with him a group of the combatants who were swarming in and about the Hôtel de Ville, and hastened to his post. By degrees he cleared the ministerial office of those armed bands and those adventurers for power who had taken possession of it. He installed a few secretaries and reassembled the scattered *employés*. He established around him a certain appearance of method and authority. By incessant couriers he acquainted the government with the state of things in the city and the suburbs, and from that government incessantly received impulse and direction. The government, whose sittings were unintermitted, compared their replies together, in order that one should not contradict another. The threads of this vast web of government, which was to extend over thirty-six millions of men, were being rapidly woven together. The mayors of Paris hastened from place to place, penetrated the crowd, and gave brief instructions with relation to the dangers, the wants, the forces, and the provisions of their respective districts. Those whose names exposed them too much to resentment, owing to the favours of the government that had fallen, were superseded, and others nominated by the public voice were appointed in their stead. They sometimes made mistakes, and the next moment re-

voked their choice and selected more suitable persons. They gave temporary powers to hundreds of commissioners and sub-commissioners, whose sole authority was a scrap of paper signed in pencil, with some name known to the people. To one was assigned the Tuileries, which was threatened with pillage and conflagration. To another Versailles, which was surrounded by a multitude, who wished to raze to the ground this gorgeous memorial of royalty. To another Neuilly, already half consumed by fire. To another the railways, on which the communication had been destroyed, and the bridges burnt. Here it was necessary to re-establish the unobstructed traffic of the roads, in order that the fifteen hundred thousand mouths of the capital might not be, the very next day, destitute of food. There barricades were to be partially demolished without levelling the obstacles to the possible return of the royal troops for the subjugation of Paris. The famished by a three days' fast were to be fed, the wounded to be attended to, the dead to be identified and buried, the soldiers to be protected against the people, the barracks to be evacuated, arms and horses to be saved, public monuments, hospitals, palaces, museums, official residences, and temples, to be preserved from insult and pillage. This populace of three hundred thousand men was to be tranquillized and pacified, and induced to return to their workshops and their homes. Posts were everywhere to be established, manned by the volunteers of the victorious party, in order to preserve the lives and property of the vanquished. All this constituted the object of as many measures as there arose thoughts in the mind of the government, and of as many commissions granted as there were hands presented to receive them.

The pupils of the Polytechnic School, that militia of days of crisis, whose youth gives them ascendancy over the popular mind, and whose discipline secures their authority with the masses; those of the school of St. Cyr, officers without troops, whose very uniform caused them to be instinctively followed; the members of the normal school, whose grave demeanour influences the multitude;—all, on the report of firearms, pressing round the government, in attitudes at once indicated disciplined, martial, and modest, waited for orders, and carried them through pikes, bullets, and flames of fire, to the various

scenes of devastation. Attended by handfuls of volunteers, workmen, and others whom chance offered to their hands, they entered on their campaign for the re-establishment of order and the preservation of society. They bivouacked at the gates of palaces, on the square, at the confluence of streets, at the stations of railways. They laid down the rails afresh, extinguished conflagrations, and stationed the famished poor to guard the valuable furniture and the treasures of the rich. One would have said that an immense hive of men was buzzing around the Hôtel de Ville, and suspending the combat in order to fly to the succour of a common civilization.

This instinctive movement of the people, which impelled them, through their own innate virtue, to the re-establishment of order, only needed a regulating impulse. That impulse the members of the government and the ministers began to impress upon it. The people only wanted a centre, and in these devoted fellow-citizens they found it, and they fortified it.

The first duty of the government was to address the people and the departments, in order to acquaint the nation with what had transpired, and to inform it at the same time who the men were who had placed themselves at the head of the movement, to regulate and to restrain it, to change victory into tranquillity, and revolution into order. Lamartine took his pen and wrote the following proclamation to the French people:—

"In the name of the French people.

"The government has just fled, leaving behind it traces of blood, which must for ever forbid its return. The provisional government have not hesitated for a moment to accept the patriotic mission which the emergency imposed. When the capital of France is in flames, the public safety constitutes the authority of the provisional government. All France will comprehend this, and lend its aid. Under the government of the people, every citizen is a magistrate.

"Frenchmen, give to the world the example which Paris is about to give to France, and prepare yourselves by order for the great constitutional arrangements you are about to adopt.

"The provisional government is desirous of a republic, sanctioned by the ratification of the people, who will be

immediately consulted. It desires a unity of the nation formed henceforth of all classes of the citizens that compose it. It desires the government of the nation by itself,—liberty, equality, and fraternity, for its principles, and the people as its watchword. Such is the democratic administration which France owes to herself, and which our efforts will be able to secure to her."

This proclamation to the people was profusely distributed from the balconies to the people in the square below. It was succeeded a few minutes after by a proclamation to the army. It was necessary at once to establish its position, repair its honour, and to provide for its reconciliation with the people. Lamartine wrote it as follows:—

"Generals, officers, and soldiers,—

"The government by its invasions of liberty, and the people of Paris by their victory, have brought about the fall of that government to which you had pledged your oath. A fatal collision has deluged the capital with blood. Civil bloodshed is that which is most repugnant to France. A provisional government has been formed. It has arisen out of the imperative necessity of preserving the capital, of re-establishing order, and preparing for France popular institutions similar to those under which the French republic has rendered France and her armies so glorious.

"The harmony of the people and the army, which has for a moment been interrupted, must be restored.

"Swear, then, fidelity to the people, among whom are your parents, your brethren. Swear attachment to its new institutions, and all will be forgotten except your courage and your discipline.

"Liberty will demand of you no other services than those in which you may rejoice before your country, and cover yourselves with glory in the sight of your enemies."

These proclamations, thrown to the populace from the windows, were distributed in numbers to the volunteers of peace. They ran and had them printed and placarded in every quarter of Paris. Pupils of military schools and workmen conveyed them to the barracks, and despatched them to the regiments that were retiring from Paris. Already the principal officers of the army, to whatever parties they might have belonged in the morning, betook themselves, stained as they

were with powder from the battle, to the Hôtel de Ville. They passed with difficulty, but without insult, through the ranks of those with whom they were fighting in the morning; rallying around the provisional government as the sole centre from which anarchy and social dissolution could be resisted.

The members of the government cordially received them as brothers, exacting from them no pledge but their patriotism, and dismissing them to their several posts, with no other order than to rally the soldiers round their standard, prevent all collision between the people and the troops, and establish a system of safe communication by strong bodies stationed without the barriers, and upon the roads leading into Paris. The garrison of Vincennes sent in its adhesion to the government. General Duvivier, a republican at heart before the existence of the republic, whose patriotism was of a truly religious character; General Bedeau, General Lamoricière, with his arm in a sling and parched with fever, induced by the wound he had received in the morning; General Pirè, a soldier of the first republic, of the empire, and of the monarchy, whose heart glowed with military fire and energy, notwithstanding his advanced age, and a crowd of other officers of every grade and date, of every shade of opinion, and of every variety of uniform, rallied around, some at the cry of danger to their country, others with the enthusiasm which the word republic rekindled within their memory. Some were moved by the hope of a new era of glory, others by the urgent appeal of France in flames; while all acted on that instinctive impulse, which spontaneously directs every French citizen and soldier to the post of devotedness, of service, and of danger.

Officers, soldiers of the national guard, republican deputies, monarchists, and legitimists, without regard to their party feeling, their regrets, or their hopes, poured in at each moment, dedicating their hearts and swords in the cause of the republic. It seemed as if the throne, as it disappeared, had withdrawn all the barriers which had existed between the minds of men, and that thenceforth there was but one aim, the public safety; but one duty, self-sacrifice; but one party, France. The cries and undulating movements of the people, their numbers, their firing, the glare of conflagration,

the confusion and the turmoil, seemed to add fire to their enthusiasm; it was the *mêlée* of a country. Amidst a thousand might be distinguished M. Larochejaquelein, that Vendean by descent, who had remained inexorable to the seductions of the monarchy of 1830, proud to mingle with republicans, grasping the hands of the combatants, cheered by the active agents of the revolution, talking to them of harmony and honour for all in a state of freedom, and thus exhibiting in his own masculine and martial attitude, the symbol of the reconciliation of classes, and of the unity of the country.

BOOK VI.

At the rumour of the events of the evening, the purlieus and suburbs of Paris poured forth in torrents, which became more dense every hour, towards the centre of the city. They overflowed the squares, the quays, the lanes, and streets, the bridges, and the spacious avenues of the Bastille, through the quarter of Saint-Antoine. Upwards of two hundred thousand men choked the streets and the approach of the Hôtel de Ville. The swelling throng of this mob, clad in every species of costume, and bristling with all kinds of arms, broke like living billows against a mole, throwing surges of men upon the flights of the steps, on the points of the bronzed palisades, and into the vestibules and staircases of this edifice, which again vomited them forth amidst far-resounding cries of pain, of horror, or of exultation. Dead bodies were being carried from the barricades, amidst the glare of torches, by men who fiercely cleared their path through the agitated throng, who uncovered their heads and raised their hands in token of respect and revenge. Orators, mounted on the pedestals of columns, on the sills of the windows, or on the parapets, were shouting to the groups which surrounded them, vainly attempting to utter a few expressions that might be caught by the deafening torrent of human beings which floated past them. Red or black flags were fluttering in tatters on the points of bayonets. Above those thousands of

heads, uplifted towards the lofty windows of the building, a few men on horseback strove to make their way by brushing aside the crowd. The bells from the neighbouring steeples, in which the tocsin had never ceased to sound, like a pulse still beating high when the fever has subsided, were tolling mournfully. Paleness and flush were alternating in every countenance. The tone of their expressions, the fire of their looks, the spectacle of old men, women, and children grouped at the windows, at the attics, and even on the roofs, accompanying with gestures and cries of terror, the mad, furious, and pitiable scenes which passed in succession before their eyes. The night was falling with all its casualties—unfavourable reports circulating through the masses, either incorrect or exaggerated by panic;—Neuilly in flames, the Louvre sacked, the Tuileries and the Palais Royal already blazing with the torches of incendiaries;—the king's troops turning with their artillery on the people, and Paris the scene of a fresh carnage on the morrow;—barricades were rising as if spontaneously, furnished with lamps to descry the enemy at a distance. Ignorance of the fate of the country and society, which lay in the hands of a few men, divided, perhaps, among themselves;—men newly arrived from victory, already encamped in the apartments of the Hôtel de Ville, and refusing, as was said, to recognize the authority of the deputies;—two or three governments disputing for supremacy, and hurling one another perhaps from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville;—all impressed upon this solemn hour a character of trouble, doubt, anxiety, horror, and alarm, which was perhaps never presented to the same extent in the history of man. This anxiety at once issued from and entered the Hôtel de Ville; it came across the din of the multitude, the rattle of sabres, the cries of madness, the orders of anger, the groans of the wounded, to weigh upon the members of the government, who were themselves submerged, tossed, and lost in this ocean.

Scarcely could they obtain sufficient space for their rapid consultation by leaning over the table which separated them, and bringing their faces close to each other beneath the circle of the heads, uplifted arms, and bayonets of the mingled and tumultuous crowd who stood around them. Frequently altogether unable to understand each other, or violently separated

by groups involuntarily thrown between them, questioned, harassed by pressing demands, required to give in the same minute an explanation, an order, a direction for the public safety, which could brook no delay, each of them boldly took upon himself the responsibility of life and death,—each seized a pen and a sheet of paper, and wrote upon his knee, or upon his hat, the required decree, signed it, and gave it to the person charged with its execution. Thousands of orders of this description, signed by Lamartine, Marie, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Flocon, and Louis Blanc, circulated among the barricades within these few first hours. It was the divided dictatorship which each member of a council of war assumes upon a field of battle,—a dictatorship imposed by danger, seized by devotedness, and justified by conscience.

It was generally by dint of supplication and desperate efforts of their lungs and arms, that the members of the government succeeded in obtaining a moment's silence, in regaining a disputed seat and a little space between the spectators and themselves.

They deliberated in few words, and more by glances and gestures than by speech. Each of them wrote promptly and with a rapid hand one of the decrees resolved upon, passed it to his colleagues, who appended their signatures, and received in exchange other decrees, which were passed to him to be signed by himself.

These decrees, clamoured for by the impatient cries of those who had testified their urgency, lay heaped upon the table, and frequently had not received the signatures of all, before they were seized and carried off to the press.

The secretary general, Pagnerre, a man admirable for his coolness, order, and activity, could scarcely take note of these decrees, and make a rapid and confused report of them. Conflagration, bloodshed, famine, and danger could not await the slow formalities of an undisturbed administration. It was a government of storm and lightning, the coruscation beneath the sudden and electric shock of necessity. To expect the conditions of method, maturity, and reflection from the dictatorship of these first nights and days, is to demand regularity from chaos, order from confusion, a century from a second. It was necessary to act and save, or to let all crumble and perish. It was a government of conflagration, standing erect in the

midst of the flames. The men were worthy of the crisis. They did not flinch beneath the prospective danger, nor beneath that future responsibility to which they had in advance devoted their lives and their fame. They all consented to perish, in order to save the people, without looking either behind or before them. The idea of securing a retreat by a cowardly prudence or skilful temporizing never entered the mind of any. They knowingly and fearlessly offered themselves up as victims of the injustice or ingratitude of nations, if the safety of all should, at some future day, constitute the crime of a few. They foresaw these inculpations. They knew from history the reaction and recoil of revolutions, and they fearlessly awaited them. In order to be useful to one's country at such moments as these, the first condition is entirely to sacrifice oneself. He who would save a shipwrecked man, must begin by casting himself naked to the ocean: they had done this.

Still all these men entertained a perfect sense of their sacrifice and danger. With no other control over the convulsed nation than the popularity of an hour,—a wind that changes the quicker the stronger it blows; without the possibility of an organized defence against the royal army, which might return upon Paris at daybreak, or starve the city in eight days, by obstructing the surrounding roads; with no possible means of judging the effect which might be produced by so sudden a revolution on the astonished departments; with no communication with Algeria, whence an army of a hundred thousand men might bring back the princes to avenge their father's fall; these dictators, of a night seemed destined either to be engulfed in the volcano into which they had thrown themselves to extinguish it, or to be the first struck down at the head of a sedition, which they had ventured to regulate. Victims either of the impatience of the populace or of the just vengeance of royalty, they had only, in calmly examining their situation, to choose between these two alternatives. But they had not time to think of them. These ideas rose but once or twice to their lips, and only left on them the smile of resignation which knows and acquiesces in its fate.

In one of those moments of desperation, when the armed crowd was making irresistible assaults upon the Hôtel de

Ville, and penetrating even into that last and already crowded asylum, where they were striving to set up an authority of some kind, when the wave broke down the doors and overthrew the seats of the council, stifling deliberation with its din; then the turmoil became such, that confusion and impotence finally reduced the government to motionless silence, Lamartine said to Arago, "Have you exactly calculated by how many chances our heads sit looser on our shoulders than they did this morning?" "Yes," replied the illustrious academician, with the quiet smile of a complete detachment from life, "all the evil chances are against us; but there is one chance of our preserving the nation from destruction, and that suffices to induce us to risk all the others;" and looking at Lamartine, he shook his white hair with his hand, as if to tell him, life passes quickly, and is of little value.

Lamartine, remembering the sitting of the 9th of Thermidor, which he had recently recorded in his History of the Girondins, said to Dupont de l'Eure, "This much resembles the night of the 9th of Thermidor, when the Convention ordered Barras to march against the commune, and stifled the reign of terror in its last council. If royalty and the Chamber of Deputies have a Barras, it is all over with us to-morrow; for we are in the position of the Commune of Paris; only that we are the conspirators of order and of peace."

The white hair of Arago had an imposing effect upon the people. The age and the Roman head of Dupont de l'Eure equally inspired in the eyes of all a deference mingled with affection. This old man, vigorous in intellect, endowed with straightforward good sense, inflexible to emotion, and wearing an expression of intrepidity, amidst the depression of fatigue and of age, was the object of universal attention. Those who had made their way into the council-chamber had him pointed out to them by others who had recognized him; they climbed upon chairs and sofas to catch a sight of him. Sometimes, however, the undulating violence of the crowd was such, that Dupont de l'Eure, bowed down by years, and small of stature, tottered on his seat, and was nearly suffocated. At these moments of tumult and personal danger to himself, a woman from the crowd, who never left the back of his chair, addressed the populace, reproached

them with their brutal rudeness, pointed to the old man with tears in her eyes, and clinging to the table, protected him with her own person, paying him all the attentions which a sister or a daughter would pay to a father or a brother in danger. This poor woman had the decent but almost indigent appearance of the females who traffic in the markets on the faubourgs of Paris. Herself advanced in years, her expression of countenance, absorbed in watching Dupont de l'Eure, exhibited simplicity and kindness; herself she did not think of; the sight of pistols, muskets, sabres, and her own dress torn to tatters by the rude collision of the armed multitude, neither stopped nor intimidated her. All supposed that this was some one well acquainted with Dupont de l'Eure, sent thither to watch over his feebleness. She did not know him. Mingled in the swarm of men and women through which the *cortège* of the government had to pass in order to enter the Hôtel de Ville, this woman had been struck with the appearance of this old gentleman, supported by the arms of his friends, and about to sustain the pressure of the whole populace. She had been moved by a sentiment of pity and devotion to him. She had thought that his old age stood in need of a woman's support, or that perhaps the intercession of a woman of her condition might save him from some insurgent's dagger. She had followed his footsteps to the council-chamber, where she surrounded him with her affectionate solicitude. Devotion to age is the most courageous and the most disinterested of human passions.

Up to this moment all the acts, orders, and proclamations of the provisional government had been, as it were, thrown forth at random, and in the name of the revolution rather than of a definitive government. They were sometimes headed "in the name of the French people," sometimes "in the name of the nation." The first communications of the government with the people had been received under this simple formula, without exciting attention or dissatisfaction. But at length inarticulate murmurs began to pervade the multitude. Cries of "*Vive la république!*" burst forth with a significant unanimity from the combatants. With this cry the masses from the faubourgs marched down to the Hôtel de

Ville. Within a few paces of the government, in the principal halls, where the crowd were holding their tumultuous sittings, the republic had been already proclaimed. It was now time for the council itself to take a definite part either for or against a change of the form of government.

Its name of provisional government sufficiently showed that it only considered itself as the government of an interregnum; but it was still necessary to be known in the name of what monarchical or republican principle this interregnum was to be founded. The necessity of the case raised and pressed this question. The revolution had overthrown royalty in the person of Louis Philippe. The regency in the person of the duke de Nemours, which was the sole authority recognized by law, had been set aside without a moment's pause. The duke de Nemours himself had not had the opportunity of protesting, so rapid had been the two falls; the regency of the duchess of Orleans was not legal, owing to the want of foresight on the part of the king and his ministers. Scarcely had it been proposed to the chamber by M. Dupin and M. Barrot, than it was thrown aside by the demand for a provisional government, without any of the king's ministers, without even M. Thiers, the minister of the last hour, rising to discuss or to support it. It had been stifled by a sudden invasion. It was only the nation which was then standing on its rights, or rather there were but seven men who stood up to act and to speak in its name and in its absence, until it should be able to speak and act for itself. These men evidently had no right to change the form of government, if any government had existed. But no government did exist, except that of the most bold or the most devoted. In this total absence of constitutional laws, this vacuum of authorities, this annihilation of rights, these seven men, whose sole title was the accident of their presence, were assuredly bound to look around them, to estimate the position of affairs as a whole, and to deliberate. It was also allowable for them to admit their opinions and personal tendencies as elements in their deliberations, and declare to the country whether they were about to govern provisionally in the name of the monarchy, which had crumbled beneath their feet, or of the republic, raised up in their hearts.

Such was the whole fact and all the authority of this solemn debate, in which the public danger, the conflagrations still burning, and the blood still flowing, certainly figure as terrible interlocutors of their deliberations. He would have been a madman who had not listened to these intimations; he would have been a coward who had listened to them alone. It has been supposed and written, that fear had a share in this deliberation, and guided the hands of several of those who signed the republican proclamations. This is false in two ways: false as respects the men, and false as respects the state of the case. This may be proved by a dilemma. The men who had thrown themselves into this crater had done so from one of two motives; either because they were republicans, and wished to assist the republic, their own ideal, to rise irresistible from this explosion; or because they were devoted patriots, who offered up themselves as a sacrifice on the altar of revolutionary conflagration, in the hope of confining and checking it, and to prevent its consuming their country and the world. If these men were republican fanatics, it was certainly not fear which induced them to consent to the republic. If they were devoted victims immolating themselves for the safety of all, theirs was not the timid character which can be influenced by fear.

Besides, there was no fear of death to those who might refuse to pronounce the word republic. They had only to retire in safety to their homes, and to vacate a seat in the circle of the government coveted by a thousand others. Had the council-table been deserted by one, by several, or by all the members of the provisional government, it would have been instantly invaded by citizens, who desired nothing more than to succeed them, and thus to compromise themselves in the face of the people and of posterity. The danger lay, on the contrary, in continuing to belong to the government in the midst of a tumult which, within an hour, might become a massacre. The danger was not in retreating. On this point history may appeal to a hundred thousand witnesses, of all opinions, who were present at the events which transpired within the Hôtel de Ville during that evening and that terrible night. If, therefore,

the members of the provisional government were to blame at this moment, it is not fear which can be pleaded as their excuse. They did not tremble; they reasoned; or rather events reasoned for them, in the urgent position in which they were placed. They had but three alternatives from which to choose; to proclaim no form of government at all, to proclaim a monarchy, or to proclaim the republic.

To say to the people, "We do not proclaim any form of government," was evidently to tell all parties who had risen in favour of this or that form, "Continue to shed your blood and that of France, to recruit your forces, to sharpen your arms, and make perpetual assaults on the provisional and unarmed order which we are establishing, to wrest from it the triumph of your faction."

To proclaim nothing at all, therefore, would have been virtually to proclaim anarchy, sedition, and permanent civil war. Better a thousand times would it have been that these men had remained silent and motionless in the ranks of the deputies, than that they come forth in the name of the public safety, to achieve the destruction of all.

To proclaim the monarchy in the presence of three hundred thousand men who had risen to oppose it, before a national guard disorganized, or concurrent; before an army thunderstruck and dissolved; before an empty throne, an absent king, and a flying regency; before chambers dismissed by the voice of the metropolis, was evidently to proclaim division in the face of the people, or rather it was to desert the post of danger and of direction to which they had been hurried, and at once to resign the direction of this storm, not to efficient moderators, whose authority might, by a miracle, be recognized, but to the blasts and the thunderbolts of the storm itself. It would have been to hand over France to men of disorder, anarchy, and blood. It would have been to push the nation with their own hands into the abyss of extreme sanguinary and desperate factions, instead of holding it back, at the risk of being crushed, on the gentle slope of liberty, and beneath the empire of universal suffrage,—the last appeal to a community without laws and without a head.

The only course at once revolutionary and conserva-

tive that could be taken, was to proclaim the republic provisionally, and subject to the ratification of the country, convoked, without delay, in a national assembly. For, on the one hand, the experiment of a republic, tried with unanimity and moderation, for a certain space of time, was an immense advance in the progress of national governments and popular interests. On the other hand, if this second republic, conceived as a happy and striking contrast to the excesses and crimes of the first, should subsequently be repudiated by the assembled nation, it at least gave, for the moment, to the government charged with the care of the interregnum, the enthusiasm of the people, the active concurrence of all republicans, the satisfaction of wavering opinions, the astonishment of Europe; in a word, that strength, and spring, and impulse, which would carry them across the bottomless abyss of a revolution to a definite form of government.

Instinct is the electric flash of reason; it inscribed in letters of light these considerations in the minds of the more moderate members of the government. Hence their deliberations were solemn, but brief, like a consultation on the field of battle. An exchange of opinions and a summary vote, requiring from every member of the provisional government his principles and his conscience, sufficed; a reflection that condensed a life into a minute, and a few short and solemn words, formed the unanimous result. Still there were some moments of religious hesitation within their hearts, some faltering on their lips, some pensive paleness on their brows, and some significant and inquiring glances, as they gazed at the expanse and depth of the republican element. At the moment of stepping from the shore of the monarchy and embarking on the agitated and unknown ocean of the republic, the firmest and most veteran courage might well exhibit some attitudes and gestures of momentary irresolution, and indulge some secret addresses to the providential ruler of nations; but after having looked attentively within and around them, none would draw back into certain anarchy, rather than boldly advance to the chance of common safety. Some, in pursuance of a part resolved on long ago, others through satisfaction at the triumph of the system; some influenced by

old convictions, others by resolute arguments; many, doubtless, through the sole conviction of its necessity, and all by a perception of the demands of the moment, and by the manifest impossibility of any other solution, proposed, voted, or concurred in the title of republic on the frontispiece of the revolutionary government. But from this hour it was stated and understood that the immense majority absolutely refused to usurp, in the name of a metropolis or a faction, the right of changing its form of government, which belongs to a whole nation,—a right which only violence and tyranny can wrest from the people. To compel thirty-six millions of men to adopt a form of government repugnant to them, in the name of an armed faction, or even of the unanimous feeling of the people of Paris, would be neither law nor republicanism: it would be crime and slavery. A revolution of enfranchisement, issuing in so monstrously arbitrary an act, would have been, in the view of the majority, the insolence, the disgrace, or the mockery of freedom. The provisional government collectively would have suffered their hands to be cut off, rather than sanction such a measure with their signature. It was agreed that in form, in act, and in interpretation, they should adopt the principle exhibited in the proclamation drawn up by Lamartine, in these words:—"The provisional government proclaims the republic, subject to the ratification of the people by a national assembly forthwith to be convoked."

Thus civil war might be extinguished, the revolution completed, the people directed by their own guidance, and the nation still remain the absolute and sovereign arbitress of her definite government.

With the exception of the superstitious worshippers of royalty, or of republican sectaries, who placed the right of their individual conviction, and the triumph of their faction, above the whole people and all its rights, every one declared himself satisfied with a decision at once so bold and so just. It was the best solution for the republic itself; for they were not stealing liberty, but taking possession of it in open day before the eyes of a whole nation. Institutions surreptitiously obtained by a stroke of policy on the part of a minority, resemble the gains of robbery, not lasting long nor heartily enjoyed. The earnest advocates of

democratic rule in the council of the provisional government would have the republic a right, and not a swindle of violence, or a trick of faction. A republic coercively imposed could not but be a violent and persecuting republic. They would have it free, pure, and constitutional, or not at all. They proposed it to the nation under a sense of their responsibility, and by virtue of that initiative authority which their temporary dictatorship gave them. They constituted it the temporary form of the government they were about to conduct. They said beforehand to the nation, "You are at liberty to disown us; we are but the plenipotentiaries of the people of Paris. We sign the republic with the reservation of your sanction. Without ratification there is no act." Such were their explanations, and such their words. Such was the sense in which the majority of the provisional government understood the proclamation of the republic.

This understanding, explained in all the letters, proclamations, and innumerable speeches from Lamartine and his colleagues to the multitude at the Hôtel de Ville, was the pervading principle of all the words, thoughts, and actions of this revolutionary dictatorship. The majority would not suffer for a single day any opposition to this interpretation of its administrative acts. This demonstration of their designs may be found not only in the proclamation which established the republic, not only in the immediate convocation of the National Assembly, but in the innumerable addresses and replies which the members of this majority delivered during their dictatorship to the moderate parties, who demanded of them universal suffrage, and to the extreme parties, who would have urged them to tyranny. The enemies of the republic have in this respect slandered its founders. At its foundation they pretend to find robbery and usurpation. But they will only find three things in the acts of the majority of this government: the shortest possible dictatorship, assumed with no other ambition than that of being serviceable at a time of universal danger; the bold but temporary initiative of the republic, conscientiously taken, in order to try the fortunes of liberty, and, if necessary, to stifle anarchy beneath popular enthusiasm; and lastly, an inviolable respect for the national sovereignty, and an immediate and

perpetual appeal to the people. Such is the whole truth; and such the merit or demerit, the crime or the virtue, of this government.

No sooner had the proclamation of the republic in these terms been unanimously resolved on, than they hastened to send to the national printing-office to call in the decrees of the government, which did not yet bear this form of inscription. Now that the government had been declared, it was of urgent importance to deprive the extreme factions, who were agitating in the square, of this grievance, employed by them to prevent the pacification of the people. A tricolour flag was suspended from a window, and hundreds of scraps of paper were flung to the multitude, on which were inscribed the words, "The republic is proclaimed." They read them and passed them from hand to hand. The announcement flew from mouth to mouth. Uncertainty and conflict ceased. A hundred thousand men raised their arms to heaven, and a simultaneous shout arose from the Grève, from the quays, the bridges, and the streets adjacent to the Hôtel de Ville. It spread and swelled from place to place, even to the Bastille and the barriers of Paris.

The sentiment kept down for half a century, on the lips and in the heart of a part of the present generation, had found a vent. The rest of the citizens heard it, some with secret terror, others with astonishment, the greater part with that sentiment of confused and, so to say, mechanical joy which hails new and important changes. All received without opposition a decision, of whatever purport, which disarmed the hands of the insurgents and relieved the hearts of the citizens from the weight of anxiety and distress which for three days had been weighing on the mind of the people. If the republic had only been proclaimed by the republican party, it would have inspired that humiliation and sorrow which the triumph of a faction always occasions in the minds of impartial citizens. It would probably have been put down in the course of that night by the opposition of the national guard. In any case, the Hôtel de Ville would certainly have been deserted by all those who did not belong to the republican faction. The republic would have been left to the sole responsibility of its founders. This desertion of the national guard, and of the moderate portion of the

population, would have exhibited the republic in a position of isolation, which would have made it an object of suspicion. But the impartial names of Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Lamartine, Marie, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, who were known to be unconnected with any faction, hostile to all extreme measures, and inflexible to all violence, restored the confidence of the metropolis; and, in the republic signed by their hands, exhibited not the ominous recollections of the past, but an horizon full of prestige, of public rights and security, and of hope for that unknown future on which men were entering with the confidence and the faith imposed by necessity.

The republic once proclaimed, the government and the Hôtel de Ville appeared for a moment to breathe freely, as if a new and vitalizing air had blown from heaven over that human furnace. Uncertainty is the breeze of popular passions, as, in the troubles and toils of life, it constitutes one half of the pressure that weighs upon the heart of man.

A part of the people seemed immediately to disperse, in order to carry and spread the important news in their own dwellings. With the exception of Lamartine and Marie, the greater part of the members of the government, who were at the same time ministers, successively quitted the Hôtel de Ville, and repaired to their respective departments,—Ledru Rollin to that of the Interior, Arago to that of the Marine. The new ministers who were strangers to public administration,—such as Goudchaux to the Finance, General Subervie to the War department, Carnot to that of Public Instruction, and Bethmont to that of Trade,—departed for the purpose of re-establishing subordination in their respective offices. A few returned at intervals to take part in the permanent council of the government.

These first hours of the night witnessed a tumult rather than a council. It was necessary for the members of the government to rise from their seats at every noise from without, to support with the weight of their shoulders the doors of their apartment, which shook with the blows from the butt-ends of muskets, or the arms of men who would not brook resistance; to make their way amidst naked weapons, in order to harangue, to conjure, and to subdue these detachments of the populace; to repulse them, partly by eloquence, partly by main force, and always by calmness of demeanour, by cordiality of gesture,

and by energy of attitude; and thus to detach from them one party while opposing another. Then, when the tumult was allayed, to return, amidst acclamations which deafened the ear, a crush which threatened their limbs, and embraces which stifled their breathing; to wipe away their perspiration, and calmly resume their seats at the council-table; to write proclamations and decrees, until a fresh assault should come, to shake the vaulted ceilings, to batter the doors, to thrust aside the sentinels, and wrest their bayonets, and to recall the citizens, grouped around the government, and its members themselves, to the same struggles, the same harangues, the same efforts, the same dangers.

Lamartine was almost invariably called for by name. His lofty stature and his sonorous voice peculiarly adapted him to these encounters with the mob. His dress was in tatters, his neck bare, his hair dripping with perspiration, and disfigured with dust and smoke. He went out and returned, carried, rather than escorted, by groups of citizens, national guards, and members of the schools, who, personally unknown to him, thronged around him, like a devoted staff of officers around a chieftain on the battle-field of a revolution. Conspicuous among these was a young professor of the College of France—Payer, with whose very name Lamartine was unacquainted, but whose cool and lofty bearing in the face of danger, and self-possession in the midst of turmoil, the characteristics of the man of a crisis, excited his admiration. Among them he also noted a young man with a blue eye, light hair, a voice of thunder, a commanding gesture, and of athletic figure, ordering, haranguing, and bursting through the masses, sword in hand. This young man had from the commencement of the day, within and without the Hôtel de Ville, on foot or on horseback, exercised a magnetic control over the multitude,—it was Château Renaud.

There was also a young and handsome student of the Polytechnic School, calm, silent, but always on his feet, like a statue, representing reflection during action, a figure which suggested the silent Bonaparte of Vendémiaire. Dr. Sanson had been charged with the care of the wounded, and with the arrangement of the dead bodies accumulated in the courts and the lower stories; and with him Faivre, a

young surgeon, whose countenance was excited by the whirlwind of action, and by the idea which he seemed to see flashing from it—the manifestation of the people. Ernest Grégoire too was there, the orator, diplomatist, and soldier of the masses—a man qualified for every duty, at those critical moments in which separate functions are at an end, and thought, eloquence, intrepidity, and tact are necessarily absorbed in an instinctive impulse as rapid as the movements, and as varied as the phases of a revolution. A great number of others were conspicuous there, whose names are found in those documents which confirm the truth of this narrative. Every member of the provisional government who was in attendance, sustained in his turn the same assaults, underwent the same fatigues, braved the same dangers, gained the same triumphs. Marie, cold and impassive, constantly sitting or standing at the same spot, was composing, with his pen in his hand, the well-digested preambles of decrees, or instructions to the agents of the public force. His deep and glowing eye seemed to dart his will into the soul of the multitude. His commanding gesture intimidated subjection, and subdued resistance. His towering head, scornfully turned towards the insurgents, checked their tumult, without the utterance of a word.

Garnier Pagès, already broken down by suffering, and by the struggles he had just made to obtain and concentrate in his own hands the mayoralty of Paris, expended his voice, his soul, his gestures, and his efforts, like waves upon the multitude. His arms opened and closed upon his breast, as if to embrace the populace. Kindness, love, and courage illuminated his pale countenance with a ray of ardour, which touched the most exasperated spirits. He more than convinced, he melted. Lamartine, who till then had only known Garnier Pagès by his name, and by his merits, gazed at him with admiration. "Husband your life," said he, addressing him, "economize your strength, do not pour out your whole soul at once; we shall yet have long days of conflict; do not expend all this valiant effort on a single night." But Garnier Pagès kept no reckoning with his powers. Expiring, he still exacted miracles from nature. It was the suicide of integrity. At length he sank exhausted on the floor, to rest his overstrained lungs, and to recover

his voice by an hour of slumber. They covered him with his cloak, but the fever of the public welfare was consuming him. He slept not, but with a hoarse and broken voice, continued to counsel and harangue

Duclerc, who seemed to be his disciple and imitator, never quitted the side of Garnier Pagès. He was one of the editors of the *National*, and an eminent writer on all subjects of finance and political economy. Young, handsome, grave—his look erect, his forehead ample, his lip indicating firmness—he spoke but little, and acted only to the purpose. Reflective, indefatigable, and promptly seizing his object, he did everything with precision, clearness, and formal accuracy. He had in his features as in his mind more power of command than of persuasion. In him was seen the embodiment of order impatient to issue from confusion. He seemed to watch for the first symptoms of a reconstituted government, in order to take his natural position in it, by the side of his master, his sovereign, and his friend. Lamartine, in the intervals of repose, took a pleasure in observing the conduct of this young man. He saw in him a resource in a crisis, regularity in confusion, decision amidst perplexity, and light amidst chaos. Such did Duclerc appear to him.

Marrast, though less qualified by nature for making an impression on the masses, a man of the *élite* rather than fitted for a public position, was imperturbable at his post of secretary of the government, at the bottom of the council-table. If he did not address the people, he never ceased to advise, to direct, and to write. His rapid pen arranged with a single dash the substance of the most stormy discussion. To what had been said he added what ought to have been said. The most profound suggestions flowed noiseless from his mind, like the light which, without a sound, sheds itself over an object. This man, in whom graciousness of deportment was by some mistaken for weakness, faltered not for one moment, either in look or gesture, during the protracted convulsions of a revolution, one fragment of which might at any moment have crushed him beneath its rebound. He saw the danger, but regarded it with a sad but collected smile; attentive to everything, resigned to everything, and uttering, in the midst of the firing, those pointed but profound observations, which proved that his mind was

sporting with danger which surrounded him. Such was he on that first night, and such he continued throughout the continuance of the dictatorship.

Other men, Pagnerre, Barthelémy, Saint-Hilaire, Thomas, principal editor of the *National*, Hetzel, Bixio, Buchez, Flottard, Recurt, Bastide, almost all of them intellectual men connected with the public press of Paris, and transformed by the occasion to men of physical action, crowded into the narrow enclosure around the government; subservient to its orders, ready for counsel, indefatigable in labour, and intrepid in danger. Their countenances had become elevated like their characters. The solemnity of the moment elevated those faces which were usually bent over the writer's lamp. The different shades of opinion, and rivalries of party feeling, which in the morning divided these chieftains and forces of the Paris press, were now blended in one common and glowing enthusiasm for the public safety.

In the midst of these might be distinguished, by his bald forehead, laden with revolutionary recollections, by the fine contemplative expression of his features, and the energetic conciseness of his words, an old aide-de-camp of Lafayette, who had witnessed the miscarriage of the republic in that same mansion in 1830, who distrusted alike tribunes and people, and who seemed to be watching over the altar-fire of the revolution. This was Sarrans. In him was seen the soldier of the old republican wars, but holding the new opinions which now obtained, and equally ready to harangue, to write, or to act.

Night, meanwhile, had fallen. The deep hum from the quarters which surround the centres of Paris had subsided with day. The citizens, satisfied with the existence of a firm and vigorous government, and recalled to their dwellings by the hour of rest, and by the necessity of restoring tranquillity to their households, gradually began to retire. On the Place de Grève there only remained bivouacs which formed the rear-guard of the revolution; insurgents, combatants exhausted and tottering with cold and wine, who kept watch with lighted matches around four pieces of artillery loaded with grape-shot; and that tenacious and excited mass of men, feverish and insatiable with excitement and commotion, which encamped or tumultuously fluctu-

ated about the courts, staircases, and halls of the Hôtel de Ville.

These masses were chiefly composed of old members of secret societies, an army of conspirators, bearing every date since 1815; of restless revolutionists, whose hopes had been disappointed in 1830, by the very revolution they had brought about, and which had eluded them; in a word, of the insurgents of the three days, directed by the committees of the journal *La Réforme*, and who had hoped that the government would belong exclusively to those who had taken so great a part in the bloodshed and the victory.

To these three or four thousand men, animated with views of political resentment and ambition, were united, though in small numbers, some Socialist and Communist adepts, who saw in the explosion of that day the prospective bursting of a mine, sprung beneath the very foundations of the old social system, and who supposed they held in their muskets the guarantee of their system, and of the renovation of the human race. The remainder was composed of those insane ruffians who have no political system in their understandings, nor social chimeras in their sentiments, and who only take part in a revolution on account of the disorder it perpetuates, of the blood it sheds, and of the terror it inspires. Writers and cold-blooded demagogues had nurtured these men for twenty years, with a fierce admiration for the most imposing atrocities of crime, for the immolations and massacres of the former reign of terror. Few in number, they were still men resolved to recognize no republic but that of the scaffold, no government but that of the axe; it would lead them to decimate their fellow-citizens.

In a word, the tide of the day had thrown upon the Hôtel de Ville, and the night had left there, a portion of that ragged scum of the profligate population of great capitals which commotions throw up, and cause to float for a few days upon the surface, until it subsides again into its natural channels. Such men are ever between either two bouts of drunkenness, or of bloodshed; men who, on coming from debauch, scent carnage; and who never cease to besiege the ear of the people until they have thrown them a carcase, or swept them into the prison, as a common disgrace to all parties,—the drainings of the galleys and the gaols.

Whilst the government was availing itself of these first moments of tranquillity in the streets, to multiply its decrees, to establish regular communications with the different quarters, and to despatch its edicts to the provinces and the armies, these men, disowned by the true people, in the other parts of this vast edifice, wavered, at the dictation of demagogue orators, between the acceptance of the new administration and the installation of as many governments as they entertained chimeras of ambition, madness, and crimes in their hearts. Tremendous vociferations arose at intervals from the distance of these courts to the ears of the provisional government. Discharges of musketry were the responsive applause to the more incendiary proposals. Here they talked of hoisting the red flag, the symbol of a bloodshed which could not be stanched until all the opponents of anarchy had been enfeebled by terror; there, of unfurling the black flag, the symbol of the misery and degradation of the proletary race, or the mourning of a suffering body, which would never sign terms of peace until it had wreaked its vengeance on the bourgeoisie and wealthy classes.

Some wished the government to be elected by a nocturnal ballot, and that its members should only be chosen from the combatants at the barricades; others, that the leaders of the most unbridled Socialist schools should alone be elected by the voices of the victorious operatives of the different sects. Some demanded that the government, however it might be composed, should only deliberate beneath the bayonets of certain delegates, chosen by themselves, as censors and avengers of all its acts. Others, that the populace should declare itself *en permanence* at the Hôtel de Ville, and should constitute its own government in a perpetual assembly, in which all measures should be voted by acclamation.

Fanaticism, madness, fever, and intoxication threw out at random these dangerous and absurd proposals, which were received here and there with confused acclamations, and then sank immediately beneath the disapprobation of the multitude, who, on the suggestion of some wiser fellow-citizen, treated them with horror or with scorn.

A certain proportion of the malcontents belonged to that party of the combatants who were the adherents of the *Réforme*. These more hot-headed republicans were surprised

that the names of the writers, or active agents of this party, who had done everything for the triumph, did not appear, or only appeared as secretaries, in the government. They refused to recognize a power which had come down from the Chamber of Deputies, as if to confiscate the spoils without having either conspired or fought for them. They saw in this government, descended from a higher class, none of the names they had been accustomed to respect in the lists and the councils of conspirators against royalty. In that government they read names suspected in their eyes of aristocratic descent, of complicity with the monarchy, and of a community of ideas and interests with the hereditary class of society. Among those names which challenged their confidence,—Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Lamartine, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, Marie,—one only, that of Ledru Rollin, was familiar, and touched their sympathy, as being the name of an orator, who, before the republic, had declared himself a republican, and who had kindled or fanned in the *Réforme* the fire of the most democratic principles. But where was Louis Blanc, the public advocate of the popular doctrines of combination and wages? Where was Albert, who had fought for those doctrines? Where was Flocon, that man of action, undeluded but undaunted, whose hands, blackened by the powder of so many fights, had been judged worthy to conquer, but not worthy to govern?

Such were the complaints, the grievances, the murmurs, which prevailed; and such presently were the agitations which pervaded the masses of the insurgents, who were swaying to and fro, and shouting in the lower stories and on the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, and at the gates and in the courts of that mansion.

A fresh explosion appeared imminent. Men devoted at once to the cause of order and of progress, leaders of the combatants, accredited journalists, municipal officers, mayors of Paris, and students of the schools, strove to restrain and to repress it. The multitude accumulated, retired, or dispersed at their voice, and then, excited afresh by the address of some other orator, rushed again into disorder and returned to the charge, spread through the upper stories and the corridors, uttering imprecations, breaking the windows, forcing the

doors, and vociferously calling for the provisional government, in order to depose and turn them out of the palace. During these hours of confusion and trouble, prodigies of civil courage and physical force were performed in resisting these scattered bands of insurgents, and in forcing them back to the lower stories by verbal remonstrance, or by that opposition which the breasts of the small number of defenders of the provisional government incessantly opposed to them.

Lagrange, who had installed himself as governor of the Hôtel de Ville in the name of a section of the insurgents, wandered about with his sword in his hand and with pistols in his belt, amidst the waves of this multitude, undecided as yet as to the nature of the government which he could recognize and cause to be respected. In him they recognized the type of their protracted sufferings, of their triumph, and of their excitement. With the fire of courage in his eye, and the disorder of his thoughts manifested by his extravagant gestures, his dishevelled hair, and his hoarse and hollow voice, he harangued the crowds which surrounded him, like a spectre from a dungeon. In all his addresses, at once impetuous and soothing, he recommended a temporizing policy and a truce on the part of the populace, rather than respect to the newly-created government. They saw that, hesitating himself, and on the strength of another commission, he delayed an entire submission. He was rather prepared to see a government established than to obey it. Nevertheless his addresses, and the expression of his countenance, breathed the sentiment of fervent charity for the combatants and pity for the wounded, horror of bloodshed, and a wish for reconciliation between the classes,—a kind of apostle of peace with arms in his hand. Thus did Lagrange appear, harangue, and gesticulate, during the night.

Flocon, incessantly varying from action to address, and from address to action, made generous efforts to calm these suspicions and these ebullitions of fury.

Indifferent as to the share of the government which would fall to his personal part, provided the republic triumphed, his stoic coolness amidst the turmoil never suffered his eye, thought, or word, to deviate from his object. His iron voice

rang with metallic notes, like the butt-ends of muskets on the pavement. His manly paleness, the concentrated firmness of his features, the bearing of his head, which he shook, his connection with the most undaunted soldiers of the revolution, who had known him under fire, his dress open, torn, and stained with smoke and powder, gave a sovereign ascendancy to his counsels; but now, exhausted by three days and three nights of vigil, fighting, and sickness, his voice was less commanding than his will.

Louis Blanc, attended by Albert, went about and took his part in haranguing the crowd. At this time his name was extremely popular. He combined in himself the twofold *prestige* of the extreme political party with which his connection with the *Réforme* invested him, and of his Socialist doctrines on combination. These theories excited the working population to madness, by the prospective advantages which they supposed they should eventually realize from them at the point of their bayonets.

Albert followed Louis Blanc. A working man himself, he remained silent behind his master; but his determined expression, his pallid countenance, his abrupt gestures, and his quivering lips strongly expressed a fanatical trust in an untried experiment. Without speaking a word, he was the conductor of that mental electricity with which Louis Blanc wished to charge the people, in order to shatter the old system of labour.

Louis Blanc and his friends preached to the people neither anger nor bloodshed. Their doctrines and their speeches were, as far as mere expressions were concerned, pacific. Louis Blanc strove with an eloquence replete with images, but cold at heart, like all ideal eloquence, damp on the fire, to disarm the hands of the insurgents by dazzling their imagination. He only insinuated to the people to take pledges of the government by introducing into it their own friends. He meant himself, while he pointed to Albert. He was admired and applauded, rather than obeyed. His diminutive person was engulfed in the crowd. The populace were surprised at so powerful a voice and gesture from so feeble a frame. The multitude, by an irresistible instinct, confounds power and greatness of character and principles with

the stature of the speaker. Apostles may be slight of frame; but tribunes of the people must strike the eye with an imposing presence, and be able to govern the public assembly with their brow. The sensual multitude measures men only with their eyes.

The tumult increased, and the insurrection became aggravated. Repeatedly they thundered at the doors of the apartment in which the provisional government were sitting, threatening to turn them out, and refusing all submission to their decrees. At first Crémieux, and subsequently Marie, had succeeded, by means of firmness, combined with skilful supplications, in driving back these mobs to the outer courts of the palace, and by this conquest had secured afresh the moral authority of the government. Seven times since nightfall Lamartine had dropped his pen, and rushed, followed by a few faithful citizens, into the corridors, to the landings, and even to the staircases of the Hôtel de Ville, to meet at the hands of these disorderly masses either obedience or death. Received in each instance with murmurs and curses, he had ended by forcing aside, right and left, sabres, daggers, and bayonets, brandished by the hands of the intoxicated and the wild; by making a tribune of a window, a balustrade, or a landing; and by causing their weapons to fall, their cries to subside, their applause to burst forth, and tears of enthusiasm and reason to flow.

The last time, a fortunate expression of cool courage and boldness which involved a reproach in a jest, saved his life. An irritated throng crowded the avenues of the Hôtel de Ville. Reports of musketry against the windows threatened destruction to the feeble posts of volunteers who opposed this new invasion, which was about to fill the palace to suffocation. All voices were wearied to silence, all arms exhausted, and all remonstrances given up in despair. They went in search of Lamartine, who came out once more. He advanced to the landing of the first floor, where a few national guards, with some students of the Polytechnic School, and some intrepid citizens, were struggling hand to hand with the invaders. At the name and appearance of Lamartine, the struggle for an instant subsided, and the crowd opened. He saw the steps of the principal staircase covered with com-

batants, who formed a hedge of steel down to the outer courts and the quadrangle. Some, friendly and respectful, shook him by the hand and covered him with benedictions; but the greater number, irritated and suspicious, filled with doubt and distrust, received him with threatening gestures and half-uttered expressions of resentment. He feigned not to observe these angry indications, and descended to the level of the great inner court, where the dead bodies had been deposited, and a forest of steel waved over the heads of thousands of armed men. There a wider flight of steps leads down on the left hand towards the great gate of Henry the Fourth, which opens on the Place de Grève, where one half of the populace was engulfed. It was here that the influx of the invaders, meeting the tide of defenders, produced the greatest amount of confusion, tumult, and shouting. "Lamartine is a traitor!" "Do not listen to Lamartine!" "Down with the beguiler!" "To the lamp-post with traitors!" "Hang all traitors on the lamp-post!" "Lamartine's head! Lamartine's head!" cried a number of ruffians, whose arms he elbowed aside as he passed them. Lamartine stopped for a moment on the first step, and looking around on the shouting throng with a steady eye, and a slightly sarcastic, but by no means provoking, smile, said, "My head, fellow-citizens? would to God you all had it at this moment on your shoulders, you would be calmer and wiser men, and the work of your revolution would go on far better." At these words their imprecations were changed into bursts of laughter, and the threats of death into shaking of hands. Lamartine vigorously pushed aside one of the leaders who opposed his addressing the people on the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. "We know," said the young man, with a seductive figure and tragic gestures, "that you are a brave and honourable man. But you are not the man to cope with the people. You would hush their victory to sleep. You are only a lyre: go and sing elsewhere." "Leave me alone," replied Lamartine, without the slightest irritation at this address, "the people have my head as their hostage. If I betray them, I betray myself first. You shall see whether I have the soul of a poet or a citizen."

Violently disengaging the collar of his coat from the hands

which detained him, he descended the steps and harangued the people in the square, brought them back to reason, and excited them to enthusiasm. The plaudits from the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville reverberated through the arched roofs of the palace. The cheers of ten thousand voices intimidated the insurgents within. They saw clearly that the people were in favour of Lamartine. He returned to the hotel, and reascended its staircases amidst the applauses and embraces of the very men who clamoured for his head when he descended.

But whilst the agitation was subsiding in one part of the Hôtel de Ville, it was fermenting in another. Scarcely had Lamartine returned to the council-chamber when a new storm broke out, and an assault, more violent than any that had preceded it, threatened to sweep away the government. The multitude, after having long fluctuated hither and thither, from court to court, from square to square, and from tribune to tribune, seeking a place in which to deliberate, had at length assembled in the immense hall of Saint-Jean (a kind of common forum for the great meetings of the metropolis), and in the council-chamber, prepared for solemn deliberations.

Here, upon a raised *dais*, converted into a tribune, by the light of lamps and lustres, lit up as in the theatre of a real drama, speakers, each surpassing his predecessor in violence, succeeded one to another. They were discussing the question of the choice of government. "Who," cried they, "are these men, unknown to the people, who have just slunk away from a conquered chamber, and placed themselves at the head of a victorious populace? Where are their titles and their wounds? What names do their hands show? Are they blackened with gunpowder like ours? Are they roughened by handling tools like yours, my brave fellow-workmen? By what right do they draw up decrees? In the name of what principle and of what government do they promulgate them? Are they republicans, and if so, to what class do they belong? Are they accomplices of the monarchy in disguise, introduced by it into our ranks, to frustrate our righteous vengeance, and to lead us back reduced and chained to the yoke of their despotic society? Let us send these

men back to whence they came. They wear different clothes, speak a different language, and adopt different manners from ourselves. These working-dresses, and these rags of destitution are the uniform of the people. It is from among ourselves that we should choose our leaders. Let us go and expel those whom a sudden surprise, and perhaps treachery, has forced upon us." Others, more moderate and more numerous, said, "Let us hear them before we judge and proscribe them. Let us summon them hither, and allow them to explain their intentions."

These opposing motions were answered by indescribable tumults, both within and without the hall. The Hôtel de Ville seemed to be threatened with an explosion.

Already bands detached from the central focus of agitation had rushed to the staircases. They had knocked down the sentinels and trampled them under their feet, driven back the guards, and invaded the narrow corridor which led to the double door of the apartment occupied by the government. A few intrepid citizens, who freely risked their lives for the preservation of order, had anticipated them, and come to apprize the council of a danger which it was impossible to allay. But Garnier Pagès, Carnot, Crémieux, Marrast, and Lamartine, assisted by a few secretaries and citizens, among whom figured in the first rank the imperturbable Bastide and the impetuous Ernest Grégoire. barricaded the door. They placed against it sofas and heavy pieces of furniture, in order to increase the resistive force and weight of a number of men who stood upon the chairs and ottomans. All the bystanders set their shoulders against this feeble rampart, in order to sustain the assault and the weight of the assailants.

Scarcely had these desperate precautions been taken, when they heard the tumult, the vociferations, the clashing of arms, the shouting of names, the imprecations, the noise of footsteps, and the deep sound of the advancing column in the outer corridor. Those who defended it were thrust aside or trampled under-foot. The butt-ends of muskets, the hilts of swords, and blows from the fist, echoed against the outer door. The panes of glass above it rattled, broke, and crashed upon the pavement between the two doors. The cracking of

wood indicated the irresistible pressure of the throng. The outer door yielded, and was burst into pieces; the inner one was about to be forced in the same way. A low and hurried conversation took place between the assailants and the members of the government. Marie, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, their colleagues and friends, obstinately refused to comply with the commands of the invaders. A sort of capitulation was made, and the furniture partly withdrawn. Ernest Grégoire, a man well known by both parties, half opened the door, and announced that Lamartine would come forward immediately to the people, address them, and convince them of the intentions of the government.

At the name of Lamartine, which, at that time, had a magic influence over the people, imprecations were changed into acclamations of affection and confidence. Lamartine immediately followed on the steps of Grégoire and Pagès, and delivered himself, half-stifled by the crowd, to the ebb and flow of this multitude. It subsided, and its convulsions were gradually stayed as he approached. His tall stature allowed of his head rising above them. They were calmed by the serenity of his countenance. Before his voice and his gesture, they opened and drew back; but a counter current set in, and carried him away through the dark, and to him unknown, labyrinth of corridors and staircases down to the hall, where the populace were holding their meeting. The provisional government, thus rescued from a temporary danger, closed their doors, placed guards and sentinels, and fortified themselves against fresh assaults, uncertain whether Lamartine would return to them victorious, or remain vanquished in his struggle between two parties of the populace and two contending governments.

The hall overflowed with crowds and tumult. A dismal light and rushes of hot air emanated from this human furnace, mingled with shouts, sometimes inarticulate and sometimes vehemently audible. It was long before Lamartine and the group that surrounded him could penetrate the mass. At the entrance, he heard the voices of a few speakers, who announced him by name to the multitude. Sometimes these announcements were drowned in applause, and sometimes opposed by expressions of defiance, of anger, or of scorn.

"Yes, yes!" "No, no!" "Let us hear Lamartine!" "Don't hear Lamartine!" "Lamartine for ever!" "Down with Lamartine!" These cries, accompanied by the fluctuations and gesticulations of the crowd, with the stamping of feet, and arms raised above their heads, and with the rattle of the butt-ends of muskets on the floor, contributed in about equal proportions to the turmoil of the assembly. Amidst this tumult Lamartine made his way with difficulty across the throng which beset the door. He was carried forward by the arms of some powerful men to the foot of a little flight of steps which led to a sort of dais, serving as a kind of tribune, from which to address the people. The darkness of the night, partially dissipated by a few lights in the centre of the hall; the smoke of lamps which were lighted beneath his feet, which choked the atmosphere; the fumes of gunpowder from the muskets, which had been firing all day in the courts below, and which had filled the hall through the windows; the species of mist which rose from the fevered respiration and the gasping breath of a thousand men, pervaded the hall, and prevented his clearly discerning, and have ever since obstructed his distinct recollection of this scene. He only remembers that he stood above an agitated crowd, whose countenances, pallid with emotion and blackened with powder, were only rendered visible by the foot-lights, and directed towards himself with varied expressions. With the exception of two, all these countenances were unknown to him. The one was a face deeply marked by resolution, the face of the old aide-de-camp of Lafayette. This was Sarrans, at once the writer, soldier, and orator of liberty. The other was that of Coste, formerly the editor of the journal *Le Temps*, with whom Lamartine had been previously acquainted at Rome. His countenance, after ten years, wore the aspect of an impassioned auditor in a new forum, and below these new rostra. Beyond these front rows of standing spectators, the lights, which became gradually dimmer, only allowed an indistinct glimpse, on the floor below, and on the rising seats towards the walls of the hall, of immeasurable and restless shadows, moving about in the gloomy twilight. The blades of swords, the barrels of muskets and bayonets, which reflected hither and thither, by

the polished surface of their metal, the glare of the lamps, flashed like fireworks over the heads of the multitude at every shuddering motion of the auditory.

Contradictory, feverish, and frantic cries broke forth at every movement of these thousands of mouths. It was a perfect tempest of men, each mental blast of which pervading the multitude caused a roar of voices to issue from each succeeding wave.

Lamartine, thrown as it were upon the raised platform as on a headland in the midst of the surge, looked down upon it uncertain whether it would bear him on its surface or engulf him in its depths. A number of orators crowding around him on his right and left, and even on the steps of this *quasi* tribune, with voice and act strove to oppose his speaking. They addressed to the audience, in a confused manner, brief, hasty, and incendiary ejaculations. Lamartine, however, succeeded in setting aside these competitors by his words, his hands, and his shoulders; and at length appeared isolated and unencumbered before the gaze of the populace. A silence broken by murmurs, vociferations, and bitter apostrophes, was at length established, and he attempted to address them.

"Fellow-citizens," cried he, with all the force of a voice, the energy of which was doubled by his sense of the danger of his country, "here am I ready to reply to you; why have you summoned me?" "To know," replied some voices from the middle of the assembly, "by what right you have constituted yourselves the government of the people, and to know if we have to do with traitors, with tyrants, or with citizens in sympathy with the spirit of the revolution."

"By what right we constituted ourselves a government?" replied Lamartine, and boldly exposing himself before their gaze, their murmurs, and their arms, like a man who lays down his arms and surrenders, "by the right of the blood that is flowing, of the fire that is consuming your houses, of a nation without a head, of a people without guides, without orders, and perhaps to-morrow without bread; by the right of the most devoted, and the most courageous; by the right, fellow-citizens, if you must be told, of those who are the foremost to surrender their character to suspicion, their blood to

the scaffold, their head to the vengeance of people or kings to save their country. Do you envy us this right? You all possess it: assert it as we have done. We do not dispute it with you; you are all worthy to sacrifice yourselves for the common safety. We have no claim but that derived from our consciences and your dangers. The people who have fallen from a government into a revolution must have leaders. The voice of that people, victorious and trembling with its victory, on the very scene of the conflict, has appointed us and called us forth by name, and we have obeyed the summons. Do you wish to prolong an election in the midst of fire and slaughter, terrible and impracticable? You have the power to do so, but that fire and that bloodshed will be upon your heads, and your country will curse them."

"No, no," cried some voices already touched and influenced by this abandonment of all legal right, and by this appeal to the right of self-devotion alone. "Yes, yes," answered other and more obstinate voices, "they have no right to govern us, they do not belong to the people; they do not come from the barricades. They come from that venal assembly where they have breathed the poisoned air of corruption." "They have protested against corruption," cried some. "They have defended the cause of the people in the chamber," cried others. "Well," cried the more moderate, "let them at least announce what form of government they intend to give us. We have overthrown the monarchy; we have fought our way to the government. Let Lamartine explain whether or no he will give us a republic."

At this repeated appeal, which issued from all parts of the hall, Lamartine smiled with that expression which seems to retain on the lips a slightly sceptical indecision, and to provoke an auditory to extort from a mind its inmost secret. "A republic? fellow-citizens," said he, at length, in a tone of solemn interrogation, "who was it that pronounced the word republic?" "All, all!" replied hundreds of voices, and thousands of hands waved their weapons above their heads in token of joyful assent. "A republic? fellow-citizens," resumed Lamartine, with a more pensive and melancholy gravity; "do you know what you ask? do you know what a republican government is?" "Tell us, tell us," was the answer from all

quarters. "A republic!" continued Lamartine, "do you know it is a government administered by the reason of all; and do you feel yourselves sufficiently advanced to have no other masters but yourselves, no other government than your own reason?" "Yes, yes!" cried the people. "Do you know that a republic is the government of justice, and do you feel yourselves just enough to concede their rights, even to your enemies?" "Yes, yes!" replied the people, in a tone of pride and self-confidence. "Do you know," resumed Lamartine, "that a republic means a government of virtue; and do you feel yourselves sufficiently virtuous, highminded, and kind to sacrifice yourselves for others, to forget injuries, to look without envy on the fortunate, to forgive your enemies, to disarm your hearts of those sentences of death, proscriptions, and scaffolds which dishonoured the name under the popular despotism that half a century ago passed under the false designation of a republic, and this day to reconcile France to that name? Ask yourselves; examine yourselves; and pronounce for yourselves your own condemnation or your own glory."*

"Yes, yes! we feel ourselves capable of all these virtues," cried these voices, which had become collected and almost sanctified by the accents of the orator, and now burst forth with unanimous enthusiasm. "You feel it? You swear it?" continued Lamartine, in an interrogative tone, as if he were waiting for a reply. "You call to witness that God, who, at such moments as this, manifests himself through the cry and instincts of a people?" A thunder of affirmation was the reply. "Well," said he, "it is you who have pronounced. You shall be a republic, if you are as worthy to preserve as you have been heroic in obtaining it." The hall, the courts, and even the vaults beneath the vestibules, shook with the prolonged reverberation of their applause.

"But," continued Lamartine, "let us understand one another. Both you and we alike desire a republic; but we should be both unworthy of the name of republicans, if we attempted to commence the reign of freedom by an

* The notes of this dialogue were taken on the spot, and sent in a collected form to the author, by two gentlemen present—MM. Sarrans and Ernest Grégoire.

act of tyranny, or to steal a government of liberty, equality, justice, religion, and virtue, like a theft committed during a night of confusion and sedition like the present. We have but one right; that of declaring our opinion and our wishes to the people of Paris, of which we form a part; that of taking the glorious initiative in a government of liberty, brought about by ages; and to tell the country and the world, that we are taking on ourselves the responsibility of proclaiming a provisional republic as the constitution of the country; but that we leave to that country, to its thirty-six millions of souls, who are not present, but who have the same right as ourselves, to consent to, to prefer, or reject one or another form of government; that we reserve, I say, to them that which belongs to them, as much as our right of preference belongs to ourselves, viz. the expression of their sovereign will, by means of universal suffrage, that first principle and only basis of national republicanism."

"Hear, hear!" "That is right!" "That is just!" replied the people. "France is not here present!" "Paris is the head; but Paris should direct, not crush the members!" "The republic for ever!" "The provisional government for ever!" "Lamartine for ever!" "Let the provisional government achieve our salvation!" "They are worthy of their commission, and to choose another would be to divide the people, and to give to tyranny an opportunity of return!"

Amidst such cries as these, Lamartine descended triumphant from the platform. He re-established order, replaced the posts, sentinels, and artillery in the courts, and returned to the council-chamber assured of the confidence of the people, and of the unity of the provisional government. During his absence, his colleagues Marie and Garnier Pagès, assisted by Pagnerre, Flottard, Bastide, Payer, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Marrast, and a group of fearless and indefatigable citizens, had continued to provide for emergencies, with all the vigour of an undisputed and omnipresent government. Numerous decrees, drawn up with that rapidity of thought and absoluteness of will which paralyzes resistance, had been issued within a few hours of the assembling of the government. That government organized itself with one hand, and defended itself with the other. Ministers had

been appointed, and generals nominated; orders were flying over all the roads of France and the colonies, to regulate the revolution, and to prevent civil war.

Arago directed his attention to the fleet. This minister, who secured obedience by the sole authority of his name, qualified for command, and inaccessible to popular suspicions and hostilities, had not hesitated to incur the dissatisfaction of exclusive republicans, by appointing Admiral Baudin to the command of the fleet of Toulon, without waiting to ascertain how much of gratitude and regret for the princes of the fallen dynasty that officer might harbour in his heart: he had trusted to his patriotism as an officer. The government had without hesitation ratified this appointment. By the combined orders of Subervie, the minister of war, and of Arago, officers of the marine and army were already on their way to the Mediterranean and to Algiers, to obtain the allegiance of the fleet and armies, and the recognition of the government which had dethroned their family by the very princes who commanded them.

Acquainted by history and experience with the irresistible influence which the sovereign idea of the unity of his country exercises over the French soldier, the members of the government did not doubt that their orders would everywhere be obeyed.

Meanwhile the prince de Joinville, the favourite of the marine force, was in command of a squadron at sea. The dukes d'Aumale and de Montpensier commanded a hundred thousand men in Algeria. The south was in the royalist influence. The fleet, which might act in concert with the army and the princes, might convey to Toulon, in a few days, an army of sixty thousand men. The king, whose intentions were as yet unknown, might fall back upon Lille, summon to his side the army of Paris, of the North, and of the Rhine; and thus, in a few days, enclose the metropolis and the heart of France between two civil wars.

The government looked with an undaunted eye upon these contingencies, and resolved to anticipate them by the rapidity of their movements, or to subdue them by the prompt organization of the republican forces in Paris. Success appeared to them not to admit of a doubt, even opposed to all the hesitations of the colonies and provinces, and in the event of

the royal party returning to resume hostilities. There was enough of enthusiasm in Paris, even in the presence of the court and the troops. Changes of government in France are not campaigns, but explosions; in that great people two ruling motives never exist together. In that country revolutions are sudden, and protracted civil strifes impossible. This constitutes, at once, the weakness of administrations and the safety of the nation.

Whilst the little band of members of the government, who remained all night on the field of battle at the Hôtel de Ville, were thus carrying out the measures which were taken in conjunction with their colleagues during the evening, the minister of the interior, M. Ledru Rollin, surrounded by the combatants of the last three days, was scouring the metropolis, and rallying around the government the adherents of the republican party. He pacified them by the influence of the victory. He commissioned them to go and carry the news of it to their brethren in the provinces. He organized his ministerial department, and hastily nominated the first commissioners, who were sent from Paris, to replace the prefects appointed under the monarchy, or to recognize the provisional functionaries, whom the provincial towns had appointed, on their own responsibility, on the first rumour of the revolution.

Caussidière, Louis Blanc, Albert, Flocon, each contributing to the new administration that portion of influence and number of adherents which their party, in the different divisions of the people, supplied to them, were collected around the minister of the interior. Caussidière, who had been borne to the office of prefect of police by a confused mass of five or six thousand men of the armed sections, contested, for a time, with Saubrier the authority conferred by the revolution; both with sword in hand, smoke upon their faces, fire in their eyes, and blood upon their clothes, bivouacked with their comrades in the struggle about the courts and streets which adjoined the principal office. They kept their soldiers under arms, and guarded their banners, recognizing the provisional government with hesitation and murmurs. They reserved to themselves the liberty of obeying or resisting its decrees. They seemed to wish to fortify themselves in the post, and by no means to disband

the revolution, whose arms they had the power to direct. But while they thus kept around them the nucleus of the combatants of February, they energetically employed their influence over that prætorian guard of the revolution, which had previously been better disciplined, and which was more intrepid than the masses, in extinguishing fires, disarming the people, and punishing all individual outrages against person and property, thus forming a kind of arbitrary, absolute, and irresistible police, constituted by that very body, against which the police of the monarchical *régime* had acted for fifteen years. This camp of the prefecture of police, with its lighted watch-fires, its stacks of arms, its soldiers in blood-stained rags, its barricades illuminated at their tops by lamps, its videttes, its advanced guards, its detachments going out and coming in on rapid expeditions, controlled by the colossal stature, abrupt action, and broken, but thundering voice of Caussidière, presented the true representation of order rising, though still with a disorderly manifestation, from the chaos of an overthrown social system.

Some of the members of the government were alarmed at the vicinity of this encampment, and by the rivalry, bordering on anarchy, for the government of the metropolis, between the mayor of Paris and the new prefect of police. Lamartine did not share these anxieties; he walked unattended through the middle of this camp of montagnards, he observed the countenances of these men, he understood from their discourse,—that they were at once the agents of a revolution which had been achieved, and the instruments of a new state of order about to arise. The soldier-like, but humane energy of Caussidière gratified him. He saw that this party chieftain had a heart as generous as his hand was valiant; he clearly perceived that his acuteness detracted in no degree from his uprightness; that he was satisfied with and proud of his victory; but that this very pride established in his mind, as a point of honour, a resolution to restrain all excess: he determined to support Caussidière in this semi-submission, which, while it left him a kind of sovereign control over disorder, would bind him more closely to its repression.

Caussidière, on his part, with that diplomatic instinct which is even more effective than practised skill, affected at once in

his intercourse with the provisional government a deference for its authority and an independence which suffered matters to float in abeyance between complete submission and masked insurrection. Thus Lamartine from the first day showed himself openly disposed to grant to Caussidière all that he required of men, of supplies, and of discretionary power, in order to constitute for him a kind of supreme police force, consisting of two or three thousand insurrectionists, chosen amidst the firing, in order to constitute of them, amidst the general destitution of all coercive force, a sort of extemporaneous prætorian guard, to preserve public order in Paris. It mattered little to him whether this force was composed of disorderly elements, and bore the name of Caussidière, or that of the mayor of Paris, so that the revolution might not be disgraced by crimes, and the people not taste of that bloodshed which it drinks insatiably at the commencement of a revolution. It was with the same feeling that he proposed to his colleagues another measure, which seemed at first to be distinguished by utter rashness, but which in the result proved to be the perfection of prudence.

The night was falling over that tumultuous army of the populace, which wandered amidst the report of musketry and songs of triumph around the Hôtel de Ville. This populace, hungering for liberty, now began to be hungering for food. A few citizens came in alarm to announce to Lamartine the condition of the city, the prospective disturbances of the morrow, and the agonies of the future. He rose from the seat in which he had been occupied in writing proclamations to the people and to the army, and followed these citizens to a place where a window opened on the Place de Grève, and permitted a view of the outlets of the streets of the Faubourg du Temple, and of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, and the bridges and quays which lead to the Faubourg Saint Marceau. Here was an ocean of men agitated by the gale of those passions which a day of fighting had excited. Within that multitude resided the fuel by which ten revolutions might have been kindled.

Lamartine was smitten with the calmness and the expression, at once enthusiastic and devoted, of the immense majority of this multitude, composed of adult men and artisans. He clearly perceived that it was not the populace of 1793;

that these masses were pervaded by a spirit of intelligence and order, and that right reason expressed in words would find an echo in the minds of these labouring men, and an enforcing power in their arms.

But he saw fluctuating hither and thither, in the midst of this determined throng, another body, restless, turbulent, and light as foam. This was composed of children or of youths from twelve to twenty years of age. Thoughtless by nature, undisciplined, owing to their daily habits of roaming about a metropolis, irresponsible for their actions by their age and excitability, armed, though without a leader or an intelligent purpose, ever ready to take the first who presented himself as their chief, and the first breach of order as their cause.

He had a fearful presentiment of the terrible and complicated results which might be produced by this multitude of youths, who had escaped from workshops, which they might find no longer open to them, and who might throw their misery, their impetuosity, and their disorder into the metropolis, if the republic did not immediately take possession of them, assist them with its pay, enlist them into its force, and place them in the rank of useful citizens. At a glance he guessed their number as ranging from twenty to twenty-five thousand. A shudder of anticipative terror passed over his brow, while a flash of foresight and resolution lighted up his mind. These twenty-five thousand youths of Paris, left among the ranks of the excited populace, seemed destined to constitute an irresistible element of lasting sedition. The national guard, composed solely of a class of citizens in easy circumstances, and of a fixed abode, would, for a few months, be virtually disbanded. The equality of the right of suffrage was about to be extended by the bayonet. The army, the object of temporary suspicion to the populace, against which it had just been fighting, could not return to Paris without kindling within the city a civil war. In order to its being restored by the capital to an honourable and safe civilization, it was essential that the capital itself should be defended by these two hundred thousand of national guards. While the army was absent, while the municipal guard had been decimated and had vanished, during this new enlistment of a national guard, and the arrangements

for its government, the appointment of its officers, and supply of arms, Paris would be left for an indefinite period to its own mercy, while civil war in the provinces and a possible invasion on the frontiers might necessitate immediate reinforcements. Lamartine calculated at a glance that these twenty-five thousand young persons, abandoned to the chances of sedition or to vagrancy,—or, on the other hand, these twenty-five thousand young soldiers enlisted beneath military discipline, and the control of the government,—might make an actual balance of fifty thousand men on the side of order, and against that of anarchy. He returned, and in a few words presented these hasty suggestions to his colleagues. Without discussing them, they felt their force; a nod of assent was the only vote which passed amidst these emergencies. The numerous decrees which had been signed within the last three hours, had exhausted the writing materials of the council-table. Payer procured for him a scrap of common paper, torn from a leaf already half-filled. On this Lamartine wrote the decree, appointing at once a force of twenty-four battalions of *garde mobile*, and passed the document to his colleagues. They signed it, and on that very night the lists were opened for enrolment.

Proud of their names, these youths threw themselves in crowds into this, the first corps formed by the republic, and soon showed themselves worthy of the part they had assumed in the establishment of freedom.

The force appointed to maintain, and at the same time to control, the revolution, was thus drawn from the revolution itself. It was the genuine arming of a military people enlisted by enthusiasm, recruited by destitution, disciplined by its own innate spirit, partly dressed in rags, and yet defending the state and property of a luxurious capital. The *garde mobile* was destined to save Paris from disorder for four months, and to preserve society in safety amidst the confusion of the fifth month of their existence. Their enrolment was the omen of the public safety during the days of June. That body has subsequently incurred the ingratitude of those fellow-citizens for whom it shed its blood.

Thus within a few hours spent in agitations, shocks, and assaults, and in the threats of a reviving insurrection, in the midst of a palace occupied by twenty thousand armed men,

divided, tossed to and fro, and rent into opposing factions, the provisional government, not losing a single minute, fathoming all the depths, and watching the glimmer from every lighthouse of public safety, catching up all the dropped threads from the woof of annihilated power, had brought about the recognition in itself of that dictatorial authority which constitutes the first and last instinct of a dissolved social system. In a right which it had usurped, but usurped from anarchy, it had protected the supreme power of an endangered nation. By one bold effort it had put a stop to all intestine attempts at the substitution of another government in place of itself. It had rendered the return to Paris of the conquered dynasty impossible. It had caused the firing to cease, and a pathway to be made through the barricades. It had extinguished the conflagrations, re-opened the communications between Paris and the provinces, informed and surprised the departments by the promptitude of its measures, created new magistrates for the people, or confirmed the former ones in their offices, despatched agents, received declarations of allegiance from the troops, provided for the maintenance of Paris, appointed ministers, reorganized the municipal police, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, suspended the Chamber of Peers, proclaimed its wish and that of the people of Paris, to change the monarchy into a republic, subject to the ratification by the sovereign voice of the people, established the republican guard as a police, and the *garde mobile* as a social force, appointed generals, taken possession of the forts, received the submission of Vincennes, and preserved that arsenal. Lastly, it had tended the wounded, preserved the Tuileries, by converting it into a temporary hospital for the people, ordered the enlargement of the regiments of the national guards, enrolled the people (that civic force then the only one at their disposal), caused religion and property to be respected, proclaimed the fusion and concord of different classes under the name of fraternity, and changed that night of anarchy and civil war, of conflagration, plunder, and death, in which the citizens were threatened by the common overthrow of all authority, into one of almost peaceful security. Sixty-two proclamations, deliberations, orders, or decrees, issued in a few hours, and executed by the zeal and courage

of the citizens, who had made themselves the allies of the government, had before midnight produced and established these results.

The fatigue of the people, who had been on foot for twenty-four hours, the cool resolution of the government, and the last effort of Lamartine, had at last cleared the Hôtel de Ville and the Place de Grève of the crowds by which they had been besieged since the morning. The men who desired the tyranny of a government composed of the victorious populace of Paris, overpowered by the good sense of the people, and by the acclamations which had greeted Lamartine, had for that night abandoned their designs. Enthusiasm had hurried everything along with it, even to the thoughts of resistance, and participating in it themselves, they retired mingling murmurs with their applause. The wild idea of a government tumultuous and violent as the element from which it sprang, had eluded their grasp at the very moment when they thought themselves sure of their prey. They withdrew to conspire during the night, to seize it by open force during the morrow. Neither Lamartine nor the members of the government, a few of whom remained with him at the Hôtel de Ville, suspected so near and so threatening a return of the dangers they had just put down. Overcome with fatigue and with exhausted voices, with no other couch to rest their limbs than the floor of the council-chamber, with no other food to recruit their strength than a morsel of bread broken between them on the table, with no other beverage than a few drops of wine, the remnants of the breakfast of one of the attendants of the mayoralty, and drunk from a broken piece of crockery found among the lumber of the palace, they at length began to breathe, looking back upon what they had accomplished, and forgetting what still remained to be done. The members of the government had successively retired one by one; the fellow-labourers who seconded them with all their courage and zeal, Buchez, Pagnerre, Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, Recurt, Flottard, Payer, Bastide, Flocon, and fifty or sixty other intrepid citizens, were still on foot, and furnished suggestions to meet all those minor emergencies which arose with every minute. The more important arrangements had been promptly made,—occasions for more were hatching amidst the darkness of the night. Malie and

Lamartine agreed to share the last watches of that night, only going away by turns for a short time to reassure their families before retiring to resume that post at which on the morrow they were to encounter fresh assaults. Lamartine thus quitted the Hôtel de Ville at midnight without being recognized. He was accompanied by Payer, Ernest Grégoire, and Doctor Faivre, undaunted companions of his dangers during the day, and with whom but a few hours before he was unacquainted. He had seen them by the fire of the revolution; and that was sufficient to attach these citizens to each other. Such moments reveal characters more than years of common-place intercourse. The night was gloomy and tempestuous; the wind, which was mingled with rain, was driving the clouds that lowered in the sky, and the wreathing smoke of the lamps on the tops of the barricades, and made the weather-cocks and iron cowls of the chimneys creak and groan upon the roofs. At the entrance of every street, sentries who had volunteered from among the people kept watch with loaded muskets in their hands, but without any other watchword than their spontaneous zeal to defend the safety of their respective districts. They might be said to be keeping watch over their own honour, for fear that their victory should be tarnished with crime. At short intervals were found large fires lighted, around which groups of combatants were lying asleep on a little straw. Their sentinels, like disciplined soldiers, obeyed chiefs whom they had instinctively chosen, or whom they recognized on the evidence of a moral superiority. No disordered tumult, no threatening clamour, no reproach, disturbed these armed assemblages; they politely challenged the citizens as they passed, and informed themselves of the news of the hour, and the resolutions and decrees of the government. They applauded the mention of the republic, and swore to defend and to honour it by a magnanimous and forgiving spirit. They testified no resentment, no anger, nor thirst of vengeance; their only emotion was enthusiasm and hope for the best. The earth might trust, and heaven might smile upon the sentiments of the people during such a night. Only occasionally, and at distant intervals, a few reports of fire-arms were heard, and bullets whistled through the air. These came from the posts of the combatants, who fired at random, in order to apprize the troops, whose dispositions were

unknown, that the army of the people was on foot, and surprise impossible. Lamartine and his friends everywhere harangued them, encouraged them, and were received with cries of "The provisional government for ever!" It was only in proportion as their distance from the Hôtel de Ville became greater, that these posts were more rare. Here and there a few persons who had been fighting for three days were wandering about in groups and without chiefs, in the streets and on the quays, stupified with the wine and the firing. They uttered cries of victory; they knocked at the doors with the butt-ends of their muskets or the hilts of their swords, and fired by files in token of joy rather than of any destructive intention. At the extremity of the bridges of the Tuileries, at the entrance of the Rue de Back, and the adjacent streets of the Faubourg St. Germain, this party firing was kept up all night, and it was only by passing through it that Lamartine could reach the door of his house.

After having changed his clothes, which were torn to rags in the encounters of the past days, and taken two or three hours of sleep, he set out again on foot at four o'clock in the morning for the Hôtel de Ville. The lagging hours of the night had now more completely lulled the city; the fires had gone out on the barricades, and the sentinels of the people were sleeping with their elbows supported on the muzzle of their muskets. A certain dull sound was heard issuing from the deep and dark streets which surround the Place de Grève; armed groups of four or five men in each, here and there were traversing the quay, the streets, and the squares, with hurried steps. As they walked they conversed in a low tone of voice, like conspirators. These men were in general differently dressed from the rest of the people. They wore coats of dark colour, and caps of black cloth with an edging of red, trowsers, and boots of a certain degree of elegance. Their beards, curling on their chins and lips, carefully trimmed and combed; white and delicate hands, more fit to hold the pen than the tool; intelligent expressions of countenance, marked with the suspicious ardour of a plot;—all this showed that these men did not belong, as far as their occupation was concerned, to the indigent classes, but that they were rather their directors, their agitators, and their

chiefs. Lamartine thought he could perceive by the light of the fires of the bivouac, that they wore red ribbons in their buttonholes, and a red cockade in their caps. He supposed that it was simply a rallying sign, worn for the purpose of mutual recognition during the days of conflict that had just passed away. He entered the Hôtel de Ville without suspicion, and relieved his colleague, Marie, who went in his turn to see and comfort his family.

Quiet, silence, and sleep reigned at this time throughout the vast building, which a few hours before had been the scene of so much tumult. This silence was only interrupted by the groans and the delirious talk of the wounded and the dying, who lay about the state-room. Lamartine resumed his post in the somewhat enlarged, half empty, and better protected precincts of the provisional government. There, while writing orders and drawing up decrees, he awaited the dawn of day and the return of some of his colleagues.

BOOK VII.

THAT period of stillness and repose in which the late hours of the night and still more the early dawn of day invariably enfold the minds and actions of men during the convulsions even of battles or revolutions, was, on the present occasion, spent in watching only by that one party, whose object was to recover on the following day the victory and the control of power, of which, as we have already seen, they had been deprived by the provisional government on the preceding evening. In order the better to comprehend this narrative, it will be necessary to enter into a precise and impartial consideration of the three parties which had effected the revolution, and were unanimously agreed in proclaiming or adopting a republican form of government, as soon as the king's flight had confirmed the revolutionary movement.

These consisted, in the first place, of the liberal or national party, composed of all the friends of the liberty and the progress of institutions, without reference to class, social condition, or fortune; and, secondly, of the socialist party, which was com-

posed of the aggregate mass of all the different sects, schools, or systems, which aimed at effecting a more or less radical renovation of society, by means of a new distribution of the conditions of labour or the bases of property; lastly, of the revolutionary party, composed of those who enter into a revolution for its sake alone—men alike indifferent to philosophical views of progress, or dreams of radical amelioration; who look only to the excitement of the moment; whose souls are destitute of the moral devotion of those who regard governments as instruments for the good of a nation, and whose imaginations are unfired by the chimerical enthusiasm of those who believe that social order may be renovated from its foundations without burying man beneath its ruins. Such revolutionists, without faith and without understanding, but full of passions and tumultuous emotions, seek to model revolutions according to their own image, and find the consummation of all they desired only in the protraction of convulsive movements. The single theory to which they aspire is a revolutionary government, devoid like themselves of faith, of laws, of result, of peace, of moderation, and morality.

The first of these parties, that is to say, the national and liberal, whose opinions were entirely republican, had actually contributed more than the others towards the revolution, by their aversion to the power of royalty, their reform banquets, the personal opposition they manifested to the king in the chambers, by the desertion of the national guards of Paris to the cause of the people, by the passive state of the army, and by the prompt adhesion of the generals to the new government. This party, which had increased in genuine liberalism during the last thirty years, and was penetrated with the true sentiments of the dignity of a citizen, feeling themselves capable of dispensing with the king and governing themselves, entered with alacrity into the cause of the republic, while they congratulated themselves with having escaped, at the first bound, the perils of anarchy.

The popularity, promptitude, and energy of the provisional government had in eighteen hours re-established elements of order by boldly throwing themselves amid the ruins of the general convulsion.

The national party were already exclusively occupied in endeavouring to control and regulate the revolution they had

determined to accept, provided it could be brought to conform to the grand outlines of the general interests of society. They were ready to give the weight of their adhesion to the government, in order to complete and close the revolution by a republic based on civilization.

The second or socialist party was divided into rival schools, adhering to various doctrines. These schools had hitherto agreed only in the more or less radical change they desired to bring into the social and traditional order of society; and while their theories all tended towards a better distribution of benefices and offices, the suppression of personal property, and a community of goods, they nevertheless differed as to the means and the degrees, according to which this radical levelling of mankind was to be effected. Some were for effecting this by means of what they termed the organization of labour; or, in other words, by the substitution of the arbitrary intervention of the government for the free competition between capital and wages—a sure means of destroying both! Such was the character of M. Louis Blanc's school, which, by establishing a kind of industrial and fluctuating communism, which nominally neither dispossessed the capitalist nor the proprietor of the soil, actually annihilated both, by depriving them of their independence, and which was equivalent to a confiscation of all capital, since it destroyed all interest.

This system, which was moderate and disguised in its formulæ, founded on a real principle of justice and equality, and of pity for the oppressions of competition, and the frequent iniquities to which capital may give rise, and expounded by its founder with a persuasive sophistry that attracted the ignorant, and a talent in style and words which dazzled the young and penetrated the masses, was of all systems the most abundant in earnest followers. The rallying word of the organization of labour, thanks to the obscurity of its meaning, had become the watch-cry of these crusaders against political and social order.

Although these words conveyed no meaning to the more cultivated classes, they possessed in their eyes all the charm and illusion of mystery, embodying ideas of philosophy, while in the eyes of the industrial classes they were regarded as significant of justice, reparation, hope, and consolation.

Too imperfectly enlightened to analyze them and discover the impracticability, deceit, and misery with which they were imbrued, these orders of men venerated them from the apparent pledges they afford of a practical and easy amelioration, alike innoxious to all conditions of labour, and compatible with their ideas of the constitution of property, wealth, and capital, which they would shrink from attacking by violence and spoliation.

Such a system as this could not fail speedily to rally around its standard an army of proselytes at a period and in the midst of cities where the competition of industry accumulated floating masses of suffering, worn-out, or indolent working men. This party acted as the advanced guard of communism, under a name which deceived all men, not excepting even its own adherents.

The other socialist schools were, in the first place, that of Fourrier, remodelled from the ruins of Saint Simonism, and which had been at once developed and extinguished in 1830. *Fourrierism*, which was more vast and profound in its ideas, and more deeply penetrated by a sentiment of immaterialism, had, by the faith and talents of its principal promulgators, raised itself to the standard of a species of apostolical religion. Its form of faith was daily set forth at Paris in the *Journal de la Démocratie pacifique*, under the direction of Considérant, Hennequin, and Cantagrel. It had its chapels, its missions, its cœnacles, its muster-rolls, and subscriptions from all classes in the departments of France and in other parts of Europe. It did not present itself as in favour of a subversion of the existing state of society, but simply of an experimental regeneration; and asked for nothing more than an opportunity of presenting its theories for discussion, while it advocated a deferential tolerance for already existing privileges. All it required was the right of testing its experiments; its aim was to convince, not to constrain. It was the embodiment of a dream; for the community it advocated, under the name of *phalansteries* (which were a kind of industrial and agricultural monasteries), required angels for its members, gods for its rulers, and mysteries for its consummation. Yet these very mysteries, which had in vain been attacked by reason, and insulted by ridicule, seemed only to bind the sectarians more firmly to their opinions; for mysterious is the cement of illusions, which it renders more sacred in the eyes of those who partake them.

Enthusiasm is incurable when those who cherish it believe themselves inspired, and when the inspired believe themselves to be martyrs.

Although Fourrierism cherished in its principal adherents the illusions and superstitions of a religion, it also possessed its honesty and virtues. It had hitherto always refused to ally itself with the political parties hostile to the established government; while its principles of philosophy and religion caused it to despise and detest the part of faction. It enjoined peace to all nations, order and tolerance among citizens, and courageously practised in its acts and writings that which it had preached. It was a creed of good faith, of concord, and of peace; a non-militant creed like that of the Quakers of America, which like theirs might be feared, discussed, or ridiculed, but which could not fail to elicit esteem, and might make madmen, but never criminals.

Besides this great sect, other secondary and partial sects were divided among themselves on the practical application of the doctrine of community amongst the individuals of one social body. Some of these adopted the incoherent chimeras of the Icarians, under the guidance of M. Cabet, a species of posthumous but humanized Basbeuf, exciting the fanatic devotions of all who were discontented with labour, proscribed from the pale of wealth, or victims of the industrial competition of cities, by the vision of an agrarian community. Others tried to perceive some faint outlines of a new society without the sphere of man's primordial instincts, across the vista of M. Pierre Leroux's metaphysical perspective illumined by a ray of Christianity. Others, again, as if to avenge themselves of circumstances, endeavoured to follow the desperate doctrines of a great sophist, who boldly avowed his audacious design to effect the utter ruin of the world of thought and of politics, and who revelled in the ruin of the present and the chaos of the future. This Nemesis of ancient forms of society was M. Prudhon; but the ruin he schemed savoured at least of wisdom, for all the genius that can appertain to sophistry was his, and he sported with truths and falsehoods as did the children of Greece with bones.

Besides these there were the true barbarians of civilization, who admitted neither doctrines, faith, social religion, leaders,

illusions, nor sects; but who hungered and thirsted for convulsions, be they what they might. An inveterate sentiment of dissatisfaction, sharpened into hatred and perverted into vice, had for many years fermented in their breasts. These feelings urged them at least to the plunder of the institution to which they attributed those sufferings, which should have been ascribed only to the imperfection inherent by nature to all human institutions. They were but few in number, and were hidden in the sinks and purlieus of the capital and the larger manufacturing cities.

The remaining Socialist leaders and sects that we have enumerated were far from resembling these unruly desperadoes. Together with grand and legitimate aspirations for the amelioration of society, they cherished many false and impracticable views, whose accomplishment would be alike subversive of all justice, of family ties, of property, and of instinct; but they were not voluntarily immoral or perverse. These men, impassioned even to fanaticism, and of whom some were moved by pride to adhere to their systems, and others by religion to advocate the progress of societies, at least believed strongly in an idea; and an idea, although false, in which one has faith, and to which one devotes oneself with fanatic zeal, brings with it its own morality. Such an idea may be absurd, but not criminal. It is what false religions are to mankind in general—a delusion before the tribunal of reason, and a virtue before that of conscience. It requires impossibilities, but it does not seek them through crimes.

Such was at that moment the true character of the different Socialist schools, which joined the republicans in proclaiming the republic. None of these sects, none of these theorist leaders, entertained a thought of impelling the republic to convulsions, violence, or bloodshed for the sake of illustrating the victorious problem of their schools amid ruin and blood. The historian must not calumniate thoughts which did not degenerate into factions until a later period, and which at the moment of which we are speaking were but hopes; his duty is to proclaim all he has seen in the honour and in extenuation, not less than in condemnation, of Socialism.

A sincerely religious spirit of enthusiasm animated at this

moment the majority of the adherents of the different Socialist sects. It raised both leaders and followers above evil designs, schemes of abject ambition, and most strikingly perhaps above that ferocity of mind which has since been imputed to them. Enthusiasm, which, for the moment, sanctifies all hearts, was inflamed to ecstasy in the breasts of all Socialists, although more especially in the adherents of Fourrier and Raspail. The mould of the older world appeared to them to be suddenly and miraculously broken before their eyes, and all hoped that they might be able to recast the new order of society in one more or less in conformity with their ideas. This joy caused their hearts to expand with sentiments of humanity, fraternity, and indulgence for the past, promising respect for acquired rights, reparation for social iniquity, security to the wealthy, and provision for the poor. They offered the members of the government the aid of their numbers, their influence, their vigilance, their arms, and their blood, to co-operate with them in maintaining order, humanizing the revolution, disciplining the republic, and defending commerce, agriculture, and wealth. They desired a gradual and rational transformation, not a deluge. No word of anger, vengeance, resentment, or division amongst themselves escaped their lips at that first moment of excitement, when the soul is wont to reveal itself. They gave utterance to no sentiment that might not have been registered to the honour of the human race. Their aspect, their emotion, and their deportment, testified the sincerity of words, which they had assuredly no intention of belying on the morrow by their actions. Such is the testimony that the members of the government, however much opposed they may be to their theory, owe them in the sight of history, of man, and of God.

The third party was one which conspired, before it was fully accomplished, against the revolution it had created.

It is alike important to history, the nation, and mankind at large, that the elements of this party should be correctly analyzed, for it ruined the first revolution by its interference, and strove to destroy the second one from the first night of its development. This party exists everywhere as an element of disorder and crime—and consists of the scum of the people; but it is only in France that it enjoys a theoretical and

political existence. It is called Terrorism. Its history is as follows:—

The first French revolution, which originated in philosophy, encountered in its struggle between the past and the future many terrible shocks in trying to rend from the aristocratic, despotic, and clerical powers, which then held possession of the old world, equality, liberty, tolerance, and the other applicable truths that the reason of the French nation desired to introduce into the mechanism of legislation and government. In this triple civil war of ideas, conscience, and interests, which lasted from 1789 to 1796, all the good and evil elements of revolution were mingled and confounded. The philosophers, legislators, orators, soldiers, and tribunes of the revolution, generously threw themselves into the contest, each one, at first, fighting by the help of his opinions or his arms. But the effervescence of events soon caused anger, violence, tyranny, cruelty, and other revolutionary crimes to come on the stage to act their parts in these dark and terrible days. The dictates of demagoguism, proscriptions, confiscations, the scaffold, punishments, nay, even wholesale assassinations (as for instance that of September), had all in turn their day or year in the annals of the revolution.

These dark overshadowings of justice, moderation, and humanity appalled the world, dishonoured the nation, and brought opprobrium on the republic, while they rejoiced the unruly spirits and perverse hearts of some few among the people. Danton, on that one day which brought such infamy on his name, Marat and his accomplices at all times, and St. Just sometimes, pleaded an excuse for crime. They exalted it as an instrument of daring—a victory of logic over pity—a meritorious triumph of will over conscience. While men suffered them to strike and inveigh, history has indignantly refuted their sophisms. When we coolly analyze in the present day their theory of the pretended redemption of the republic by crime, we find that the republic of 1793 owes nothing to the horror with which it was stained—unless it be the downfall of the republican principle, reprobation of the means employed, the postponement of the true republic, and the despotism of a soldier.

But sophistry is pleasing to men, whether it present itself

as a new manifestation of mental power, as the audacity of the conscience, or as a defiance to the opinions of the vulgar. Scarcely was the blood of the revolution stanched, when the press and history, in one case from perverseness, in another from fatalism, in others again only from complaisance for sophisms, in cold blood revived the fiery effusions of Danton, and the aphorisms of St. Just, to build up a theory of revolutions, and a superhuman system of history. Men, who wrote in this strain, affected a lofty pity for scruples of integrity and humanity, attributing to statesmen, in a time of revolution, some unknown right of constraining, proscribing, and immolating their enemies or their rivals; and this right, according to their opinions, placed them, not only above all written prescripts of justice, but above the decrees of equity. They subverted nature, in order to give credit to their historical system, and deified the executioner, while they despised the victim.

This school multiplied during the restoration and the reign of Louis Philippe, and its sophisms were rendered popular by oppression, fostered by immorality, propagated by imitation, and made the subject of rejoicing to the after-taste of crime, which lurks in the depths of some minds. To suppress remorse was not enough, it was necessary to sanction the offence; and even this degree of absurdity was attained. Generations of minds were nourished in these ideas. False natures diffused them—feeble natures yielded to them, and perverse ones converted them into a scheme of government, and a fierce and turbulent spirit.

These were the elements from which arose in France, not the republican body, which thrilled with horror at such theories, but the Conventionalist and Terrorist party, whose rallying word was the Convention, and whose ideal was terror.

This party, which suffered their ideas to transpire in their writings, journals, and public addresses, disclosed them more clearly, and commented on them with more acerbity in some of their associations and subterranean assemblies. There the words revolution and republic were not, as in the councils of true republicans, synonymous with liberty, equality, and the morality of the citizens, under a government of reason and unanimous rights; but with this party they signified the violent triumph of one portion of the nation over the rest.

It was the avenging dominion of one class over all the others —the tyranny of the low in exchange for that of the high. The substitution of arbitrary will for law, resentment for justice, and the axe for the power of government.

In addition to the enrolled and fanatic adherents of its different sections, this party was reinforced by the ignorant portion of the floating population, made up, as in all large capitals, by those who belong to no country and no class of society, but who in all convulsive and revolutionary movements are always found ready to inundate every street and square with their agitation, misery, and destitution.

It is one of the greatest crimes of our older form of society that it left this suffering remnant of the population of our cities without instruction, organization, or protection. Great vices germinate in extreme misery; for where there is stagnation there will also be corruption. Crime is the miasma of indigence and brutality; and the duty of a republic is to enlighten, purify, and ameliorate such masses.

Such was the army of this party, which set up as its standard the red flag.

Vanquished the evening before in the last convulsive disturbance, at the Hôtel de Ville, by the resolution of the provisional government, supported by the energetic co-operation of Lamartine's presence and address, the Terrorists had retired in silence, but not with resignation. They renounced for the moment all hope of disputing the supreme power with a government that had been established by the twofold acclamations of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Place de Grève, for they had no names they could bring forward to compete with the popularity of those of Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Marie, Crémieux, and Lamartine; some of which had been rendered illustrious by parliamentary contests, others by letters, science, or the bar; some by all these modes of celebrity combined; others, again, by the reputation of public integrity—the noblest of all forms of popularity. Obscure names, known only to the different sections, would at that moment have inspired the departments with astonishment, hesitation, and perhaps even apprehension. The republic would have shrunk back with distrust at the first step; and it was absolutely necessary that the government should have guarantees and

sponsors to induce men to believe in its reality, and trust to its pledges.

The Terrorists were compelled in spite of themselves to admit this truth. Their ambition prompted them, indeed, to seize on the power which they desired to retain exclusively to themselves. They admitted neither peace, concord, nor toleration towards the national guard, the bourgeoisie, the departments, the clergy, the great or lesser landed proprietors, or indeed towards any party whom they included under the name of the aristocracy. Their premeditated sway was nothing more than universal ostracism; but, conscious of the horror which the open manifestation of their principles would produce throughout the whole of France, they resolved, despairing of winning by their audacity, to impose themselves surreptitiously on the country by displaying their strength on the following day, vanquishing the capital by the fascination of terror, and the provisional government by the force of arms and by intimidation, by embarrassing its operations, and by the introduction of some of their chiefs into its councils, and thus finally compelling the republic to adopt at once the red flag, in proof of its acceptance of their opinions, and of their own participation in the supreme power.

The agents of their party had consulted together during the night, and spread themselves before the break of day through the different places of meeting of the conspirators, the resorts of vice, and the quarter of the indigent and ignorant, in order to raise and recruit the elements of a second revolutionary deluge which might devastate what the first national convulsion had spared, and demolish what the moderation of the people had established.

They succeeded but too well. The universal fermentation served their designs, for all the both sound and corrupt elements of the population had been so disturbed and confused amid the general excitement of events, that it was easy to give them a new impulse and direct at will an extensive insurrection, guided by skilful and daring leaders, and accomplished by blind and involuntary agents. To impel this mass to the destruction of the republic, under the pretext of aiding in its accomplishment, was the hope of the Terrorists.

Every nation consists of two parts; that is to say, whatever may be the equality in rights enjoyed by a people, they

will always exhibit an inequality in their habits and instincts. The most virtuous man bears within his nature certain elements of vice, a certain possibility of committing crime, which he subjugates and annihilates by virtue and humanity. The human kind collectively is organized like man individually, and is but the individual multiplied by millions. Crime is an element of the human kind, and is found to be increased in a formidable proportion in every agglomeration of men; and hence the necessity for laws and public forces.

It was this vicious part of the people, ferocious in their instincts, that the Terrorists appealed to on this occasion for the support of their theories; pointing out the abasement of the higher classes as a source of vengeance, disorder as a season of rule, society as a prey, spoliation as a hope, the supremacy of one class above all others as the only true democracy, confiscation and proscription as legitimate arms, a convention ruled by the demagoguism of Paris as the republic, and promising tribunes for legislators, executioners for lictors, and the revolutionary axe in the place of reason and conscience among a victorious people.

Those who took such a view of the republic were few in number, and composed for the most part of young conspirators, pallid from their vigils in secret societies, and elated by nocturnal disputations, without respect for decency, and irresponsible in the midst of associations where all was feverish excitement; poisoned from infancy by those evangelists of terrors, who had deified Danton for his daring in murder, and Saint Just for his coolness in immolation. They were men rendered bitter by the isolation of their thoughts, of whom some were tempted by the idea of imitating actions which they deemed great, because they were of rare occurrence; others mere parodists of the drama of the first revolution, plagiarists of the scaffold; others, again, were ambitious of securing a name in history, whatever might be the price which conscience must pay; while others, jealous of the celebrity of crime, dwelt with ardour on the immortality of Marat and Basbeuf.

It had long been seen, by the schemes and writings of these men, that their souls were filled with sinister thoughts, and that if a revolution gave scope to their perverse designs, they would hesitate at no act, and no thought, that could call

forth the reprobation of the human race. They were the sophists of the axe and block, deliberately rekindling extinguished embers of fury, with the design of justifying by-gone acts, and making victims instead of citizens.

These men could only recruit their forces from the lowest and most mephitic dregs of the population of large capitals. Crime ferments only in masses of idleness, debauchery, and the voluntary misery of vice and immorality, far from the light shed abroad by discipline and social industry.

The mass of the industrious population of Paris had, during the preceding fifty years, made immense progress in knowledge, true civilization, and practical virtue. Equality had ennobled and industry enriched them. Contact with the different classes formerly known as the bourgeoisie had polished and softened their ideas, language, manners, and habits; the diffusion of instruction, the promotion of economy by the establishment of savings banks, the increasing numbers of books and journals, of social and religious societies; the increase of competence, which affords a greater opportunity for leisure, and leisure which favours reflection, had all tended to produce in them the happiest change, while a rational conception of the true community of interests between them and the bourgeois classes with whom they became amalgamated had also produced a community of ideas. The immense mass of information that had penetrated through all channels among the working classes of Paris, guarded them against a blind predilection for the domination of the Terrorists; while the recollection of the terrors, punishments, proscriptions, confiscations, assignats, and forced loans of the first republic, rendered familiar by the general diffusion of historical knowledge among all classes of the nation, inspired horror in the poor as well as the rich. Conscience occasionally decides with more justice among the general masses than the *élite* of the population, for it is almost the only moral organ which they exercise. Sophistry is only for the use of the learned—nature has no knowledge of it.

Conscience and memory interposed their barriers between the people and the excesses to which the Terrorists would lead them. Although half a century is more than half the span of life allotted to man, it is so short an interval in the

life of nations, that 1848 actually appeared only as the morrow of 1793, and the people trembled lest the pavement of their streets should stain their feet with the blood of the first republic.

The Terrorists of 1848, therefore, in their design of seizing on the control of the second republic, could only appeal to the two elements which are always to be found at seasons of convulsion in a city numbering fifteen hundred thousand inhabitants,—crime and error, both of which were at that moment at their disposal.

There were the party of the freed convicts, debased in morals, stagnating in vice, revelling in crime, ever leaving and returning to their prisons, and existing in one fatal alternation of crime and punishment; men ejected from the galleys, perverted by contact with dungeons. Then, too, there were the miserable wretches who exist in Paris on the chances of the passing hour, the snares they spread, and the infamous callings they pursue in a corrupt capital; men driven by bad repute to hide their lives amid the throng, who, having lost the regular conditions of existence by disorderly conduct, and unwilling to recover them by dint of industry, assume an attitude of hatred and war against every form of discipline and society; men who, perverting all relations of human morality, make a profession of vice and a glory of crime; men who live in the eddying whirl of unruly license, inflated with incessant agitation, ever feeling thirst for blood and rapture in chaos.

All these men, whom one blushes at designating by the same name as the people, constitute a mass of nearly twenty thousand vagabonds ready for every work of destruction, unnoticed in times of quiet, but emerging from the shade and swarming through the thoroughfares in moments of civil commotion,—men, whom a signal from their leader, a nocturnal appeal to their accomplices, suffices to rally at a minute's notice.

They had been called forth, during the preceding three days, by the report of firing and by the downfall of a government; they formed the bands which were then setting fire to Puteaux and Neuilly, and which were devastating and pillaging the residence of the king and of the Rothschilds, at the very moment that this family had sent an

enormous voluntary subsidy to the wounded or famished workmen. It was they who sacked the Tuileries, which had with difficulty been preserved by the true combatants. The people had resolutely cast them from their bosom, and many amongst them paid the penalty of their rapacity with their lives. Indignantly repulsed by the people of the revolution, they had plunged again disappointed into their genial sloughs, from which agitation might at any time call them forth.

The other element which was equally at the disposition of the Terrorists, and which they might lead on by deception to the attack of a new government, consisted not, as we have already seen, of workmen who had been led away, enrolled and disciplined under different leaders of Socialist schools, for these men were at that time honestly and heroically opposed to all violence and disorder, but of those who belonged to the brutal, ignorant, and perverse party of the Communists, that is to say, the destroyers, ravagers, and barbarians of society. All the theories of these men were limited to the feeling of their sufferings, and to the desire of transforming them into enjoyments by the invasion of property, industry, land, capital, and commerce, and by the distribution of their spoils, as the legitimate conquest of a starving republic over a deposed bourgeoisie, without concerning themselves with the future amendment, by legislation, of such organized ruin.

These two elements, the one criminal, the other blind, united naturally and without premeditation, under the direction of some active leaders. A similarity of thought, though from different instincts, rallied them to the same headlong desire of overthrowing, in the provisional government, the barrier which had just been erected against their excesses, or of forcing it to become the docile instrument of their tyranny. They collected a third element of number and violence from among the indigent classes of the precincts and the suburbs of Paris, who had flocked in during the evening at the sound of cannon, and assembled in countless masses by torch-light on the vast square of the Bastille, that Mount Aventine of revolutions, into which converge the great streets emerging from all the thoroughfares of Paris. Upon this square, until midnight, armed groups were kept in a state of the utmost excitement by their own numbers and oscillations and by the

murmurs which issue from such immense bodies of men, augmenting tenfold their strength, as the waves of a rising sea increase the force of the winds. These groups were not animated by any malevolent intention towards society; on the contrary, they had come down armed to defend the hearths of the citizens of Paris against the return of the troops, who, they were told, menaced the capital with the vengeance of the king.

But, in proportion as the return of royalty and of the army appeared formidable, was the revolution they had accomplished dear to them; the greater also was their alarm and indignation at the dangers of weakness or treason which it appeared to incur. Distorted rumours from the Chamber of Deputies and the Hôtel de Ville were circulating among them. They questioned one another respecting the worth of the names composing the government, and these had to pass a stormy ballot from group to group, from mouth to mouth, and from speaker to speaker. Dupont de l'Eure, though he received blessings for his constancy and virtue, was censured on the score of his years. They refused to believe that a man on the brink of his political existence, at the advanced age of eighty-two, could possess sufficient power of will and resistance, to give to his country the weight and impulse which a revolutionary government required. The old man, nevertheless, was destined to show, in a remarkable manner, the falsity of this opinion.

The name of Arago was saluted by unanimous acclamations. He possessed the twofold charm which so fascinates an intelligent people; science, a species of right divine which never meets an obstacle in France; and the reputation of honesty, to which every head bows with reverence.

Ledru Rollin gave dazzling pledges in the character of tribune of the militant democracy which he had assumed in parliament, at the banquets, and the Radical journal *La Réforme*. His age, and revolutionary ardour, directed by eloquent intelligence; his aspect, attitude, and gestures, were in their eyes the very personification of democracy; all these gave a sort of inviolability to his name. If they did not admit his merits as a statesman, they acknowledged him as an untiring accomplice in their revolutionary conquests. They admired him as their tribune.

The names of Marie and Crémieux presented only recollec-

tions of opposition to the fallen government, integrity and talent in the twofold arena of the bar and of parliament; they feared lest their republicanism should prove of too feeble a nature.

Lamartine's name inspired them with, at the same instant, a greater feeling of favour and aversion; in his case they fluctuated between attraction and repulsion. Liberal, he bore the stain of aristocratic origin. Although he had been, since 1830, in opposition, yet he had, in his youth, served the restoration, and had never heaped insult upon it since its fall. In "The Girondists" he had professed a theoretic admiration for the regular attainment of all their legitimate rights by the people; but had repudiated, both at the tribune and in his writings, a demagogue spirit and the organization of labour. He had been impartial but just towards the grand conceptions of the first actors of the revolution, but had pitilessly exposed their slightest excesses, and branded their crimes without a word of excuse. Such a name would naturally be sternly scrutinized by the ultra and suspicious among the people. "What is the object," said some, "of this man in coming among us? Is it to betray us?" "No;" replied others, "he has a feeling of conscious honour; nor will he devote a name already celebrated to the scorn of posterity." "But he is of the blood of our enemies;—he will have considerations to observe towards the nobility and rich landed proprietors like himself;—he has an innate horror of what the aristocracy call anarchy;—he has, during the last reign, defended the representative system and a peaceful policy. Doubtless he has a feeling for the national dignity; but he will have his arrangements and his compositions with cabinets and thrones. These are not men for the people. What they require are not moderators, but accomplices in their revolutions; men who partake all their passions, not those who restrain them. To restrain ourselves in revolutionary affairs is to betray ourselves. Let not the reward of the blood shed in the revolution be filched from us a second time at the Hôtel de Ville. Let us not forget Lafayette! Let us take heed lest Lamartine prove a republican Lafayette. If he wishes to be with us, let him be our hostage. Let us compel him to serve us as *we* wish, and not as he wishes! Let us replace these names by others taken from our own ranks, or let us unite with them men who will

represent us in their councils, and answer to us for themselves. Let us stand, with arms in our hands, behind them. Let their deliberations be only in the presence of the delegates of the people; that thus their decrees may really be of our own issuing, and that the axe of the people may be ever visibly suspended over the heads of those, who, while they govern the revolution, may have the desire to curb it and the perfidy to betray it."

These suggestions, literally as they were offered to the groups about the Bastille, were applauded and voted by acclamation in tumultuous ballots. Fourteen individuals of greater activity, eloquence, and mark than the rest were designated to assist in the name of the people at the deliberations of the provisional government. Arriving at the Hôtel de Ville, after devoting some moments to assuming the insignia of their mission, they expressed a wish that their titles and offices should be recognized by the government, but their voices were lost amidst the tumult of the different motions which resounded perpetually round the council-table. The members of the government to a man rose to oppose this tyrannical pretension to tear all liberty and dignity from its deliberations, by obliging it to carry them on under any other direction than that of conscience and of patriotism.

The delegates, at whose head was Drevet, a man of ability and discretion, were staggered at the murmurs of reprobation which arose on every side from the midst of those first groups which had already, from sympathy, collected round the government. They were harangued by Arago, Ledru Rollin, Crémieux, and Marie.

Lamartine himself gained their confidence by his frankness. "Either do not take me at all, or take me unshackled," said he, pressing their hands. "The people are the masters of their own confidence—I, of my conscience. If they wish to depose me, they can;—but I will not degrade myself, either by flattering or betraying them."

These men, the youngest of whom was suffocated in the following night while opposing an heroic resistance to one of the assaults of the people upon the Hôtel de Ville, remained for some time confounded among the crowds present. They received afterwards employments from the government itself, became of the number of its most devoted auxiliaries, and rendered useful services to the cause of order and the republic.

In the meantime, the day had dawned. The confused army, composed of the three elements we have just pointed out, and which the chiefs of the Terrorist and Communist party had rallied during the night, began to descend by small bands, collecting in compact masses upon the square and quays of the Hôtel de Ville, as far as the Bastille.

The different centres, around which these groups, scattered at first, had united, were formed of from fifteen to twenty men, young, but yet mature, and who appeared invested with a certain habitual or moral authority over the rest. Their costume was the intermediate one between the bourgeoisie and the people. Their countenances were grave, their complexions pale, their looks fixed, and attitude martial.

Resolute and disciplined, they appeared like advanced posts, waiting before an action until the army they were to guide should encompass them. One of the principal men of each of these revolutionary knots carried a red flag, hastily fabricated during the night from all the pieces of cloth of that colour which they had appropriated from the shops in the neighbouring streets. Those second in command had red armlets and belts, and all carried at least a red ribbon in their button-holes. As the bands, armed with every kind of weapons,—muskets, pistols, swords, pikes, bayonets, daggers,—arrived in the square, men posted for the purpose, unrolled, tore in pieces, and distributed or threw strips of scarlet to the thousands of hands raised to receive them. These were hastily fastened to the waistcoats, blue linen shirts, or hats of the rioters, and in a moment this gleaming red, darting like so many sparks from hand to hand and from breast to breast, ran along the entire circuits of the quay, the streets, and the Place de Grève, dazzling or alarming the spectators from the windows of the Hôtel de Ville.

Groups of workmen, not initiated in the movement, and hastening from distant quarters to offer their services to the republic, kept continually presenting themselves from the bridges and quays, marching under the tri-coloured banner to the cry of "Long live the provisional government!" Astonished at seeing the standard changed, and blending slowly with the crowd, they endeavoured to approach the steps of the palace, but were almost immediately surrounded, pressed upon, irritated, and sometimes insulted by the Terrorist groups. Taunted for their choice of colours which had borne the

liberty, name, and glory of France, they were presented with another standard, which some accepted from astonishment or imitation, while others hesitated, and lowered it.

Some of the groups defended it against the insults of the red bands. These flags were to be seen, in turn, beaten down or elevated amid gestures and cries of fury or of indignation, and to float in rags or disappear gradually over the heads of the multitudes. They vanished from the windows and roofs of the houses in front. They were replaced by the ill-boding colour of the victorious faction, and some armed bands, bounding over the gates, and mounting to the summit of the portal, planted the red flag in the hands of the statue of Henry IV., in the place of the tri-coloured banner. Two or three of these strips of scarlet were waved by accomplices or men who had been intimidated, from the windows at the corner of the palace. They were saluted with discharges of ball, which broke the glass as they rebounded into the halls.

The members of the government who had passed the night at the Hôtel de Ville were defended only by a small number of citizens, united to them by the instinct of devotion, and that attraction which danger has for hearts above the common stamp. Some calm, but active and intrepid, pupils of the Polytechnic School, and the school of Saint Cyr, and the confused and unknown mass of the combatants of the preceding evening, were stretched by the side of their arms on the pavement of the courts, or on the steps of the staircases. But in spite of the efforts of Colonels Rey, Lagrange, and some other chiefs of the combatants, who had been appointed to, or who had installed themselves in, the different commands in connection with the palace of the people, these assailants of the evening, now become defenders on the morrow, could, neither by heart nor hand, resist this second wave of revolution, come to force back and submerge the first. There were on both sides the same men, the same dresses, the same language, the same cries; the companions of the barricades of the night, who had met in the morning, not to combat, but to unite and to congratulate each other.

The weak post of national guards, drowned in such an ocean of armed men, consisted at present only of two or three courageous citizens, of whose names history ought to make

mention. They came to offer the aid of their bayonets and to demand orders. Lamartine instructed them to retire into the interior, until the mayors of Paris, warned by Marie and Marrast, should succeed in assembling some detachments, and in directing them to the succour of the assaulted government.

Scarcely had these orders been issued, when bands of meanly-attired men, recruited from the poor streets of the faubourgs, and remotest boundaries of Paris, on the east and west, poured with such continued and violent currents, such songs and cries, into the square, that the multitude, already crowded, was seen to undulate like a sea. Dashing with all their force against the gates, which their weight caused to give way, they were engulfed, pell-mell, in all the entrances of the palace. Crowds, tumult, and confusion filled it in an instant. The number of those who then covered the square, the quays, the outlets of the streets, the gardens, courts, staircases, corridors, and halls of the Hôtel de Ville, cannot be estimated at less than from thirty to forty thousand men.

The entrance of this mass of people, preceded by the principal chiefs who had recruited them, and who had inspired them with their spirit, was followed by the low roarings and clamours of a tide that has burst its dyke.

The different divisions of this crowd spread themselves through every part of the edifice, vociferating, gesticulating, and brandishing their arms. Here and there they fired without discrimination or direction; and with no other motive than to display their weapons, or their intoxication. The bullets struck the ceilings, and tore away portions of the entablatures of the doors and windows. The more numerous mass, not being able to enter, commenced an incessant chorus of the *Marseillaise*. The entire square was one continued surface of faces, pallid, or red with emotion, and all turned towards the chief front of the palace, with hands raised and banners waved above their heads. The latter sign was intended as the symbol and signification to the government of the republic of convulsions, which they wished to impose on it.

The small number of the pupils of the schools, of devoted men, and combatants of the evening, already somewhat disciplined by what they had gone through in the night, and by the confidence which the government had displayed by rallying them around it as the first prætorian guards of the republic,

had retired before this crowd, taking refuge in the highest landings of the staircases, in the narrow corridors, and in the apartments crowded by citizens, and ringing with the tumult which reigned about the approaches of the seat of government. These posts, invincible, from sheer impossibility of falling back, on account of the general crowding, and the barriers formed by the doors and walls, were in vain pressed upon by the new-armed columns who rushed to the assault. They opposed a rampart of living bodies to these irruptions, continually recurring and as often repelled.

From the small council-chamber were heard the bellowing of the multitude, the bursts of contention, the sound of loud singing, the roar of voices and cracking of doors, and the breaking and falling of glass at the firing of the muskets. Loud and frantic dialogues were carried on between the chiefs and orators of the assailants and the groups defending the approaches of the reserved apartments. At each instant, shocks still more terrible than the preceding were hurled against the advanced guard of citizens who filled the ante-chambers or passages, and being communicated to the very doors of the council-room, shook them with violence, and overthrew on the flagstones of the corridors men who were trampled under the feet of such as had preserved their footing. "Let us come to speech with this government of men unknown to or suspected by the people," was the cry uttered by the leaders and repeated by the frantic yells of those behind them. "Who are they? What are they doing? What republic are they manufacturing? Is it one ir which the rich man will still enjoy himself and the poor suffer—the manufacturer wear his workmen out by condemning them to the salary he fixes himself, or to famine, and the capitalist make his own conditions of use for his capital, or bury it? Is it a republic which, after having been obtained by our blood, will rest content with washing the pavements for the carriages of the wealthy to roll over them anew, and bespatter the rags of the people with mud? Is it one to connive at the vices of society in the head, and punish them in the members; which will have neither judges, nor vengeance, nor scaffold, for traitors; which will practise humanity at the expense of human nature; make its compacts with tyrants, priests, nobles, bourgeois, and proprietors, and

bring back to us, under another name, all the abuses, privileges, and iniquities of royalty?" "No, no," added the most exasperated; "these are not men of our race; no confidence is to be placed in such as have not undergone the same privations, who are not actuated by the same resentments, who do not speak the same language, and are not clothed in the same rags! Let us depose and expel them, hurl them from that power which they have usurped, surprised, and plundered in a single night! What we want is to make our republic ourselves; that the government of the people should be of the people, and composed of men known and loved by them. Down with the flag of royalty, which reminds us of our servitude and its crimes! Hurra for the red one, the symbol of our freedom!"

Thus were these groups harangued by orators, who, for the most part, only affected the misery and resentments of the people, but, in fact, partook neither its labours nor its sufferings. Just as in ancient times there were hired mourners to feign grief and tears, so on that day had the Terrorist party cold and calculating monsters, to counterfeit the hunger, miseries, and resentments of the people. Yet, behind them the true people were to be recognized, with their miseries only too real; and in their confused aspirations for equality and ease, sometimes mingled with envy, responding to the orators with their looks, their gestures, and their hearts. They applauded their words, elevated their red flag, and, brandishing their arms, gave vent to suspicions and imprecations against the government. The calm and well-intentioned republicans exerted themselves to appease these men by representing to them that if the members of the new government had felt the wish to indulge in schemes of treachery to the people and a retreat in royalty, they would not the preceding evening have proclaimed the republic; that if their names were not, in the eyes of the people, sufficient guarantees for political probity, their heads were the pledges of fidelity to the revolution, into which they had freely and courageously thrown themselves; that the government of a wise and intelligent nation, such as France, required men well acquainted with internal and external affairs, and who, by education and habit, knew how both to debate and write, carry on the details of office, and command; that the

men in question had been elected during the evening by public acclamation, to save the country and the people themselves; that they had boldly plunged ankle-deep in blood to arrest its further effusion; that in a few hours they had done much; that time should be left them to do yet more, and that they should afterwards be judged according to their works.

These words made an impression upon the most reasonable portion of the crowd. "Good," said some men, coming forward from the ranks to press the hands of the friends of order and the government, "you are in the right. We are unable to govern ourselves; our education has not been sufficient to give us a knowledge of things and of men; let each carry on his own trade. These are honest men; they have been during the last government on the side of the people in the ranks of opposition. Let them govern us—we are content to let them; but it must be as we wish to be governed—in our interest, under our flag, and in our presence. Let them tell us what they purpose to do with us and for us. Let them set up our colours; let them surround themselves with ourselves alone; let them deliberate in the presence of the people, and let a certain number of us assist at all their acts, and dive into all their thoughts; to answer to us for them, and to wrest from them not only the temptation, but the possibility of deceiving us!"

At these last propositions the applause became more frantic. Not to violate the government, but to keep the closest eye upon it, to overrule it, to subject it absolutely, to force from it a change of the revolutionary banner, the measures of 1793, proscriptions, confiscations, popular tribunals, proclamation of the dangers of the country, declaration of war against all thrones; finally, that extreme government, which, in order to rouse a nation and throw it wholly into the hands of faction, has need of war at its frontier and the scaffold at its centre. Add to this programme of the republic of 1793, the open struggle of the impoverished class with the bourgeoisie, of salary with capital, workman against master, consumer against trader. Such was the tendency of the resolutions so violently discussed, and of the speeches and vociferations which emanated from the groups of the assailants.

This spirit was, however, far from being unanimous and without contradictors among the crowd of good citizens, which, every hour increasing, poured into the Hôtel de Ville.

The Terrorists and Communists inspired horror and affright among the enlightened and courageous republicans, who, since the evening before, had clung round a government which they deemed of a moderate and conciliating character. These, like the vast majority of the people of Paris, viewed in the republic a humane and magnanimous emancipation of all classes, without oppression to any. They saw in it a perfectioning of justice; an equitable, rational, and progressive amelioration of political and civil society, and of that in which property was vested. They were far from seeing in it a subversion of family and of fortunes; a sacrifice of one or two generations for the gratification of impossible chimeras or detestable passions. They strove to bring back to such thoughts as these, to reason, to a feeling of confidence in the government, the wavering and unsettled mass of the poor and ignorant, recruited from the suburbs. These had set up the red flag, solely because that colour excites men as well as brutes; they followed the Communists without understanding them; they shouted with the Terrorists without partaking their thirst for blood. The good workmen, republicans, combatants, even the wounded themselves, addressed themselves to these bands, less guilty than deluded, with the authority of an opinion upon which no suspicion could rest, and of the blood which they had shed in the evening for the same cause, and succeeded in sowing some doubt and indecision amongst them. Sometimes softened by the reproaches, the supplications, and the sight of their bleeding companions of the evening, they threw themselves into the arms of those who had spoken to them, and, dissolved in tears, united with them in exhorting to patience, harmony, and moderation. A certain degree of wavering began to be perceptible in these masses of men and minds.

But all means seemed skilfully combined, either by chance, or by the ringleaders of the day, to neutralize this power of good example; to excite by all their senses the irritation of the people to madness, and to hurry them into the most desperate resolutions. The spectacle of their own misery, which, by inspiring them with pity for themselves, naturally impelled them to vengeance upon the rich; intoxication, increased not only by wine, but by the noise and smell of powder; and, finally, the sight of blood, which so easily produces the thirst for more.

Nothing appeared either naturally or artificially to have been omitted to produce this triple effect upon the senses of the multitude. A crowd in rags, shoeless, and without hats, or with clothes so tattered as to allow the naked skin to be seen, were posted in the courts, and covered with their livid faces and attenuated arms the steps between the entrance and the courts of the palace. Men, drunk with brandy, staggered about on the staircases; stammering their inarticulate cries, they threw themselves headlong into the tumult. In the brutal blindness of uncouth drunkenness, they brandished before them broken swords, which had to be torn from their hands. Finally, men half-naked, and with blood-stained shirts, were every minute passing in parties of four through the multitude, which opened respectfully before them, bearing the bodies of the dead. The arches, the courts, the steps of the grand staircase, the Hall of St. John, were strewed with corpses.

All the zeal of the physicians, Thierry and Samson, aided by their officers of health, whose intrepid humanity was remarkable, could not succeed in clearing and piling them up. It was not known where they came from, nor on what account they were brought to the only point where they ought to have been kept from the sight of the people. At one moment, Dr. Samson, stepping up to Lamartine, said to him in a whisper, "The dead are getting too much for us; their bodies first terrify, but afterwards still more infuriate the multitude. If they keep bringing them in this way from all the hospitals and *ambulances* of Paris, I know not what will become of us."

While—by whose order is not known—these men were carrying the remains of their brethren slain in the three combats, like sacred burthens, in solemnity to the Hôtel de Ville, bands of insensate men and ferocious boys were seeking in all directions for the carcases of horses drowned in pools of blood. Passing cords around their breasts, they dragged them amid yells and laughter over the Place de Grève, and thence under the vault at the foot of the staircase of the palace. This hideous spectacle did not fail to steep the thoughts, as well as the feet, of the multitude in blood. No sooner had one body been thus deposited than another was sought for, and the lower court of the prefecture of Paris became choked with carcases and inundated with pools of blood.

Within, the tumult was continually on the increase. The violent dispositions of the rioters encountered a moral resistance and salutary counsels from the crowd of good citizens, and in the magnanimity of the combatants among whom they had been thrown. These simple men, impelled by signals and words, of which they only half comprehended the disorderly and sanguinary sense, were astonished at seeing those who had been wounded the previous evening, men begrimed with powder and in tatters, like themselves, reproach their impatience and fury, and curse them in the name of the republic, which they were tearing to pieces on the very first morning of its existence. Some opposed these counsels, others yielded, and shrunk at the perpetration of outrage; while all floated at hazard between audacity and repentance, crime and remorse. It was only by dint of harangues and intoxication, by displays of dead bodies and firing of muskets, that their chiefs could incite them to successive assaults against the seat of government.

Marie, always impassible, Garnier Pagès, always devoted, Crémieux, always attractive by word and action, had remained since the evening with Lamartine. Flocon was below in the square struggling with a mob of many thousands, who demanded the surrender of Vincennes and the pillage of that arsenal. Flocon endeavoured, at the risk of his life, to calm this mass, which continued for a long period deaf to his representations. Unable to cause it to disperse, he, though with difficulty, was enabled to form them into a regular body.

Proceeding to Vincennes, he distributed a few thousands of muskets, reclosed the gates, confirmed the commanders in their posts, re-established the counter-signs, and, taking away from anarchy the powder and the arms which it would have turned against the people themselves, preserved its arsenal to the republic.

Meanwhile the chiefs and foremost ranks of rioters, penetrating at times into the narrow and encumbered corridors, where they were stifled by their own masses, kept harassing and addressing the most imperious orders to the members of the government:—"We require an account of the hours you have already lost, or only too well employed in lulling and postponing the revolution," said these orators, with arms in their hands, sweat on their foreheads, foaming lips, and threatening eyes. "We require the red flag, the

sign of victory to us, of terror to our enemies. We require that a decree should instantly declare it the sole banner of the republic. We require that the national guard should be disarmed and their muskets given up to the people. We must reign in our turn over this bourgeoisie, the accomplices of all the monarchies, who sell the sweat of our labours; over the bourgeoisie, who make a profit of royalties, but who do not know how to instruct or defend them. We desire an immediate declaration of war against all thrones and all aristocracies. We desire that our country should be declared in danger, the arrest of all the ministers past and present of the fugitive monarchy, the trial of the king, the restitution of the national property, terror for traitors, and the axe over the heads of our eternal enemies. What is this fine revolution of promises that you are making for us? We must have a revolution of deeds, of blood, and one which can neither halt nor go backward. Are you revolutionists after such a fashion? Are you republicans, the issue of such a republic? No; you are like your vain and wordy accomplice, Girondists at heart, aristocrats by birth, advocates of the tribune, bourgeois by custom, and perhaps traitors! Make way for true revolutionists, or pledge yourselves to them by your measures. Serve us as we wish to be served, or take heed to yourselves." Thus speaking, some of them cast their naked swords on the tables, as a token that they would not take them up until obeyed.

Mingled murmurs and applause resounded from hall to hall in reply to these speeches; but Garnier Pagès, Marie, Crémieux, and Lamartine, did not allow themselves either to be insulted or intimidated by the orators. They looked them in the face with folded arms, calming them by their gestures, and exercising a sort of charm over them by the impassibility of their countenances and attitudes.

Authority is so necessary to men, that its disarmed image alone impresses involuntary respect even upon those who brave it. These orators had hardly spoken, when, although excited by their own frantic gestures and harsh accents, they seemed terror-stricken at the expressions they had used, and to feel horror at their own audacity. Some of them melted into tears, or fell fainting into the arms of their comrades. Marie addressed them with austerity; Crémieux with fer-

vour; Garnier Pagès with tenderness; and Louis Blanc, who now presented himself, aided the government with his influence over them. The good citizens, the pupils of the military schools, the magistrates of Paris, men known to the people, ancient republicans,—such as Marrast and Bastide,—pressed their hands, admonished them, and interposed between them and the government.

Conferences were established at intervals in different parts of the hall. The most violent among the rioters, moved or softened, allowed themselves at last to be drawn away, and vacate the first floor. They returned to the multitude to give an account of what they had seen and said, and of the answers they had received. They checked the sedition for the moment, but it was re-established elsewhere at the command of other chiefs more implacable and determined. It launched into new assaults, which must have ended in carrying, or at least in deluging with blood, the last narrow asylum of resistance.

The government, thus besieged, would have found, perhaps, its whole moral force ineffectual to have overawed the sedition, had not that, of itself, separated a part of its members from the rest.

Dupont de l'Eure, whose old age would have softened to respect; Arago, in whom his manly appearance and illustrious name served as a mutual support to each other; Ledru Rollin, whose name, aspect, and language, found sympathy with the indigent, were absent; the two first, overcome by weariness after the magnanimous efforts of the evening; the third, coming in the morning from the ministry of the Interior to rejoin the seat of government, had been immersed in that ocean of the people who were pressing and stifling one another at the entrances of the building, and found it impossible to penetrate to the floor where the council was sitting. He had been made a prisoner by the tumult in one of the lower halls, without communication with his colleagues above, and had afterwards withdrawn to await an opportunity to approach with greater freedom and to establish some elements of order without. Louis Blanc did not at that time form part of the provisional government. He had been admitted only as a secretary, as were Flocon, Albert, Marrast, and Pagnerre, to fortify it with all the popularity which talent, eloquence, and facility at composition could bestow.

Louis Blanc attempted at this moment, for the first time, the power of his name and eloquence upon the masses. He exercised it, one must allow, with the desire of pacifying and moderating them; but he was, nevertheless, less impressed than his colleagues with the danger of yielding the flag of the nation and the signification of the republic to a party of insurrectionists. Louis Blanc believed that the concession would be the signal of concord, and that this portion of the people, satisfied with their victory on that point, would renounce the violent opinions and hateful and ill-boding measures which it did not cease to urge upon the government. Favoured by the smallness of his stature, he never ceased to descend and ascend between the government and the insurgents, gliding amongst the ranks of the Terrorists, haranguing the most animated groups, upon whom his eloquence was not without its effect, and supplicating his colleagues to avoid the last excesses of their antagonists, by accepting the red flag, if only as a temporary measure, to disarm the people. Muskets resounded at intervals, balls struck the windows, as the summons and ultimata of the armed and impatient crowd. The vociferations of fifty thousand men, and the report of so many fire-arms, too often gave weight to the arguments of the young tribune. Louis Blanc was no accomplice; he wished to be a peacemaker; but the people were determined not to retire, except upon conditions which the government energetically persisted in refusing.

At this moment a tumult of still more ill-boding character burst forth from the passages, which, by their crowded state, prevented approach to the seat of government. An assault of the people made the vaults tremble, the partition-walls groan, the doors give way, and the pupils of the school and the intrepid combatants, who opposed the weight of their bodies and the rampart of their levelled muskets to these attacks, fall over one another.

A mass of people forced the sentinels, and, vociferating and brandishing arms of every description, penetrated to, surrounded, and pressed upon the government. These men came, they said, to bring the final summons of the people, and to carry back to them the last word of the revolution. They had chosen for their spokesman a young workman, the Spartacus of this army of the intelligent poor.

This was a man of twenty or twenty-five years of age, of middle stature, but erect and strong, with limbs firmly knit and strongly moulded; his face, partially blackened with powder, appeared pale with emotion; his lips trembled with anger, and his eyes, sunk under his projecting forehead, darted fire. In his look the electricity of a whole people was concentrated, and his physiognomy had at once the character of reflection and of error,—strange contrast, which is found in certain countenances, in which a notion founded in falsehood has nevertheless become a sincere conviction, and a determination to effect impossibilities. He waved in his left hand a strip of red ribbon or cloth, and in his right held the barrel of a carbine, the butt-end of which, at every word he spoke, he caused to ring upon the pavement. He appeared at once intimidated and resolute. It was evident that he was hardening himself against all weakness or measures of accommodation by some firm determination previously taken. He seemed to feel and to hear, behind the vast and furious assemblage of which he was the organ, but which also heard him, and would require an account of his words. His eyes rolled in vacancy round the hall, but he did not rest them upon the face of any one, in fear lest he should encounter another's look, and be involuntarily influenced by it; his head swayed perpetually from left to right, and from right to left, as if he was himself refuting the objections which would be made to him. He was the personification of obstinacy, the incarnation of a multitude that feels its force, and will yield to reason no longer.

He spoke with that rude, brutal, unanswerable eloquence which does not discuss, but commands. His feverish tongue was glued to his parched lips; he had that terrible stammering which irritates the uncultivated man, and which redoubles his rage by his very inability to give vent to it, and it was by his gestures that the sense of his words was completed. All were on their feet, and silent, to attend to him. He spoke not as a man, but as a people, who will be obeyed, and will brook no delay. His imperious mandates would have imposed the most minute directions upon the government. He commanded from it the performance of miracles. He repeated, in accents of increasing energy, all the conditions of the manifesto of impossibilities, which the vociferations of the

people enjoined it to accept and to realize on the instant,—the overthrow of all known social order, the extermination of property, and of capitalists, spoliation, the immediate installation of the destitute in the community of goods, the proscription of bankers, of the rich, the manufacturers, the bourgeois of every condition above those in the receipt of wages; a government, axe in hand, to level every supremacy of birth, competence, inheritance, even of labour; finally, the acceptance, without demur and without delay, of the red flag, to signify to social order its defeat, to the people their victory, to Paris a system of terror, and to all foreign governments invasion. Each of these mandates was enforced by the orator with a blow of the butt-end of his musket upon the floor, by the frenzied shouting of those behind him, and by salvos of musketry from the square.

The members of the government, and the small number of ministers and friends who surrounded them, Bastide, Bucher, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Payer, heard these injunctions to the end without interruption, as one listens to delirium, for fear of aggravating it by contradiction. But this was a delirium of sixty thousand men, armed, and masters of everything; and there were moments in which the government, despairing of the public safety under the pressure of such a tumult, bowed its head, shrunk within itself, resolving to die upon the breach rather than set up the standard of distress and terror to the society which it protected. Crémieux, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Marrast, Bucher, Flottard, Louis Blanc himself, replied to the injunctions of the orator of the people with the intrepidity, the dignity, force, and logic, which the reaction arising from such violence excites in resolute men. Others endeavoured to seduce and captivate the stoical coarseness of this man and his infuriate accomplices by all the blandishments of language and of gesture. All was to no purpose. Their ears were closed to their accents, and their eyes to their gestures. The immediate proclamation of the revolutionary government and red flag, without reflection, was the sole answer of these men of iron. The less man is enlightened, the more exacting is his will; he borrows from violence in all that he cannot obtain from reason, for tyranny is the reason of brutality. When one cannot convince or be convinced, he

becomes obstinacy personified. Such on that day was the people, and attempts have been made to make it such again.

Lamartine observed this scene from a window with terror. Looking now upon the heads of the people which waved to and fro on the square, and now upon the smoke, which, floating over the thousands of faces, formed a sort of halo to the red flag, he saw the efforts of his colleagues powerless against the obstinacy of these envoys of the people.

Irritated at the insolent defiances of the armed man, who never ceased to present his carbine, as an argument from which there was no appeal, to men, who, though unarmed, knew how to look death in the face, he broke through the groups which separated him from the orator, approaching, placed his hand upon his arm. The man shuddered, and endeavoured to disengage himself, as if he had feared that the touch of another would fascinate him. He turned, with savage but fearful disquiet, towards his companions, as though inquiring with whom he had to do.

"It is Lamartine," said some of his party. "Lamartine!" cried he, distrustfully; "what does he want with me? I will not listen to him. I wish that the people should be obeyed instantly, or, if not," added he, carrying his hand to the trigger, "no more words, but bullets. Unhand me, Lamartine," he continued, moving his arm, to disengage it; "I am a simple man, and one that cannot defend himself by words, nor answer by ideas. I however know how to require. I require what the people has charged me to say here. Speak not to me! Deceive me not! Lull me not to sleep by the ingenious eloquence of your tongue; behold one which cuts everything,—a tongue of fire," and he struck the barrel of his carbine;—"there is no other arbiter between us."

Lamartine smiled at this expression of the poor man, and continued to hold him by the arm. "You speak well," said he; "you speak better than I do. The people has well chosen its interpreter; but to speak well is not sufficient; we should understand the language of reason, which God has bestowed upon men of good faith and of good will for mutual explanation, and to help instead of destroying another. Sincerity of speech is peace among men. Silent obstinacy is war. Do you wish for war and bloodshed? We accept them; our

heads are devoted; but then may war and bloodshed fall back upon those who have been unwilling to listen to reason!"—"Yes, yes! Lamartine is in the right; listen to Lamartine," cried his comrades.

Lamartine then spoke to this man with that accent of persuasive sincerity, which he in his heart felt, and which the serious nature of the circumstance rendered deeper and more religious. He represented to him that revolutions were battles on a grand scale, in which the conquerors had greater need of leaders after than before the combat; that the people, however sublime in action, and however respectable in the opinion of the statesman, possessed in the tumult of public commotions neither the coolness, moderation, nor information necessary for its preservation, unassisted, from the dangers of its own triumph; that the action of internal and external government did not consist in voting such or such a regulation by acclamation, without deliberation, and arms in hand, at the direction of any popular orator, nor in dictating at the point of the bayonet arbitrary, violent, and often unjust decrees, at a table of conspirators; that it was necessary to consider, to weigh, and appreciate freely, conscientiously, and silently, the rights, interests, and wishes of a nation of nearly forty millions of men, having all the same titles to the justice and protection of a government; that it was necessary, besides, to know that Paris was not all France, nor France all Europe; that the safety of the people consisted in balancing these great interests against one another, and to do justice to the suffering part of the people without injustice and violence to other citizens and nations; that the people who should not have patience nor confidence enough in its chiefs to await the time of prosperity would be slaughtered; that it would cause the most promising revolutions to result in disorder and anarchy; that the chiefs who should degrade themselves to be the instruments of the fickle wishes and tumultuous impulses of the multitude, would be beneath the multitude itself; for although devoid of its madness, they would be the executioners of its errors and fury; that such a government, at the absolute dictation of the crowd, would be equally unworthy both of the nation and of the devoted men who had interposed between it and anarchy; that if the people desired such servants, they had only to enter and

strike them at once, for their own resolution was to effect all for the people, except their ruin and dishonour. Lamartine finally refused, in a few words, in the name of the government, to erect the red flag, and thus dishonour the past glories of the revolution and of France.

During the address of Lamartine, there was seen struggling on the savage physiognomy of the orator of the poor the intelligence with which it seemed to be illumined in spite of itself, and of that brutal and settled obstinacy with which it appeared to be overshadowed: it seemed like the conflicting clouds and rays reflected in a running stream under a changing sky.

At last intelligence and emotion prevailed. Letting his carbine fall to the ground, he gave way to tears. They surrounded and softened him; his comrades, still more deeply affected than himself, bore him in their arms out of the precincts, and caused the column, of which they were the head and voice, to fall back into the courts, indicating to the people by their cries and gestures the sensible words uttered by the government, and the good resolutions they had formed themselves. A movement of hesitation, and of returning good sense, occurred in the palace and at the gates—the government breathed.

Scarcely, however, had the leaders of the multitude become conscious of the shock communicated to the *morale* of the masses by the return of this column to the Place de Grève, than they implanted anew among the crowd feelings of impatience and fury at finding themselves deceived in their designs. They heaped the terms of traitor and of coward upon those who had descended without obtaining the red flag and the government of the poor, with the tool for its sceptre and the sword in its hand. An uproar, heavy at first, afterwards louder and more sinister, mounted from these floods of people to the windows of the palace. Soon these compact masses, waving their banners, split like crumbling walls, to be succeeded by fresh currents of armed men, forming and flowing slowly as they pressed with loud shouts through every gate and entrance of the building. Panting for the conquest of the government, nothing but the pressure alone prevented them from a desperate rush upon the upper stories.

The heads, however, of these columns, arriving at the grand landing-places of the courts, and midway up the staircases,

became somewhat enlightened and humanized by this mingling with the well-meaning citizens. Some irresistible groups even penetrated to the ante-chambers.

At every instant messages of distress arrived, through the agency of the pupils of the military schools, whose undaunted courage braved every danger. Their object was to entreat the most influential leaders to show themselves, and so allay these last extremities of violence. Marie, Crémieux, went out with intrepidity in turn; the ministers Goudchaux, Bethmont, and Carnot did the same. Some devoted citizens formed themselves into groups, to shield them with their bodies, and protect them by the influence of their popularity. For some moments they received respectful treatment, but returned worn out and vanquished by the tumult.

Five times did Lamartine issue forth. He harangued, he excited applause among the multitude, and succeeded in causing it to draw back a little, while he caused to be waved before him the tri-coloured banner, the offspring, as he termed it, of the revolution, the contemporary of liberty, consecrated by the blood of the national triumphs. His garments were torn, his head bare, his forehead streaming with perspiration. At his approach, enthusiasm and insults were excited in almost equal proportions. They refused for a long period to listen to him. Vehement apostrophes nailed his first words to his lips; but scarcely had he given utterance to a few phrases inspired by the genius of the place, of the hour, and of the last extremities in which the country was involved, than those nearest to him passed over to his side, giving themselves up to his entire disposal.

Echoing his words, both with voice and heart, they drowned his speech with plaudits, which were prolonged in passing from hall to hall, and from staircase to staircase, and finished at last by melting into tears, and precipitating themselves into his arms. Never was more apparent than during these hours the intelligence, electric sympathies, generosity, enthusiasm, and love of the people, who need but a word of softening tendency to quiver to a man, even in the very midst of insurrection, with the most sublime sentiments of humanity.

But of short duration were these triumphs of sympathy and eloquence; diffusing themselves but slowly and imperfectly in a crowd of sixty or eighty thousand men, they seemed to

evaporate with the last echoes of the orator's voice. Often it occurred that he had hardly retired when he heard murmurs at the foot of the staircases, and shots fired in the courts, which made the bullets whistle over his head, and the stones fly from the arches of the staircases.

Each hour of the day, as it advanced, brought to the insurgents fresh reinforcements from the outskirts and suburbs. Towards noon the Place de Grève, and the windows and roofs of the houses which surround it, were filled to overflowing with people, and seemed hung with red. A movement more decisive was made at the approaches and lower parts of the building. The cry "To arms!" was raised. Some intrepid citizens who wished to oppose themselves to an assault still more desperate in its character, were thrown down upon the staircases, and trampled under foot. The torrent mounted, and rushed under the Gothic arches in front of the vast hall of the republic, strewed with dying men. "Lamartine! Lamartine!" cried the citizens from the extremity of the corridors, as they were driven back by the people. "He alone can attempt to stay such an inundation as this. The people will listen to no one else. All is lost unless he appears."

Lamartine, who, utterly exhausted by eighteen hours of physical efforts, lay stretched at length upon the floor, arose at these cries, and went out, accompanied by Payer, Jumelle, Marechal, and some young and intrepid pupils of the school of Saint Cyr, together with a group of generous youths belonging to the Polytechnic School, and some citizens, who threw themselves in front of him. He crossed the corridors; he advanced to the ends of the landing-places; he descended the steps, which bristled on both sides with swords, pikes, daggers, gun and pistol barrels, brandished over his head by the hands of frantic and sometimes intoxicated beings. Borne along, and swimming as it were, upon the very waves of sedition, he arrived at the steps which opened upon the square. He showed himself; he spoke. His appearance, which excited the curiosity of the people, his gestures, and the confiding and open expression of his countenance, still more than his words, which were often rendered inaudible by the tumult, drew a long manifestation of applause from the multitude. Some red flags were lowered, and some tri-colours reappeared at the windows.

He reascended the staircase, followed by the echoes of the applause of the square, which seemed to fortify him, and, as it were, charm him against the balls and poniards of the inner groups. "Traitor!" cried some men, upon the last steps, in tattered habits and of sinister aspects.

Lamartine stopped, opened his dress, pointed to his breast, and looking the mutineers in the face with a smile of pity —"We! traitors," he exclaimed, "if you believe so, strike. But even you who say it do not believe it; for, before betraying you, we must be traitors to ourselves! Who is it, then, who risks most, you or we? We have put our all at stake; our name, our reputation, and our life. You risk nothing, unless perchance to soil your shoes, for it is not your names by which the republic has been counter-signed; and if the republic should fall, it is not upon you that the vengeance of its enemies will fall." These words, and the gestures by which they were accompanied, took effect upon the good sense and reason of the people; opening their ranks, they applauded him as he passed.

Re-entering the hall, where the wounded were lying, Lamartine met a young woman dissolved in tears, who approaching, hailed him as the preserver of all. Her husband was extended upon a mattress in a corner of the hall, and appeared in the last stage of fatigue and sickness. This was Flocon, brought back some hours before in a dying state from Vincennes, after pacifying the faubourg Saint Antoine, and preserving the national arsenals. Lamartine clasped him by the hand, and thanked him for his courage and devotion. Thus was this friendship between the republican of a whole life and the republican of a day's date, founded, as it were, upon the field of battle.

These triumphs of the well-disposed citizens were, however, but momentary truces; despair at the impotency of their attempts, the vain expectation of a result which still continued to deceive them, the shame at having to retire without obtaining anything—hunger, thirst, cold—the frozen pools of water, the mud in which they had been standing since morning, raised every quarter of an hour new waves upon these human oceans. The chiefs who had seen the sun rise now saw the daylight fail, but would not let the sun go down

upon their defeat. A furious horde of between four and five thousand men, which apparently issued from the most remote and indigent quarters of Paris, at about two o'clock, mingled with some groups better armed and clothed, passed the balustrades of all the courts of the hotel, inundated the hall, and, overcoming all opposition, rushed, amid cries of death, the clashing of arms, and the firing of random shots, into a species of portico rising from the centre of a narrow staircase, where terminated the passages which protected on this side the asylum of the government.

With hair dishevelled, two pistols in his belt, with excited gestures, his lofty stature towering over the multitude, Lagrange struggled in vain in the midst of his friends of the evening before, and of these who now went farther than he did, to satisfy and at the same time to restrain the impetuousness of this crowd, intoxicated by enthusiasm, victory, impatience, suspicion, tumult, and wine. His almost inarticulate voice excited as much frenzy by its tone as it desired to appease it by its exhortation. Tossed about like the mast of a ship from group to group, he was borne from the staircase to the passage, and from the door to the windows. With arms extended and salutations of the head, he poured out from above to the multitude in the courts a stream of supplicating addresses, which were carried away by the winds, or drowned in the bellowing of the lower stories and noise of the firing. A weak door, so narrow as scarcely to allow two men to pass at once, served as a dyke against the crowd, arrested by its own weight. Lamartine, raised upon the arms and shoulders of some good citizens, rushed to this door.

Passing it, preceded only by his name, he found himself anew struggling alone with the most tumultuous and foamy waves of the sedition. In vain the men nearest to him shouted his name aloud to the multitude, in vain did they raise him at moments upon their entwined arms, to show him to the people and to obtain silence, if only from curiosity. The undulating motion of this crowd, the cries, the shocks, the resounding of musket-blows against the walls, the voice of Lagrange, interrupting with its hoarse sentences the short periods of silence of the multitude, rendered it impossible either to stand or to speak.

Engulfed, stifled, and forced back against the door which

was closed behind him, there only remained for Lamartine to allow this blind and headstrong irruption to pass over his body, while the red flag was raised over the heads of the insurgents in token of their triumph over the defeated government.

At last some devoted men succeeded in bringing him a broken straw-bottomed chair, upon which he mounted, and was supported on this tottering species of tribune by the hands of his friends. At his aspect and calm expression, which he endeavoured to make more impassible in proportion as he had passions to restrain, at his patient gestures, at the cries of the good citizens imploring that he might be heard, the crowd, whose attention is always commanded by a novel spectacle, began to group itself into an audience, and by degrees to abate its noise. Lamartine proceeded several times to speak; but at each successful attempt to obtain attention by his looks, his arms, and his voice, in the midst of the tumult, the voice of Lagrange, haranguing on his side another portion of the people from the window, again raised guttural cries and broken speeches, together with such a roaring of the crowd as to stifle the words and action of Lamartine, and create the triumph of sedition by confusion. At length Lagrange was quieted and removed from his post. He proceeded to carry persuasion to other parts of the edifice; and Lamartine, whose determination increased with the danger, was at last able to make himself heard by both friends and enemies.

He commenced by soothing the assemblage by a species of hymn upon the victory, so sudden, so complete, and unhoped for, even by the republicans most ardent for liberty. He called God and man to witness the admirable moderation and religious humanity which the mass of the people had exhibited, even in the combat and the hour of triumph. He succeeded in rekindling that sublime instinct which had during the evening thrown this people still armed, but obedient and disciplined, into the arms of a few men who had devoted themselves to calumny, exhaustion, and death, for the safety of all.

The crowd at these representations began to experience sentiments of admiration for themselves, and to shed tears of tenderness over the virtues of the people. Enthusiasm soon

raised them above their suspicions, their vengeance, and their anarchy.

"Behold what yesterday's sun has seen, citizens!" continued Lamartine. "And what will the sun of to-day witness? It will see another people, only the more furious for having fewer enemies to combat, distrust the very men whom they yesterday raised above them; curtailing their liberty, humbling their dignity, and despising the authority which is in fact their own; substituting a revolution of vengeance and of punishments for one of unanimity and fraternity; and commanding the government to raise in token of concord the standard of war to the knife between the citizens of one and the same country! That red flag, raised sometimes in terror to enemies, but which ought, immediately after the combat, to be lowered in sign of reconciliation and peace. I would rather see that black flag which sometimes in besieged cities floats like a winding-sheet, to distinguish those neutral edifices which are consecrated to humanity, and which even the bullet and the bomb must respect! Is it your wish that the banner of your republic should be more menacing and sinister than the flag of a bombarded town?"

"No, no!" cried some of the spectators, "Lamartine is in the right. Do not let us preserve this flag of terror to the citizens!" "Yes, yes!" cried others, "it is ours; it is the people's. It is that beneath which we have conquered. Why should we not, after the victory, preserve the standard which we have stained with our blood?"

"Citizens," resumed Lamartine, after having combated the change of flag by all the reasons best calculated to strike the imagination, and, falling back as it were upon his personal conscience as a last argument, thus intimidating the people, who loved him by the threat of his resignation; "Citizens, you have the power to commit violence against the government; you have the power to command it to change the banner of the nation and the name of France. If you are so ill advised and so obstinate in error, as to impose upon it the republic of a party and the standard of terror, the government, I am well assured, is as determined as myself to perish rather than to dishonour itself by disobeying you. As for myself, never shall my hand sign such a

decree! I will reject, even to death, this banner of blood,—and you should repudiate it still more than myself; for this red flag you offer us, has only made the circuit of the Champ de Mars, through the people's blood in 1791 and 1793; while the tri-coloured banner has made the circuit of the world, with the name, with the glory and liberty of your country!"

At these last words, Lamartine, interrupted by almost unanimous cries of enthusiasm, fell from the chair which served him as a tribune into the arms that were stretched from every side towards him! The cause of the new republic triumphed over the bloody reminiscences which would have been substituted for it.

A general commotion, seconded by the gestures of Lamartine, and the exertions of the good citizens, made the rioters who filled the hall fall back as far as the landing-place of the great staircase, with cries of "Lamartine for ever! The tri-coloured flag for ever!"

The crowd, however, carried away by the words it had just heard, encountered the head of a new column which had been unable to penetrate into the interior, or participate in the emotion excited by the oration. This band ascended with more spirit and determination than any of the seditious bodies, hitherto restrained or dispersed. A collision had taken place under the porch, and upon the last steps of the staircases, between these two crowds, each of which wished to draw the other into its own vortex, the one for the red flag and the other for the one regained by the persuasions of Lamartine. The menacing dialogues, impassioned vociferations, violent and obstinate gestures, the cries of suffocation, the occasional shots fired from the foot of the staircase, the strips of red flags, and naked weapons waved over-head, made the present *mêlée* one of the most tumultuous and sinister scenes that had yet occurred in the revolution. Lamartine threw himself between these two parties.

"It is Lamartine,—make way for him,—listen to Lamartine!" cried the citizens who had heard him once. "No, no, down with him! down with Lamartine! death to Lamartine! no bargains, no talking,—the decree! the decree!" or "To the lamp-post with this government of traitors," howled the assailants.

These words did not cause him either to hesitate, draw

back, or grow pale.* After considerable efforts, the broken chair which he had just mounted was dragged to the landing-place behind him. He ascended it, and leaned against the jamb of the great Gothic gate, which had been pierced with bullets both on that morning and the evening before. At his appearance, the fury of the assailants, instead of being tranquillized, broke forth in imprecations, clamour, and menacing gestures. Musket-barrels, levelled from afar, upon the steps most distant from him, seemed to be aimed at the gate. A nearer group of about twenty men, with looks stupified by intoxication, were brandishing their bayonets and naked swords. Still in advance of these, and almost touching his feet, eight or ten furious beings, sword in hand, threw themselves headlong as if to batter down the feeble group which surrounded him. Two or three of the foremost appeared to have lost their senses. With arms stained with wine, they blindly dashed about their naked weapons, which the courageous citizens grasped and took up in bundles, as mowers take up sheaves. The points of the brandished swords reached every moment as high as the person of the orator, and grazed his hand. The moment was critical, and the triumph still in uncertainty. An accident decided it. Lamartine could not be heard, but would not descend. The good citizens were in consternation, and he himself expected to be overthrown and trampled under the feet of the multitude.

At this instant a man, detaching himself from a group on the right, entered the crowd. He ascended upon a jamb of the gate, almost as high as Lamartine, and in sight of the people. He was of colossal stature, and endowed with a voice strong as the roaring of an insurrection. His dress alone would have attracted the attention of the multitude. He wore a loose coat of unbleached linen, old, soiled, and torn, like the rags of a mendicant; his wide trousers, flapping against his knees, did not reach to his feet, which were bare; his long large hands protruded with half his meagre arms from his short sleeves; his open shirt allowed his ribs and the muscles of his breast to be counted; his neck and head were bare, his hair brown, long, and matted with straw and dust, floated on both sides of his face; his eyes were blue, luminous, and moistened by tenderness and gentleness; his open coun-

* See Capt. Dunoyer's History of these days, by a Society of Combatants.

tenance breathed enthusiasm even to tears and delirium, but it was the enthusiasm of hope and of love. He was a genuine type of the people in their moments of grandeur, at once miserable, terrible, and good. A ball fired from below had just grazed the upper part of his nose, near his eyes. The blood, which he did not cease to wipe off, flowed in two streams over his cheeks and lips; but he did not seem to think of his wound; he stretched out his arms to Lamartine, and invoking him by look and gesture, called him the counsellor, the light, brother, father, and god of the people. "Suffer me to see and touch him! Let me only kiss his hands!" cried he, and turning to his comrades, continued, "Oh! listen to him, follow his counsels, embrace him, strike me before you injure him. A thousand times will I meet death to preserve this good citizen to my country."

At these words the man, rushing to Lamartine, embraced him convulsively, covered him with his blood, and held him for a long time in his arms. Lamartine extended to him not only his hand but his cheek, and was melted by this magnanimous personification of the multitude. At the sight, the astonished and affected multitude were themselves softened. The love of a man of the people, of a wounded man too, a pauper bathed in his own blood, and bearing on his naked limbs all the marks, rags, and miseries of indigence, proved to Lamartine himself, and was in the eyes of the crowd, a visible and undeniable token of the confidence to be reposed in the intentions of this unknown moderator, of the faith to be placed in the words of the organ of the government. Lamartine, observing this impression, and the hesitation in the looks and movements of the multitude, took advantage of it to direct his final strokes at the fickle hearts of the excited people. A prolonged tumult roared at his feet, among those desirous of hearing him, and those who were determined to listen to nothing. The beggar still stood at his side, with one hand wiping the blood from his face, and with the other, by signs, imposing silence on the people.

"What, citizens!" said Lamartine, "if you had been told three days back that you would have overturned the throne, destroyed the oligarchy, obtained universal suffrage in the name of man, conquered all the rights of citizens, and, finally, founded the republic,—that republic, the far distant dream even of those who felt its name buried, like a crime,

in the inmost recesses of their consciences. And what a republic! Not one like that of Greece or of Rome, containing aristocrats and plebeians, masters and slaves. Not a republic like those aristocratical ones of modern times, embracing citizens and paupers, some great in the eye of the law, and some little, —a people and a patrician order—but a republic of equality, in which is neither aristocracy, nor oligarchy, nor great, nor little, patricians or plebeians, masters or helots before the law; but one in which there is a single people composed of the universal body of the citizens, where the public right and power are only formed by the right and the vote of each individual of whom the nation consists, comprised in one single collective power, called the government of the republic, and reverting in laws, popular institutions, and benefits to that people from which it has emanated. If you had been told all this three days ago, you would have refused it credence. 'Three days?' you would have said; 'three centuries are required to accomplish such a work of profit to humanity.' (Acclamations.)

"Well! what you have declared impossible is accomplished! Behold our work in the midst of this uproar, these weapons, these dead bodies of your martyrs, and still you murmur against God and against us!"

"No, no!" cried several voices.

"Ah! you would be unworthy of these efforts," resumed Lamartine, "did you not know how to contemplate and acknowledge them.

"And what do we ask of you to complete our work? Do we ask for years?—No. For months?—No; not even weeks, —only days. In two or three days your victory will be registered, accepted, assured, and organized in such a manner that no tyranny, except that of your own impatience, can tear it from your hands. And would you refuse us these days, these hours, this short interval of calm, these few minutes; and would you strangle in its very cradle the republic born of your own blood?"

"No, no!" again cried a hundred voices. "Confidence, confidence! Let us fly to encourage and enlighten our brethren! The provisional government for ever! The republic for ever! Lamartine for ever!"

"Citizens," he continued, "I have been speaking to you as a citizen. Now hear me as minister of foreign affairs. If you deprive me of the tri-colour, mark me, you take from me

one-half of the external force of France! for the only standard Europe knows is that of its defeats and our victories, and that is the flag of the republic and empire. Looking upon the red flag, she will view it as that of a party. The banner we must hoist in the sight of Europe is that one under which our armies have conquered, our triumphs have been achieved. France and the tri-coloured flag—the idea is the same, the fascinating charm is the same, and if it be needful, the source of terror to our enemies is the same also.

"Oh, suffering and patient people!" continued he, "people who, by the action of this poor but brave man (embracing him with his right arm), have shown what disinterestedness is to be found in your wounds, what magnanimity and reason in your souls! Yes, let us embrace, let us love one another, let us fraternize like one united family, condition with condition, class with class, wealth with indigence! Ungrateful, indeed, would be the government you institute, if it forgot that its first care should be for the most unfortunate. For my part, never shall I forget it. I love order, and devote, as you see, my life to it. I execrate anarchy, because it involves the dismemberment of civilized society. I abhor demagoguism, because it is a disgrace to the people and a scandal to liberty. But, my friends, although born in a more favoured and a happier sphere than you, and precisely, if I may so speak, because I was born there, because I have laboured and suffered less than yourselves, because it has been my lot to possess more leisure and reflection to contemplate your distresses and to pity them from a distance, I have always aspired to a more fraternal government, and one with laws more imbued with the charity which unites us at this moment, in these meetings, these tears and embraces, of which you have given me such evidences, and by which I feel myself overwhelmed."

At the moment when Lamartine was on the point of continuing, and was stretching out his arms to invite the nearest groups to approach him, he suddenly stopped. His words became suspended on his lips, his action petrified, his looks fixed and riveted on an object invisible to the rest of the multitude.

He had in fact, for some minutes, seen confusedly, through that species of mist which extemporaneous speaking casts

before the eyes of the orator, a strange incomprehensible figure advancing towards him, and which he considered to be an optical delusion, or the creation of a confused imagination. This was the bust of a young man, dressed in blue, raised a little above the crowd, and approaching without walking, like a phantom gliding over the ground without the movement of feet. The nearer it approached, the more amazed was Lamartine, and the more his words seemed to hesitate. At last he recognized the countenance of Louis Blanc. The face had colour, but the eyes were open and fixed as in a fainting-fit. It was in fact Louis Blanc, who, as it appeared, had fainted in the lower story, through heat and exhaustion, and whom a group of his friends were bearing slowly and silently across the mass of attentive people. At the same moment, the wounded man who had embraced and preserved Lamartine fell exhausted, and overturned the chair in his fall. Lamartine was supported by the hands of some of the people. Louis Blanc recovered his senses in the air at the windows. The confusion which this caused interrupted the harangue, but did not destroy its effect.

Notwithstanding this diversion, the people, feeling the reproaches directed against their impatience, and carried away, as if for the first time, by the vision of their own glory repudiated by them in their flag, were, above all, touched with that species of confidence reposed in them by a minister of foreign affairs when sustaining the interests of their adored country. They turned back, if it may be so said, against themselves. They rushed, putting aside the muskets and lowering the swords of those who stood nearest, to embrace the knees and touch the hands of the orator. Tears streamed from all eyes, those of the mendicant included, and they mingled with the noble blood on his cheek.

This man had contributed more to the preservation of the tri-colour and the republic of 1793, than the voice of Lamartine or the firmness of the government. After his triumph, he was lost and confounded in the crowd, which descended to the square for the last time. Lamartine was *not* even acquainted with his name, and has subsequently never seen him; but it is to him that he is indebted for his life, and France for her banner.

Meanwhile a crowd of good citizens had learned, by the

voice of rumour, the scenes of tumult by which the government had for the space of eighteen hours been assailed. It was reported that the red flag had been hoisted; the government overthrown, and its members prisoners in the hands of the Terrorists; that Lamartine had been wounded by a shot, and seen from a window with his face and hands covered with blood. They knew not it was that of the poor, but noble-minded, man. Alarm reigned in the distant, confusion in the nearest quarters.

The most courageous came voluntarily, and by the summons only of their own patriotism. They mingled with the masses occupying the Place de Grève. Here they combated, inch by inch, and by every method, both of word and action, the designs of the seditious, and addressed severe or fraternal reproaches to the groups most obstinately bent upon preserving the banner of terror. It was at this moment that cries of "The republic for ever!" proceeding from the staircases, windows, and courts, and the return of the last irruption of invaders, who issued from the great door with the tri-colour again raised, restored the courage of the champions of the purity of the republic, and threw hesitation and disorder into the divided ranks of sedition. The entire square gave way in a confused movement of retreat, with cries of "The republic for ever!" "The provisional government for ever!" "Lamartine for ever!" mingled with some stifled murmurs of anger and disappointment. Disordered bands were seen to retire, lowering the red flag, along all the openings of the streets which lead to the Bastille, or by the quays to the faubourg Saint Marceau, and to Bercy. A chant executed by a hundred voices, rose like a hymn to the tri-coloured flag, from the midst of the people remaining on the square. This was the *Marseillaise*. Soon the square itself was almost entirely emptied. There only remained two or three hundred national guards in uniform near the gates, and a few courageous citizens, who concealed their weapons under their dresses, ready to devote themselves to the cause of the government and of their country.

All was not, however, over. The red bands, as they retired, were heard to utter threats, and had, by the movements of their weapons, indicated a return of the insurrection with renewed force on the following day.

While Lamartine was thus struggling and triumphing face

to face with the people without, his colleagues, from whom he had been separated by the crowd, sustained with the same resolution the summonings and assaults of the partisans of violent measures, confounding them by the energy of their resistance and the promptness of their reorganization of everything. Garnier Pagès, the mayor of Paris, re-established order and strict subordination in the Hôtel de Ville, and confirmed, nominated, or recalled the mayors of the different quarters of Paris. Ledru Rollin restored order in the vast establishment of the Ministry of the Interior, which had devolved upon him, and came to an understanding with Caussidière for the remodelling of a summary police, of such necessity in a capital without government, and filled with the elements of disorder and crime. In the prevention, too, of the disbanding of our brave army, Subervie showed the fire and vigour of his republican youth. That army was for the moment absent from Paris; but its displacement and loss of discipline would have disarmed the country while agitated by revolution. Up night and day, in uniform and on horseback, at the office or at the council, this old man caused his soldiers to feel the same forgetfulness of his years that he himself did. Full of the recollections of the first republic, ever fresh and active on his mind, Subervie did not find it impossible to revive those grand days of our armed patriotism of which he had preserved the enthusiasm. A few weeks later, the pretext of his age was employed to remove him from the ministry. It was a mistake. Neglecting his ardour, activity, and firmness, which resembled that of the ancients, they looked only at the date of his birth; but Subervie was worthy of continuing the work of Carnot.

Arago devoted his entire thoughts to the preservation of the scientific department which had been confided to him,—that of the Marine. He struggled undeviatingly against all disorganization of the mechanism of government. Goudchaux, called at once to the care of the finances, sacrificed to his patriotism not only his repugnance, but his interest, and shielded public credit by his probity and skilfulness.

Crémieux, Marie, Carnot, Bethmont, as well as Lamartine, neglected for a few days their less-important ministries, to face the general exigences and the incessant seditions in the heart of the Hôtel de Ville, that head-quarter of the

revolution. Marrast, as indefatigable as he was firm, continued night and day at the council-table. He prepared the well-constructed preambles, with instantaneous and luminous precision, while Crémieux and Marie drew up the decrees, and Lamartine the proclamations to the people, the army, and to Europe.

At his re-entrance into the building, henceforth no more harassed by sedition, Lamartine found his colleagues occupied with these important details.

Breathing once more, they cast looks of security and hope towards the empty square before the hotel.

It was four o'clock in the afternoon. A ray of the sun, piercing the February clouds, was reflected on the moistened pavements, and in the pools of water still mingled with blood about the dead bodies of some horses, which the scavengers were engaged in removing. The tri-coloured flag had resumed its place over the statue of Henry IV., and floated at all the windows of the houses. All breathed that still doubtful species of serenity which succeeds popular tumults, and which, even when experienced, hardly admits of being trusted. But the people had shown too much feeling and even sublimity to prevent the triumph of hope over anxiety in the hearts of the members of the government.

Dupont de l'Eure and Arâgo had returned in the afternoon, on hearing a rumour of the dangers with which their colleagues were threatened. They met in a small apartment, left vacant by the disencumberment of a portion of the edifice, and held a secret council with the members of the government present.

The silence which had succeeded to uproar; the security which had followed agitation; the hour; the ray of sun; the feeling which expands the heart, and the hope that levels all obstacles; admiration for a people so capable of restraining and even disarming themselves at the voice of a few unknown citizens, all was of a nature to excite in the soul those grand thoughts which spring from the heart, and are sovereign policy, because sovereign nature and truth. Instinct is the supreme legislator, and he who enacts laws under its guidance, writes under the dictation of God.

The members of the government were all under the dominion of these impressions, and no moment could be more favourable to impart its character to the republic by the

enactment of some great measures. It was in duty bound to respond to the magnanimity of the people by the magnanimity of its own institutions. The government did not contain at this moment any single member whose evil genius could imbrue him with the wish to make the republic the monopoly of a party to the terror of the rest, and to arm it in its victory and tyranny with the proscriptions, spoliations, and scaffolds of a reign of terror. But the name of the republic was dishonoured by such reminiscences in the minds of the masses. The blood of 1793 discoloured the republic of 1799. It was necessary on the first day to wash away these stains, to repudiate all connection between the two epochs, and to break the weapon of revolution by the hands of revolutionists themselves, for fear, lest the madmen, or wretches who had been attempting to pervert the people, should subsequently seize on these arms, and cause the republic itself to be confounded with the memory and terror of the crimes committed in its name.

Each of the members present at the council searched the depths of his heart and understanding, for the source of some great measures of reform,—some great legislative, political, and social ameliorations. It is thus that the philosophy of revolutions is to be extracted. It is thus that there can be established in a single day, the level between the advanced ideas of the period and the past facts of a government.

By some, was proposed the immediate abolition of negro slavery,—sullying the very morality of our laws, and threatening our colonies with perpetual disturbance. By others, the repeal of the laws of September, by which the people were weighed down by fines equivalent to confiscations.

Some were for the proclamation of fraternity, as a principle between nations, and by abolishing conquest to abolish war itself; others were desirous to annul the electoral census, that political materialism which placed the right of property above that of man. All maintained the principle, not only of the equality of rights, but also of charity between the different classes of citizens, a principle capable of application by all the institutions for assistance, succour, association, and beneficence, compatible with the liberty of capital and the security of property, the first charity of governments aiming at the preservation of society and the protection of family.

As soon as these great democratic truths, rapidly felt, rather than coldly discussed, were converted into decrees, these decrees passed in the form of proclamations to the people, under the hands of one of the members, ministers, or secretaries of the government. Printers, established in the lobby at the door of the council-chamber, received, printed, and distributed them through the windows to the crowd, and couriers conveyed them to the departments. It was the extemporaneous burst of the eloquence of a century to which the revolution had just given language; the rational explosion of all the Christian, philosophical, and democratic truths, which had been engendering for half a century in the minds of enlightened originators, or in the confused aspirations of the nation. But the experience of this half-century had brought to maturity the ideas of the country, and of the men who were thus issuing decrees in its name. This experience had taken its seat in the persons of Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Marie, Carnot, round the table, where these truths received at once their realization and their degree. It was a remarkable circumstance, that in so gifted and prolific a sitting, there was not a single specimen of rashness or exaggeration in the acts and words of this government of enthusiasm; not one amongst these legislators would have to efface at a later period a single engagement contracted with the country and futurity. Each of these decrees might remain as law in the hands of a national assembly. When the sitting had almost terminated, and the plan of the republic was thus completely sketched, Lamartine commenced speaking with uneasy hesitation. An idea had been revolving in his mind since the evening. He had kept brooding over it before producing it, being apprehensive of presenting it before its maturity. He did not distrust the hearts of his colleagues, but he distrusted some of the prejudices of their minds. It was evident by his attitude and accent that he was afraid of compromising a great truth, and a great political virtue, by premature production. He wished to present them at first in the form of a doubt, to allow this measure, when first looked at, to be perhaps adjourned, and to be resumed afterwards on reflection.

"Messieurs," said he, "revolutions also have an immense progress to make, and a generous tribute to pay at last to humanity. I am so convinced that this progress is commanded

by God, and would be comprehended and blessed by man, that if I were the first dictator and discoverer of this revolution, I should not hesitate to make this the first decree of the republic. And by this decree alone I would gain for it more free hearts in France and Europe than hundreds of repressive laws, of exile, proscriptions, confiscations, and punishments would ever bind to it in forced fidelity. I would abolish capital punishment.

"I would abolish it for every reason, for society has no longer need of it; its example in inflicting death on the criminal perverts more than it intimidates. Blood calls for blood. The principle of the inviolability of human life would be better defended if society itself would recognize this inviolability, even in the evil-doer. But if this grand advance in your criminal legislation ought to be reserved to the national assembly, sole mistress of her social laws, I would, at least, immediately abolish it in political cases. I would thus disarm the people of a weapon which they have in all revolutions turned against themselves. I would reassure those timorous imaginations who dread to find in the republic the era of fresh proscriptions. I would put human blood out of the question. I would inaugurate the reign of democracy by the most divine amnesty, and by the most intelligent courageousness of heart, ever proclaimed by a conquering people with their feet still in blood. I would boldly hurl this defiance of generosity to the enemies of democracy; and if ever the republic should succumb, it should at least not be by her own crime, and she would soon revive, out of the admiration with which the world would regard her."

Lamartine saw by the countenances of his colleagues that this proposition, although it astonished their minds by its audacity, had yet a charm for every heart. All declared these sentiments to be their own. Some objections were raised on the score of time and legal obstacles; but the project was rather adjourned for subsequent consideration than entirely set aside.

Lamartine was content with having excited this inward feeling. He had dived into their thoughts, and he confided in the future. He did not press the subject. The future would report to him the interior working of a truth in rightly-framed minds and generous hearts.

BOOK VIII.

THE truce seemed destined to endure throughout the night. The session ended with the daylight. The minds of men, however, were not devoid of anxiety for the next day, and the renewal of hostility threatened by the Terrorist and Communist bands. In the absence of regular force, with which those composing the government were totally unprovided, each of them appealed to his own personal energies and the good citizens of his quarter. They were conjured to surround the Hôtel de Ville before daylight with a rampart of breasts or bayonets to intimidate the rioters, should they attempt a last assault. The day was destined to be decisive.

Lamartine quitted the seat of government, and employed a part of the night in rallying his friends around him, and distributing them through the city, to recruit, from house to house, those courageous men who were disposed to come voluntarily, one by one, to save the flag and the purity of the republic. He particularly warned the young men belonging to the Polytechnic and Normal schools and that of Saint Cyr, as well as the students of law and medicine, knowing the ascendancy exercised by these youths over the people, who respected in them the flower of their race. The messengers, returning to Lamartine before daybreak, reported to him the unanimous and heroic devotion of the young men. They had all risen to go from door to door to warn their comrades, and there was not one amongst them who would not have given his life to prevent the republic from the profanation of demagogues in its cradle. Wives excited their husbands, mothers their sons, sisters their brothers; they would have fought themselves, had their sex allowed them the use of arms. In heart, at least, they did combat for the safety and purity of the revolution. It is a peculiar characteristic of the foundation of the republic, that the lettered and military youth were engaged in it from the first hour, and without pause, as undaunted in moderation as in impulse. They unanimously entertained a passion for philosophical democracy, and a horror of the sanguinary spirit of demagogues. They were young in heart and old

in wisdom. Lamartine, from the very first observed this phenomenon, and, surrounded by the young volunteers who crowded round him, he conceived good omens for the republic. Moderation would assuredly triumph. Wherever the heart of the young is, there is the spirit of the future.

Five or six thousand armed citizens appeared on the following day before dawn, called together by the single impulse of desire for the public safety, at the gates and principal outlets of the Hôtel de Ville. Upon the arrival of the scattered bands who bore the red flag, they encountered a resistance which disconcerted their projects. The Place de Grève was soon covered by a multitude, whose composed aspect and physiognomy, at once animated and firm, attested the grave thoughts of a people engaged in its own regeneration, rather than of those intoxicated and sanguinary ideas indulged by a mob whose next step would be sedition. The members of the government were all at their posts, with the exception of the minister of the interior, who was intrusted with the safety of Paris, and who did not present himself till later in the evening. Each time that Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Marie, and Crémieux were seen at one of the windows, a hundred thousand heads were uncovered. Cries, gestures, and clappings of hands recalled them to the sight and enthusiasm of the people. The groups, bearing the red flags, less numerous and compact, appeared isolated in the midst of this crowd. These depressed flags were seen in quick succession lowered amid the aversion of the masses. The true people had reassumed the place of which demagogues and their followers wished to dispossess them.

The members of the government and the ministers resumed their labours for universal reorganization with more marked concurrence on the part of the good citizens. It was debated in a secret council what attitude the republic should assume with reference to the king, his family, and ministers, and also the princes who commanded in Algeria. Some men connected with the government, believing that resistance would be excited in the interior in the name of royalty, urged the government to adopt measures not of rigour, but of prudence towards the fugitives. To institute a search for the ministers, who were still concealed in Paris, and might easily be discovered by means of domiciliary visits; to pursue the king

and queen, who were wandering upon the roads leading towards England, which it was not difficult to close against them; to overtake the duchess of Orleans and her sons, whose traces were followed, and whose asylum was suspected even by the members of the government; to retain these two generations of royalty as hostages of the republic; to confiscate their immense possessions; to put restraint upon their persons; to bring those ministers to trial upon whom the passionate vengeance of the moment threw the blame of the blood shed in Paris—such were the counsels that some politicians, who wished to conform to revolutionary routine, whispered from without to the dictators.

These counsels were instantly rejected by the good sense and unanimous generosity of the government. Seize the ministers? It was, upon the one hand, to bear hardly upon misfortune, and convert faults into crimes; on the other, as in 1830, to prepare for the republic and government the embarrassments of an uncertain trial, in which it would be as dangerous to condemn as to acquit. To pursue the king and his family? It would be to bring them back to Paris, into the midst of a people who, just and compassionate to-day, might be irritated and vindictive to-morrow; it would be, perhaps, to bring to the chances of an unknown futurity a prey for a reign of terror, and the victims for an odious scaffold. To detain the duchess of Orleans and her children? It would be to imprison misfortune and to punish innocence. Confiscate the personal property of the royal family? It would be to confound the king and the man, and public domains with private possessions. It would be to strike at the principle of property in the highest fortune of the empire, at the very moment when the government and society wished to defend, in property, the basis of families, and the existence of future generations. Policy, morality, and good feeling commanded the government to fortify the republic against these dangers, these political severities and rigours. All notions and acts of national recrimination were rejected with indignation. The revolution with which the government had associated themselves, to save and exalt it, was not to become a shameful relapse of the people into the scandals and crimes of all preceding revolutions. It was to be a victory, and not a measure of vengeance; an advance in sentiment and public reason, and not a vile satisfaction given to the

jealous and cruel instincts of parties. Some would even have wished to go to greater lengths, in a defiance hurled at once against the persecutors and courtiers of the fallen dynasties. They spoke of the speedy possibility of readmitting without danger the whole of these dynasties, interdicting to them only for a certain number of years the office of president of the republic.

"The true dynasty," said Lamartine, "is universal suffrage. The people never permit the crown of sovereignty to be torn from their head to restore it to a family. Nations, once upon the throne, abdicate no more. Let us accustom them to consider themselves inviolable in the face of those whom they have dethroned."

These suggestions, apparently somewhat premature for the morning after a revolution, were only a subject of conversation; but the measures of safety for the ministers, and of national generosity for the members of the deposed dynasty, were converted into secret resolutions. In order to effect a better reception of these on the part of the people, and to reassure the people while preserving the life and liberty of the king, the government proceeded to proclaim the abolition of royalty under every race that had disputed the crown for the space of fifty years.

Lamartine took upon himself, upon his personal responsibility, and at his own risk and peril before the people, to allow the ministers to escape, if seized in their places of retreat; he caused also the track of the king, queen, and princesses, together with the children of the latter, to be followed, and sent commissioners accredited by himself, to aid, in case of necessity, their departure from the French territory; to convey to them the sums indispensable for their subsistence, and to give them as far as the frontiers, not only protection, but also those tokens of respect which reflect honour upon the people who confer them, as much as they console the victims of human vicissitudes.

The minister of finance was authorized to assign to him, on demand, under the head of secret service money, a sum of three hundred thousand francs for the safety of the royal personages. He took fifty thousand only, which he credited to the account of foreign affairs, in order to transfer them to the commissioners at their departure. The precaution was useless, for no expense was incurred. It will be seen in the

sequel what prevented that use of it which the government had authorized. In this sitting the council framed its decrees as it were under the dictation of the national feeling and the applause of the public square. The day advanced, but the people, who from early dawn continued to arrive in innumerable masses, were never weary of taking part in the proceedings of the government. A mighty chorus of voices under the windows, upon the quays and bridges, found its way by hymns, acclamations, and murmurs, to the hall of deliberation. But they respected its mystery and liberty at the moment.

The faces of the members of the government beamed at last with serenity. The thought which had been impressed in their hearts the evening before by Lamartine could not fail, at such an hour, to mount to their lips.

Joy is magnanimous in the masses, and this thought floated in the eyes of all. Louis Blanc proceeded to give expression to it.

"I was, gentlemen," said he, "forcibly struck yesterday with the idea of M. de Lamartine, an idea which, at first sight, appeared to me too advanced for the present state of affairs, but which the generosity of the people has matured in twenty-four hours, and which they are, perhaps, capable to-day of comprehending and accepting,—the idea, in short, of disarming the people of that punishment of death which saddens hearts, envenoms opinions, and imbrues the conquests and even the virtues of the people in blood. I demand that we deliberate anew upon this proposition of M. de Lamartine, and that we grant to humanity this gift, as a joyous welcome to democracy!"

Lamartine thanked his young colleague with heart and look, and seized the hand which had been extended to take up his own thought. The deliberation was a short exchange of assent and reciprocal congratulations. The heart stifled the timid objections of the head. The greatness of the act, by which seven men, whose feet had been steeped in the blood of civil war the evening before, dared to propose to this people to abandon for ever the sword and scaffold, elevated the thoughts and the courage of all. A superhuman inspiration was visible in the attitudes of those who were deliberating. Their eyes were moistened, their lips trembled, and their

hands shook as in fever, while their pens ran over the paper. Each sought a form of expression, worthy of the thought, to present to the people. That of Lamartine, corrected and ameliorated by a phrase of Louis Blanc, was adopted. After having heard it, the members present rose, with an electric movement of enthusiasm. Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Crémieux, Pagnerre, threw themselves into each other's arms, like men who had preserved the whole human race from deluges of blood. They put on their tri-coloured sashes, sole marks of their sovereign functions. They prepared to present, for the ratification of the people, the adventurous decree which they had dared to propose in its name. Lamartine was intrusted with this appeal to the hearts of the multitude.

The voices of those who filled the Hôtel de Ville announced to the people without that the provisional government were about to descend. A confused escort was formed around them. They passed the steps, under an arch of peaceful weapons and floating banners, and appeared at the grand flight of steps before the palace.

Dupont de l'Eure, bowed down by fatigue, but sustained by courage, gave one arm to Lamartine, and the other to Louis Blanc. A strict silence was preserved by the crowd.

Lamartine, advancing as far as the gate, mounted on an estrade near the cannons, and uttered, at the full pitch of the human voice, a few phrases of congratulation and good augury over the thousands of heads which bowed before him. Their heads were uncovered; the sun was shining upon them, and their looks and half-opened lips seemed to pant for the words before hearing them; those nearest to the speaker transmitted them to the more distant. Lamartine spoke slowly, as the mariner on the sea, to give time to the sounds to glide over these human waves.

He commenced by softening and, so to speak, sanctifying the multitude, in order to prepare them, by a religious accent and sentiment, for the decree which he wished to carry by universal assent. When he saw composure upon their faces, emotion in their eyes, and acclamations on their lips, he then read the decree.

A slight hesitation, of astonishment, was manifested among some groups. A murmur might destroy all, but it did not

burst forth. At each phrase of the preamble and decree, the people, beholding their own grandeur in the idea of the government, interrupted the reading by clappings of hands and benedictions, which spread themselves like the breeze on the sea. The decree was received as the message of good tidings of humanity. The government re-entered the vestibule obeyed and adored.

The remainder of the day was devoted to joy. "Had the revolution but this day," said Dupont de l'Eure, "and if this were the sole hour remaining to me, I would not regret the eighty years of labour which God has assigned to me."

Upon quitting the Hôtel de Ville, to take the measures agreed upon relative to the royal family, Lamartine was recognized by some people at the entrance of the quay. In an instant the whole crowd in the square was impelled to form a retinue for him. The gestures and words he employed to dismiss it were ineffectual. A long column of citizens of every class, mostly workmen, accompanied him with their benedictions and songs as far as the Tuileries. Arrived at the gate of that palace, the multitude which formed the head of the *cortège* wished that he should enter, as though the people wished to assert its sovereignty by installing the new government in the residence of the monarchs. Lamartine opposed this with energy.

"The citizens," said he, "in whom power is temporarily placed by the people, should have no palaces but their own houses."

He dismissed a part of his retinue; the other portion conducted him by the bridge and the Rue du Bac, as far as his residence. The crowd drew up respectfully before his door. Lamartine harangued them upon the threshold:—

"You have shown to-day, to God and to men," said he, "that there is nothing which cannot be obtained from such a people, by appealing to their virtues. This day will be inscribed in your history amongst the greatest of your national grandeur; for the glory you have acquired in it will call down upon you neither the maledictions of victims, nor the resentment of nations, but the blessings of posterity. You have torn the flag of terror from the hands of the second republic! You have abolished the scaffold! Enough for two days. Go and reassure your families and your children

in their homes, and tell them that you have deserved well not only of history, but of humanity and of God."

After night-fall, Lamartine went out alone and on foot, wrapped up in his cloak, to avoid recognition, and proceeded to the house of M. de Montalivet, the friend and confidant of the king. Lamartine did not doubt that M. de Montalivet was acquainted with the designs, the route, or asylum of the royal family. He assured the ex-minister that the government had more dread of the seizure of the fugitives than they could themselves have of being arrested. He confided to him the sheltering intentions of his colleagues; and the sums placed at his disposal to facilitate the fugitives' departure from the territory, and to offer the first bread of exile to those who had the evening before been on the throne of France. He conjured him to yield himself up to his discretion and the magnanimity of the government, which was decided to prevent, even at the cost of its own popularity, a crime, a subject of remorse, and a disgrace to the republic.

M. de Montalivet was touched by this loyalty and magnanimity of a government, which so well interpreted the minds of a great people; but he knew nothing as yet, except the direction of the king's flight.

This prince, upon quitting Paris, escorted by a regiment of cuirassiers, had stopped for some minutes at Saint Cloud, persuaded that the revolution had been suppressed by his abdication, and that his grandson already reigned in his stead. He had written to M. de Montalivet to send to him, at his château of Eu, the papers and articles which his hurried departure had prevented him from taking from the Tuileries. From Saint Cloud he continued his route to the Château d'Eu,—the retreat which he had prepared for his old age,—the asylum which he had destined for his widow,—the tomb which he had raised for his ashes, and for those of the children who had preceded him to the grave.

The anxious affection of M. de Montalivet had been unable to learn more respecting the lot of the king whose friend he was. He knew only that after a brief stay at Eu he had departed, disguised and unattended, in a carriage, by circuitous roads, and that he was either actually embarked on the British Channel, or wandering along its coasts. He gave his promise to Lamartine to communicate to him any information which

might reach him. Lamartine returned, caused a travelling-carriage to be prepared, and requested the commissioners, warned by him, to be ready to set out at the first signal, to proceed as the *cortège* of protection and respect, destined by the government to the royal exiles. One of the commissioners whom Lamartine had charged with this delicate and pious duty was the grandson of Lafayette. He considered that in case the king should have been recognized and arrested at Rouen, Havre, or any other town upon the coast, the name of Lafayette, dear to the revolution and a pledge of respect for the king himself, would protect the royal family, and assure the execution of the measures of personal inviolability and becoming treatment taken for their free departure. The two other commissioners designated were M. de Champeaux and M. d'Argaud, particular friends of Lamartine, and men of courage and intelligence, both with hearts devoted to their mission, and initiated into the intentions with which this measure of safety was framed.

The morrow was the day appointed by the government for the proclamation, or rather the acclamation, of the republic on the Place de la Bastille. For the people it was an empty ceremonial; but for the government a twofold political measure: it wished, in the first place, to verify by an authentic solemnity, the defeat of the partisans of the red flag, and of the republic of violence; it wished, next, to review the national guard of Paris, and to ascertain the civic force which the well-disposed citizens could supply it with, in case of need, against sedition. It was problematical whether the moral spirit of the national guard of Paris, composed in a vast majority of the *bourgeoisie*, would, after the downfall of the government, consider itself to have been vanquished with royalty. Would it abandon the streets to the armed combatants of the three days, who alone were armed; or would it rally round the republic, as it had rallied, during the struggle, round the revolution? Would it associate itself with the unanimity of the people, in one and the same ardent pursuit of order and of liberty? This the government wished to know; this it wished especially to demonstrate, in order to produce an imposing effect upon agitators, by the harmoniousness and magnitude of the manifestation.

The proclamation and military display under the column of

July, had been fixed the evening before for two o'clock in the afternoon; but while the different legions were taking their positions upon the boulevards, and the people were pouring into the Rue Saint Antoine, and the quarters which discharge their currents into the Bastille, and the *cortège* of the government was forming in the square, a new sedition, but a sedition of ideas rather than of anger, was murmuring loudly under the windows, and in the halls of the Hôtel de Ville.

The terrorists, the communists, the demagogues, vanquished the evening before, seemed to have renounced fresh assaults for the moment. The energy of the good citizens, the wisdom of the mass of the people, had driven them back into the shade, and into inactivity; and they had preserved of their repudiated banner only the red cockades and ribbons, which they affected to wear still on their heads and in their coats.

There exists, however, in Paris, a mass of workmen, artists, and artisans, belonging to those employments in which the hand and mind are most closely connected: printers, engravers, mechanicians, cabinet-makers, locksmiths, carpenters, and others, forming together a mass of about fifty thousand men. These artists, artisans, and workmen are, in general, born, domiciliated, and established, or married, in Paris; and they receive considerable salaries at those periods when industry competes for their services. They have their moments of leisure, and they employ them, some in profligacy and debauchery, to an extent which their labour can never sufficiently gratify; the greater portion of them have their professional studies, their reading, their courses of science, philosophy, and religion, by which their minds are sharpened for political or social controversies; an inferior, but still an educated stratum, under that great one of intelligence and letters which covers the moral soil of France.

These men form the *élite* of the portion of the people working by hand, and may be said to be confounded by information, manners, and dress, with the classes who live by the liberal professions; at the root, on a par with those devoid of all property, but at the top, already on a level with the respectable citizens. They have among themselves, in their respective trades, their societies, unions, organizations for mutual assistance, orators, delegates, who obtain a hold upon their confidence, and who discuss their interests with the

contractors; of sufficient probity to detest blood, to shrink with horror from pillage, and to be repugnant to disorder: they are sufficiently informed to be accessible to sophistry, but not profound enough to put it to confusion and to repel it.

It was among these men that the different Socialist schools, which had sprung up since 1830, at Paris, Lyons, Rouen, and in Germany, recruited the greatest number of their followers. The problem, up to the period without radical solution, of the inequality of human situations, extreme misery by the side of extreme wealth, scandalized them, as it has scandalized, and without effect, all the philosophers and religious men of all ages. They flattered themselves at having found a solution, some by the imitation, with Fourrier, of the monastic system; others by that of the brutal Indian system of castes, with Saint Simon; others by the religious united possession of land, with Pierre Leroux; others by the suppression of the sign of riches in specie, with Proudhon; the great proportion, revolting at the impossibility, violence, and chimerical projects of these schools, had imagined they had found a practical adjustment in the system, at first sight less unreasonable, and in appearance less subversive, of Louis Blanc.

This system, called by the elastic name of association, and in fact applicable with advantage within certain limits, was generically defined by them as the organization of labour. Now, organization of labour thus conceived, being nothing but the enslavement of capital, and the sovereign and arbitrary fixation of wages by the state, suppresses the free action of the proprietor, and the interest in his own labour on the part of the workman; and, consequently, suppresses capital, wages, and labour at a single blow. It is the *maximum* generalized, and bearing upon the entire industrial and territorial society. It is making the state, God, and labour the slave; it is the death-blow to all free dealing between man and man, under the pretence of destroying the abuses of competition. This party abolishes, purely and simply, the possession and liberty of capital; that is to say, it indirectly abolishes property in the same way as all the other schools of this nature; and with property it would abolish society, the tie of family, and man. This last system, nevertheless, exposed with much faith, moderation, and eloquence by the young writer, had not convinced, but dazzled a considerable number of these work-

men. Louis Blanc was their apostle; they believed in him, if not as a discoverer, at least, as their master and guide in the investigation of the industrial problem. Its final consequences did not strike them—Louis Blanc did not seem to avow them to himself; for he destroyed when he thought he was simply ameliorating.

The masses had been for several days worked upon by these shadowy ideas. They beheld their master at the gates of power in the post of secretary, and soon to be member of the government. They were perhaps instigated by the ambitious desires concealed under a popular name. They wished to profit by the breach opened by the revolution to every innovation, to launch their system upon the republic, and so to confound it from the first day with that itself, that the two would no longer admit of separation.

They had been pouring armed since morning upon the square and into the Hôtel de Ville. They had been sending deputations upon deputations to the members of the govêrnment to demand that Louis Blanc should be appointed minister of progress, and the words "organization of labour" be instantly inserted in the programme of the promises guaranteed to the people. Louis Blanc himself strenuously advised his nomination to this vague and undefined office. He appeared to believe that this satisfaction to his name would of itself appease the multitude.

The whole of the members of government energetically resisted, during five hours of agitation, the reiterated summonses of industrial Socialism under every form. By turns, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Goudchaux, and Marie harangued the delegates in unmeasured terms, but were unable to restrain the urgency of their solicitations.

It was demonstrated to them, but to no purpose, that the hand of the republic, pressing thus upon capital, would cause it instantly to vanish or bury itself; that all labour and all wages would disappear with it; that in matters of business liberty and security were the essence of all industry and commerce; that what they demanded would prove the suicide of the workmen. All objections were stifled by vociferations. A thousand forms of expression were attempted to find one which would satisfy them without binding the republic in an impracticable sophism. It was even proceeded to such a

length as to write the word organization of labour, defining the word inoffensively and practically, and giving it the sole sense which it could assume under the hand of the legislator —that of an attentive superintendence of labour and aid to the labourers. A very large majority of the government refused to sign a word of double interpretation, and the workmen themselves would not accept it on these terms.

The irritation, formidable at such a moment, increased. A final deputation filled the halls, and those composing it struck the council-table with their fists, or the handles of their weapons. Lamartine, standing, in the faces of the most animated delegates, spoke to them in the name of his colleagues with the resolution of men who are exposing their own lives for the protection of society. "Citizens," said he, pointing to the square where their comrades, with lighted matches, guarded four pieces of cannon posted at the gates, "you should put me to the mouths of those cannons before making me sign these two words associated together—'organization of labour.'" A murmur of astonishment and anger arose in the halls. The table only separated Lamartine and his colleagues from the most incensed of the workmen.

"Suffer me to speak reason to reasonable men," continued Lamartine. "I am going to tell you why it is I will never sign the decree. My reasons are two, citizens. The first is, that I believe myself neither more nor less intelligent than any other man of my age and country, and that after twenty years of reflections and studies upon the conditions of industrial society, it has been found an impossibility for me to understand these two words united, one of which excludes the other. I will not sign what I cannot understand.

"The second is, that if we should promise to you the organization of labour, we should promise what no human power could fulfil. I will not give my signature to engagements which I cannot perform to the people."

These firm words, accompanied by the tone of conviction which inspired them, began to make the most intelligent and moderate workmen reflect. Lamartine, opportunely profiting by their softened dispositions, invited them to a free and frank discussion of the important question in agitation under the republican institutions. He treated it in extension, in details, and with proofs. He demonstrated by the absurdity of the

consequences, the vanity and odiousness of the principle of the violation of the liberty of capital, in industry. He made the impracticability of their system palpable to these men, whose fanaticism had been excited by a mere word. He laid that word bare before their eyes, and drew forth from it its nullity, its emptiness, and the ruin which would occur to all through the oppression of a few.

"You see it," he added, "in demanding the absolute control of the state over capital and wages; it is the annihilation of capital, viz. of the source of all labour, of which you are made to dream. It is hunger and thirst; it is the misery and emaciation of yourselves, of your wives and children, that you are demanding. But we will be courageous enough to refuse you these scourges, which you mistake for realities, and which as yet are only the representations of illusion and misery. No; we will not be accomplices in the delirium of this fever which is being kindled in the most interesting, because the most suffering, portion of the people. We will refuse you that destruction which you would force from us.

"But perhaps you understand by the organization of labour, the eye and the hand of the republic opened incessantly to the condition of the workmen, to elevate, enlighten, and ameliorate it, and to improve its moral tone?" ("Yes, yes!" cried these men, already recovered from their chimerical visions.) "Do you understand by it institutions for professional instruction, apprenticeship, assistance, intellectual as well as material, to the workmen? education gratuitously given to their children? a regard to health in their labours? aid to their sick and aged? mutual associations, favoured by the state, to enable them to pass through the periods of involuntary cessation of labour, and of crises like the present? Do you understand a more and more equitable and Christian distribution of taxation, which would deduct a part to relieve the undeserved miseries of the labouring classes as in England, and which would proportion the charges to the fortunes?" "Yes, yes," replied the delegates with enthusiasm, "that is all we require. We ask only justice and impartiality in the government, only guarantees against the stagnation of labour, and the destitution of our families. Our arms will suffice for the rest, and we will devote them again for our country."

"Well!" rejoined Lamartine, "if such are your wishes,

ours are the same, and in a still greater degree; for we are not of the number of those who, impose limits to the progress of a divine morality in society, nor to the duties of property and government towards the indigent, men and citizens like ourselves. Our desire is, that this revolution be to their profit; that it should elevate them in the first place to political rights, and then to those of property acquired by labour. But we wish it to benefit some without injuring others; without throwing society into chaos, pillage, and chimeras; which would overwhelm it in the ruin of all, and of yourselves the first. Now, the organization of labour is, in our eyes, nothing but confiscation of capital, a robbery perpetrated upon wages, the annihilation of a part, and that the most active, of property; it is to impose impossibilities upon government, to create the immediate cessation of all labour, and the starvation of the pauper and the proprietor at the same moment. Once more, I will never sign your own misery and your own condemnation;" and with his left hand he put away the paper on which the proposal had been already written. The workmen applauded and mingled with the train which attended the government as it descended.

A crowd innumerable attended the new power. The ministers, the generals remaining at Paris, the principal authorities, the mayors of Paris, encircled the members of government. Some battalions of national guards mixed with the armed people, opened the procession. It was a task of difficulty to penetrate the multitude. The members of the government were on foot, attired simply as citizens, and distinguished only by tricoloured sashes. This simplicity, far from humiliating, added to the greatness of the republic. The people appeared to rejoice at seeing power descend again into their own bosom, disdain the pomp and external attractions of royalty, and only offer to their eyes a power of necessity and reason, personified by five or six men habited like themselves. The quays, the streets, the balconies, the windows, and the roofs were loaded with spectators. The Rue Saint Antoine, at the part where it becomes wider, like the mouth of a river, on approaching the Bastille, was obstructed by waves of people. Upon issuing from the Hôtel de Ville, some red flags, and a great number of red ribbons upon coats, still struck the eye. As the procession advanced

amidst the noise of acclamations, these flags were lowered voluntarily. The pavements were strewn with red cockades and ribbons, discarded by those who wore them, and thrown under the feet of the dictators. Incessant cries of "Long live the provisional government!" were raised, and prolonged, mounting from story to story, and reverberating through every part of the building.

Arago, his head uncovered, and his white hair exposed to the sun and wind, walked at the side of Lamartine. These were the two names that were shouted the most. That of Dupont de l'Eure seemed to inspire more veneration; that of Ledru Rollin, more passion; that of Louis Blanc, more of rare but rough fanaticism. Their countenances breathed the hope and the serenity of a return of calm after a season of tempest.

The members of the government placed themselves at the foot of the column. Dupont de l'Eure and Arago took the lead, and replied to the congratulations and speeches. The republic was sanctioned by the unanimous acclamations of the people and the national guard. These were prolonged as by electrical consent along the line of the legions, from the bridge of Austerlitz to the Madeleine. The republic, originating in a few, became the asylum of all. Society, abandoned by monarchy, took refuge in liberty. There was no more a struggle of systems,—there was the harmony of reason.

The review lasted four hours, the men marching in double quick time. A hundred and twenty thousand armed men, belonging to every profession and opinion, saluted the republic, and raised their weapons to the sky to attest their readiness to defend order by defending the government.

During this display, Lamartine kept himself constantly in the rear of the party. Having taken off his badge of office, he mingled with the crowd for the purpose of retiring, but being recognized, as on the evening before, at the angle of the rue Saint Antoine, he was followed. The people of that quarter had beheld his conduct during the scenes occasioned by the red flag. They had conceived for him that enthusiasm which energy, even when it resists them, excites in the multitude. An immense assemblage, forming at his steps, surrounded him and filled the Place Royale. Lamartine could only

escape a popular triumph, which would have agitated and disturbed Paris, by running for shelter into one of the houses in the square, which was inhabited by Victor Hugo. The genius possessing eternal popularity gave an asylum to the possessor of the popularity of a day. While the crowd was knocking at the door, the porter enabled Lamartine to pass through the inner courts and over a wall into an unfrequented street. After covering his face with his cloak, he ascended a hired cabriolet which happened to pass, and requested the driver to convey him by retired streets to his residence.

He kept silence. The driver, seated by him, showed him the broken handle of his whip, and acquainted him that it had occurred while conveying, two evenings before, one of the fugitive ministers of royalty from Paris. Lamartine, silent, was struck with the vicissitude of human fortune, by which, in the interval of two days, and in the same carriage, one politician had escaped from pursuit, and another from triumph.

The manifestation of force and concord which the review of the armed people and the national guard had given in this unanimous and pacific proclamation of the republic, restored to Paris the security and order of a capital which had not changed its government.

The republic was proposed or accepted with the same unanimity in the departments. Thirty-six millions of souls changed their sovereignty without the loss of a life. Blood had flowed in Paris for or against reform; not a drop was shed in France for or against the republic; in some the voice of passion whispered, "The republic is your conquest;" in others,—"the republic is your safety;" to all,—"it is your necessity."

BOOK IX.

ENTHUSIASM took possession of the whole mass of the people from the moment when government stopped the effusion of blood, extended protection to persons and property, proclaimed the republic, and denounced the emblems of terror and anarchy. Concord once more animated the hearts of the citizens, and joy beamed on every countenance; the fraternity of words was transformed into that of acts, and the revolution resembled a festival rather than a catastrophe.

The measures of the government were seconded by the three most powerful of human passions—fear, hope, and enthusiasm. Persons of wealth and those in easy circumstances,—the bourgeoisie, landowners, manufacturers, merchants,—had naturally been apprehensive that the downfall of the throne, and the word republic, would give the signal for the spoliations, massacres, and executions, the remembrance of which had, during half a century, been confounded with the image of republican institutions. All these classes were filled with astonishment, and their sympathies were aroused when they saw and heard programmes and decrees openly repudiating any analogy or connection between the two republics. Forgetting for a moment the advantages, the monopolies, the public employments, the emoluments, and the favours they had lost by the downfall of the royalty of July, they thought only of the safety vouched by the government for their titles and fortunes. Accordingly they rallied round the new government, and clung to it as the drowning mariner clings to the wreck. They flocked to the Hôtel de Ville, offering their purses, their arms, their hearts, to aid the men who had taken the helm in the hope of saving society from destruction. They willingly resigned themselves to the republic, provided the republic should be the salvation of all.

The agricultural and manufacturing classes, who live by order, credit, commercial exchange, and industry, had felt the same fears, and shared the same sentiments. The poor and working classes, who have no capital but their hands, no revenue but their earnings, no patrimony but their mo-

rality and economy, viewed with enthusiastic gratitude and hope a revolution which was to raise them to the rank of citizens, and to restore to them their just share of social privileges and political sovereignty; they felt that their fate was thenceforward in their own hands. The republic, by receiving into its councils representatives chosen by the lower orders, and in some instances chosen from among them, promised an era of equality, justice, and prosperity, to immense masses of the people, who had long been deprived of all participation in the laws. Nevertheless they did not exaggerate their grievances, their rights, nor their demands. They openly proclaimed respect for property, inviolability of capital, and fair adjustment of wages between the workman and the master manufacturer, who proportions them in accordance with his own advantage. It may fairly be said, that society possessed a clear intelligence of its own interests. An incalculable amount of reason, information, moderate views, and religious feeling, had, during the interval of half a century, penetrated through every pore into the bulk of the population. Not only were the people calm, resigned, and obedient to the voice of an unarmed government, but they armed themselves to defend that government. They readily allowed it time to work out its measures, and gave evidence of patience by contenting themselves with half-wages from their masters, or with the remuneration of a small allowance of food in the national workshops opened by the *mairies* of Paris. Some there were who disinterestedly refused to accept even this scanty stipend, to avoid augmenting the burthens of the republic. Others went further still: having formed themselves into trade unions, under the sole impulse of patriotism, each union levied an assessment on itself, and hourly conveyed to the government this voluntary tax, collected from the retrenchment of bread, this tithe of hard labour. All this was done without parade, nobly and generously. Those who witnessed these acts will never despair of such a people. They are the heart of the country; and it is only necessary to touch that heart to draw forth treasures of disinterestedness, resignation, and courage. Hope was their leading star.

The courage with which some men, uninfluenced by ambition, hazarded their lives by heading the people at the Hôtel

de Ville, to repress anarchy, and to save at once the revolution and society,—the desperate and triumphant resistance which those men opposed to the red flag, to terror, and to the wild excesses they had been ordered to commit,—all this inspired sincere deference for them among the most rational of the popular parties. The dramatic scenes of the Hôtel de Ville, of which a hundred thousand witnesses propagated exaggerated accounts through Paris and the departments, had proved that the nation was not headed merely by puppets of sedition, but by men capable of opposing and subduing demagogues. Those days, during which a few men fought unflinchingly against armed masses, had inspired confidence, and imparted vast authority to the provisional government, which had consolidated its popularity by boldly risking it. At first the provisional government was a mere shadow, but at the Hôtel de Ville it became a power. Lamartine, whose name at the outset was the least popular with the mass of the Parisian populace, made a deep impression on the public mind both by his acts and by his words. His popularity, instead of wearing out, gained growth by resistance, and it soon became a thing inviolable to the people, who were continually seeing and hearing him. Public favour, which smoothes down all difficulties, supported the government through the dangers it encountered. Everything seemed to fall back, as it were naturally, within the boundaries of law, reason, moderation, and order, impelled by that occult power which raises up nations as soon as they fall. The organizing instinct of human aggregations, which materialists call social habitude, which history calls civilization, and which philosophy calls by its true name,—the divine law of our nature, the finger of God,—was never more visible to the mind, and even to the eye of the religious man, than during that crisis when a nation without a government was in itself its own ruler, its own strength, and its own law.

But whilst the old government was retiring from the land, and the new one installing itself in the interior, all Europe seemed to look frowningly on the provisional government. It was now time to take this point into consideration. Hitherto the revolution, the republic, the measures against civil war, the acceptance of the new order of things by the departments the navy, the army, and by Algeria;—the

difficulty of restoring order in Paris, supplying the capital with food, establishing workshops, administering succour to three millions of starving people;—the organization of the ministry, the measures preparatory to the formation of the new national guard, which was to embrace all the domiciled portion of the population;—the whole net-work of the administration, which had to be caught up, and spread over a territory containing so many millions of population;—the treasury to be emptied and filled every day, the army to be completed, the frontiers covered, and the ports guarded, speeches to be delivered, counsels held, seditious attacks repelled at the Hôtel de Ville;—all these duties had absorbed the attention of the government by day and by night.

It was not until the evening of the sixth day that Lamartine was enabled to quit the Hôtel de Ville, and to take possession of the office of the minister for foreign affairs. The minister of the interior, and the other ministers, who were also members of the provisional government, and were charged with various details of administration, in addition to their own official duties, had, on the evening of the 24th, assumed the direction of their several departments. The office of Foreign Affairs could, without inconvenience, be left till France should recover from the convulsion that had shaken her. The presence of the minister, in most continuous contact with the people, was more necessary in the area of revolution than in the cabinet of his hotel.

On the 27th the minister for foreign affairs appointed M. Bastide to the post of under-secretary of state in his department. He begged M. Bastide to go, in his name, to order the evacuation of the hotel, which was occupied by combatants, and protected by a detachment of the first legion of national guards. The voluntary zeal of these citizens, and the spontaneous respect manifested by the people for the mainsprings of national organization, subdued the indignation, which might otherwise have vented itself on the habitation of the fugitive minister. The hotel was taken possession of, but its interior was respected. The persons employed were not molested; neither were the minister's cabinet and the archives touched. M. Bastide was a cool and resolute man; his name had been popularized by republican opposition long maintained in the columns of the *Na-*

tional. He had a high character for integrity, and he well deserved it. The people knew M. Bastide; but he was unknown to Lamartine prior to the 24th of February. During the tumults of the first night of the revolution, and the assaults of the second day, Lamartine had been struck with the good sense and firmness displayed by a man of tall stature, hard features, and soldier-like bearing, who put himself on duty. This man he thought would be an admirable auxiliary in a revolution which was destined, during several months, to maintain a daily conflict with demagoguism, and whose leaders were resolved to remain pure or to perish. He also thought that the name of Bastide, a republican of old standing, would, by its authority in his party, cover the name of Lamartine, whose republicanism, heretofore purely philosophic, might readily excite the suspicion of the multitude. Under the eyes of Bastide no treason to the republic could be apprehended. The minister might moderate the revolution in its relations with Europe, he could repress war, save the blood of France and of mankind, without incurring the charge of betraying the revolution. Bastide modestly accepted a post, which, in his own opinion, was above his powers; as to ambition, he had none, save that of serving his cause, and of sacrificing to it his own welfare and his life. The language, and the character of Bastide, impressed Lamartine with the idea that he had discovered the somewhat mutilated statue of incorruptibility in an age of intrigue, weakness, and corruption.

Lamartine selected on the field of battle the chief of his private cabinet. This was Payer, who had not quitted the Hôtel de Ville, the council-table, or the steps of Lamartine in the most critical moments since the evening of the 23rd. He was young, active, honest, intrepid, and devoted. Lamartine made his selection, without knowing Payer otherwise than by sight; but he did not repent his choice. In such a crisis of disorder hours count for years. A glance suffices to reveal an aptitude; and when a man is chosen, there is rarely any mistake, because his character has developed itself in action.

On entering the office of the minister for foreign affairs, Lamartine found the hotel occupied by detachments of national guards and combatants. Bastide had established mili-

tary regulations; and the place resembled a fortress rather than a ministerial office. Its occupants were bivouacking in the courts, in the antechambers, in the apartments, and on the staircases.

The new minister was ushered into the cabinet and chamber so recently occupied by M. Guizot, whose shadow seemed still to be flitting from room to room. The chamber, the bed, the tables, strewed with papers, all remained just as they had been left on the night of the 23rd, bearing evidence of the precipitate departure of the minister, who possibly thought he was leaving his office for a brief interval; but who left it never to return. A lady, a friend of the ex-minister, accompanied Lamartine in his first inspection of the apartments. She solicited, in the name of the mother and children of the proscribed individual, his private papers, together with some objects dear to the ex-minister as a husband and a father, and also what little money he had left behind. Lamartine consigned, with respectful inviolability, these cherished relics to the lady who represented M. Guizot's family; and he then hastened to quit the chamber in which two governments had met and, as it were, taken each other by surprise, within the short space of a few hours. Without any feeling of hatred to the dethroned family, without animosity to an eminent man, whose fall must have subdued enmity even had any existed, Lamartine was deeply impressed with this melancholy evidence of political vicissitude and national versatility,—it was the eclipse of great fortune and high talent,—the desolation of a house which only the day previously had been the scene of social happiness. He could not prevail on himself to take up his abode in the apartments which might be said to have brought misfortune on their late occupants. He was not superstitious, but he was sensitive; he feared not the presages, but the recollections which every surrounding object retraced; he therefore ordered his bed to be prepared in one of the dark and empty rooms of the ground-floor, where he preferred to encamp himself rather than to take possession of a palace which had ruined its possessors.

On examining the political documents left behind by the minister of the monarchy, as they lay scattered on the writing-table in the cabinet, Lamartine perceived on one of

them his own name. Curiosity riveted his eyes to the paper. It was a note made by Guizot for his last speech in the Chamber of Deputies, and it contained these words: "The more I listen to M. de Lamartine, the more I feel convinced that we can never come to an understanding." The torrent of revolutionary tumult interrupted the discussion and submerged the tribune before the reply could be given. A strange sport of chance threw this note of M. Guizot on the table, and placed it under the eyes of his successor. To Lamartine this incident was not a triumph. The ministerial post on which he had entered, or rather into which he had been driven by the revolutionary tide, he regarded not as an honour wrested from another, but as a labour, a duty devolving on himself. He spent a part of the night in reflecting on the attitude which the republic should be made to assume in the eyes of foreign nations.

The republic, considered according to Lamartine's view, was not the result of a mere chance convulsion of France and of the world; it was a revolutionary movement, irregular and abrupt in its form, but regular in its development of democracy. It was an onward step in the paths of philosophy and humanity; a second and more fortunate attempt of a great nation to escape from the tutelage of dynasties, and to learn to govern itself.

War, far from denoting human improvement, is wholesale massacre, which retards improvement, whilst it afflicts, decimates, and degrades society. Nations who sport with blood are instruments of destruction, and not instruments of life in the world. They grow into greatness, but their growth is not in accordance with the designs of God, and they end by losing in a day of retributive justice all that they may have conquered in years of violence. Unlawful slaying is not less a crime in a nation than in an individual. Conquest and glory may impart a brilliant colouring to the crime, but they do not remove its guilt. Now every national crime is a false foundation, on which civilization, instead of standing, must sink. Taking this philosophic, moral, and religious view (and the highest views are always most correct in politics), Lamartine would not engage the new republic in war, either for an object or for a diversion: a diversion of blood belongs only to tyranny or to Machiavellism.

In the republican point of view, Lamartine was no less averse to war. He knew too well the instability of the people whose history he had written, not to be convinced that the republic, before time and good conduct should have enabled it to take root, would perish under the first brilliant victory it might gain. A victorious general returning to Paris, escorted by the popularity of his name, and supported by the attachment of a numerous army, would have no alternative but to choose between ostracism and dictatorship. The former would be the disgrace of liberty; the latter would be its death-blow. Finally, in the political and national point of view, Lamartine regarded offensive war as being adverse to the institution of the republic itself and fatal to the nation.

The situation of Europe at the time here in question may be thus described: the treaties of 1815, which formed the basis of the European law of nations, had forced France to retrograde within territorial boundaries too circumscribed for her pride and possibly for her activity. Those treaties, too, by restricting her diplomatic relations and depriving her of alliances, had rendered her distrustful and uneasy. The government of the restoration, which was imposed quite as much as it was accepted, might have renewed the lost alliances, and have created by land and by sea a French system, either by joining Germany against Russia and England, or by coalescing with Russia against England and Austria.

In the first case, France would have obtained accessions in Savoy, in Switzerland, and in the Prussian Rhenish provinces, in return for concessions accorded to Austria in Italy, in the Lower Danube, and on the coast of the Adriatic. In the second case, France would have compressed Austria between herself and Russia. She might, without impediment, have overrun Italy, repossessed herself of Belgium and the frontiers of the Rhine, and maintained her influence in Spain. Constantinople, the Black Sea, the Dardanelles, and the Adriatic, conceded to Russian ambition, would have secured these advantages. To France the Russian alliance is a natural claim: it is geographically determined; it is the alliance of war for the future fortunes of two great races;—it is the balance of peace by two great weights at the extremities of the continent, holding the central part in check, or limiting the movements of

England, as a satellite power, to the Atlantic and to Asia. The restoration, by its monarchical and anti-revolutionary nature, seemed to hold out pledges for both these alliances: it had sprung from the race of legitimate kings,—it claimed kindred with the thrones of Europe, and could not menace them without destroying its own nature.

The Orleans dynasty would fain have kept up these conditions of moral security for the reigning houses, and it speedily sought to naturalize itself in the sovereign families. But it was marked by two stains which caused it to be shunned and feared; viz., a semblance of usurpation in its accession to the throne, and a semi-revolutionary character in its popular election of 1830. Russia repelled its advances; Austria exacted a high price for her tolerance; Prussia kept watch upon it; and England alone accepted it, but on conditions of subordinacy and an occasional humiliating participation in British policy. The Orleans dynasty was odious to the revolution which it had cheated, suspected by the people, who despaired of deriving any good from it, and annoying to kings, who reproached it with the usurpation of a throne. Accordingly, it could maintain merely an isolated, personal, and temporary authority, concluding truces with every power, alliances with none. Even its fall, whilst it alarmed the sovereigns of Europe, gave them a sort of secret satisfaction at variance with their interests, but in accordance with their nature. There was vengeance in the satisfaction felt by the reigning houses. The revolution of February was in their eyes an expiation; their policy suffered, but their hearts rejoiced.

Russia, having no contact with France, did not greatly concern herself about a revolution in Paris. She was too well convinced of the physical impossibility of French intervention in Poland, so long at least as Germany should not open the road, and become the auxiliary of Polish independence.

Austria might, indeed, have taken the alarm; but the eminent man who for thirty-three years had ruled the Austrian monarchy—Prince Metternich—had long maintained a servile policy, which lulled all around him into a state of slumber, and allowed the monarchical fatality to rule in his stead. He was a man of experience, but of worn-out powers,

and he had so often seen the fortune of Austria decline and rise again, that he concerned himself but little about its changes. Consequently, Hungary, Croatia, Gallicia, Bohemia, and Italy, were rapidly breaking into revolt under his rule, and the influence of the house of Austria was drawing to a close. The republic startled this apathy without rousing it.

Prussia was the sensitive, living, and active point in that direction. On the Prussian cabinet England rested the lever of her continental diplomacy. It was also through the medium of the Prussian court that Russian influence operated in Germany; but in the Prussian states, the mass of the people, annoyed by British ascendancy, humbled by Russian omnipotence, fired by the ambition of governing Germany, and imbued with the liberal and constitutional ideas which came to them from their Rhenish province, were all disposed to favour France. Many of their distinguished statesmen were induced to take the same views. They regarded the republic as the accession of a twofold destiny for Prussia:—it was the continental system in lieu of the military monarchy; ascendancy over Austria, instead of a secondary part, little corresponding with Prussian civilization and strong military power. The alarm which Prussia might naturally have felt for the security of her Rhenish provinces did not subdue her transports of national ambition. Even in the event of those provinces being reannexed to France, she flattered herself she might reap compensations in Germany, in Hanover, in Holstein, and elsewhere.

With regard to England, she had at first been favourable to the Orleans dynasty, because that ill-seated dynasty promised to keep France long in a state of oscillation, and to protract in Europe a system of indecision and distrust which the British cabinet might easily turn to its own advantage. But the administration of M. Thiers in 1840, by the vain threat of disputing with England her natural route to India, and her necessary ascendancy in Egypt, had alienated England, irritated the national feeling of both nations, revived old prejudices, and stirred up old animosities, hitherto only partially extinguished. That administration had, it is true, prudently shrunk from war at the last moment, and ended the quarrel by the humiliating note of the 8th of October. But distrust remained amidst reconciliation.

England had seen the king erect the fortifications of Paris, and encourage, by voice and gesture, the singing of the *Marseillaise*, that tocsin of extreme war. She therefore approximated more closely to Russia. The ministry of M. Guizot made every concession, with the view of regaining the confidence of England. That minister, who at first found favour in England, because he was formed on the model of a British statesman, and because he maintained with high dignity and talent the part of a Tory of the revolution, had also sunk in the estimation of the English.

When ambassador in London, during the warlike administration of M. Thiers, M. Guizot stood in the eminently false position of a man wishing for peace, and yet threatening his friends with war in a bad cause. He was recalled to France by the king and by the Conservatives, for the purpose of repairing errors to which he had been a party, as member of the parliamentary coalition in Paris, and as the ambassador of M. Thiers in London. His position, which had been false in France, was still more false in London. He found it necessary at once to maintain and to repudiate to a certain length what he had said in the tribune when in opposition, and what he had done in London as the agent of the administration of 1840; whilst at the same time he found it expedient to console, to flatter, and to pacify the Conservative party, of which he had once more become the leader. No human genius can rise to the level of a false position. M. Guizot, when giving full satisfaction to England on the Egyptian question, was urged, by the desire of regaining a certain popularity in another war, to annoy England by a conflict of influence in Spain. By this means he also served or flattered the family ambition of the king, to whom he held out the perspective of winning in Madrid another crown for the house of Orleans.

The impolitic marriage of the duke de Montpensier with the sister of the queen of Spain, which was prepared as an intrigue, discovered all at once as a snare, and finally proclaimed as a victory, gave deep umbrage to England. The consequent coolness of the latter power prompted the cabinet of the Tuileries to cultivate more friendly relations with Austria, by consenting, in the affairs of Switzerland, to concessions adverse to the interests of France, to the independence of nations, and especially at variance with the spirit of the revolution. The

marriage of the duke de Montpensier with the Spanish princess must inevitably have led to a rupture with England, and to a war of succession, in which the treasure and the blood of France would have been lavished in support of an interest purely dynastic. That marriage bore in itself the seeds of destruction to the policy and even to the throne of Louis Philippe, too obviously to escape diplomatic observation. On the day on which this pretended triumph of the Orleans dynasty was made public, Lamartine exclaimed in the presence of several political men: "The house of Orleans will cease to reign in France by attempting to reign also in Spain. Before two years are at an end, there will be a revolution in Paris!"

England then, as might naturally have been expected, beheld without concern the downfall of a dynasty, which, after a long course of flattery, had threatened her in Egypt and deceived her in Spain. The republic was received without repugnance in London. The statesmen of England were too impartial and shrewd, and too familiar with history, not to comprehend that fifty years of revolution, of the experience of liberty, and of advancement in public intelligence, must create between the new republic and the republic of 1793 as wide a difference as that existing between reason and passion, or between an explosion and an institution. A nation like France brings forth in her revolution only what she has in her nature. The republic of the 23rd of February could be nothing else than the France of yesterday installed in her institutions of to-day.

Now the question of peace or war for the republic turned wholly on the disposition of England. No coalition is practicable unless fomented by England. As soon as the continent is armed, England holds it in her pay. Without the concurrence of England, a continental war can only be partial; and no merely partial war can be attended by results very injurious to France. Peace, therefore, was possible; but to insure its certainty, two conditions were requisite; viz., to respect Belgium, whose independence was at once an English and a Prussian interest; and to respect Germany, whose violation by us would have armed Austria, which was allied to England and supported by Russia.

With regard to Spain, the downfall of the Orleans dynasty

broke up at once the rival pretensions maintained by France and England on the other side of the Pyrenees.

As yet Italy had made no movement. She was merely beginning to demand from her princes the first degree of freedom in constitutional institutions, and the first degree of Italic independence, by the fragments of nationality forming a federation among themselves.

But though it was easy for statesmen to comprehend this situation of Europe, and this fortunate coincidence of the republic with European circumstances, which admitted the possibility of maintaining peace on the continent; yet it was not easy to convince the young and turbulent revolution that it must practise self-restraint, confine itself within its own interior, and from thence diffuse light over the horizon of foreign nations, without trespassing on other states, or seeking to kindle political agitation within them. The treaties of 1815 weighed heavily on the memory of France. The disasters of 1813, 1814, and 1815 were still felt as the remorse of glory in the hearts of the French people. France, so essentially a military nation, was not only weary of peace, but she felt herself humbled by it. The revolution seemed of itself to throw open the gates of war. The army yearned for war, the people invoked it, the superabundant idle and active population urged it, even the spirit of fraternity seemed to sanctify it for the deliverance of oppressed nations. Imprudent republicans, by their hatred of thrones, incited the desire for war; violent statesmen by words and gestures preached war to the multitude; and finally, empirical statesmen regarded war as a lucky expedient for thinning the allied revolutionary populations of cities; for creating a diversion from international agitation, and for casting on the frontiers the brands of conflagration, which would burn themselves out in the interior of France, if not scattered over the continent. Revolutions, observed these men, endure but an hour; they must be seized whilst they are burning; when the flame is extinguished, the embers are trampled under-foot. Insane revolutions, it is true, have but an hour's duration, replied the more sensible men of the party favourable to peace; but humane, moderate, and well-considered revolutions have years and ages before them. They do not, in a fit of wild and frequently wicked energy, stake the fate of liberty and the progress of nations on

a card; they never play any but a sure game, and they rely for their success on law and reason, on the justice of their cause, on nations, and on God.

Lamartine was convinced of these truths. He was moreover convinced that should France be the first to attack, the aggression would be the pretext and the inevitable signal for an armed coalition,—a league of kings against the republic. He doubted not that the combined energy of France would long triumphantly resist such a coalition; but history and common sense assured him that the offensive war of one nation of Europe against all the rest, would end, sooner or later, in invasion, even though that nation should possess an army composed of the soldiers of Napoleon, with the head of Napoleon to direct them. The republic, by bringing about the invasion of France, would retard liberty during another half-century; and it was this latter consideration which had most weight with him. Lamartine knew from history, as well as from the nature of things, that every war of a single nation against several is an extreme and desperate war; that every extreme and desperate war requires, on the part of the nation maintaining it, efforts and resources as extreme and desperate as the war itself; that such efforts and resources can be employed only by a government which is itself also extreme and desperate; and that those resources are reckless taxation and bloodshed, forced loans, paper money, proscriptions, revolutionary tribunals, and scaffolds. To inaugurate the republic by a government of this description, would have been to inaugurate tyranny instead of liberty, crime instead of public virtue, the ruin of France instead of her salvation. Lamartine and his colleagues would sooner have forfeited their heads to the revolution, than have sacrificed one drop of blood to it.

Moreover, Lamartine had absolute faith in the power of honesty and justice in politics. He was convinced of the fact that almost all wars are merely the expiation of acts of injustice committed by nations one against another. He felt assured that justice, and the respect manifested by the republic to neighbouring states, would be two hosts of strength, more effectual for the defence of the French frontiers than two millions of men; and that they would propagate the democratic idea more rapidly than fire and sword. France is beloved by foreign nations. The charm of her intelligence,

her high character, and her genius, is one great source of her power in the world. France, though disarmed, would still be the admiration of the universe. To convert this prestige of love and admiration for France into the fear and horror of her arms, would have been to lower the character of the nation. The fear which she might momentarily inspire would but ill atone for the loss of that power of sympathy with which God has armed her.

The same might be said of the democratic principle now about to make a new trial of the force of moral contagion on the minds of nations. Lamartine clearly foresaw, that, if French democracy became aggressive,—if, at the outset, it were sullied by the spirit of conquest, or blended with national ambition, it would repel instead of attracting. The principle of nationality is in the minds of men paramount to the principle of internal liberty. Rather than lose their name and their soil, nations will consent to forfeit their liberal institutions. They would rally against France the moment that sovereigns could show that a French bayonet had unlawfully encroached on their territories. Besides, what was the nature of the revolution of February?—was it a territorial revolution, or a revolution of ideas? It was evidently a revolution of ideas,—a question of internal government. To change it into a territorial, a military, or an invading revolution, would have been to enfeeble its very principle, to transform its nature, and to betray it. A hundred leagues of territory would not have enlarged it by a single idea. It was therefore necessary to declare it to be fraternal, and not offensive to other nations, whether the governments of those nations might be despotic, monarchical, mixed, or republican.

But these ideas would have been too philosophic to penetrate the masses which had then risen up full of impatience to overrun Europe, had they been proclaimed only by a minister for foreign affairs, and by a government. Fortunately, they were seconded by influential men of all philosophic parties; even by the Socialists themselves, who, as history is bound in justice to admit, at that time honestly and powerfully supported the principles of fraternity and peace. The labouring classes, themselves predisposed to war by their ardour and courage, were, by the doctrines and theories of the Socialists, restored to the intelligence and morality of peace. The idea

of the organization of labour annihilated the idea of war in the masses of the population. Socialism stifled the spirit of conquest, and the people understood reason.

Before submitting these thoughts to the provisional government, Lamartine wrote to all the diplomatic agents a short and vague letter, directing them to notify the accession of the French republic to their respective courts.

"The republic," said he, in this letter, "has not changed the position of France in Europe; and is ready to renew relations with other countries."

The avowal thus made in this first communication was thrown out as a hint, with the view of assuring foreign governments and nations of the civilized character with which the republic intended to stamp its foreign policy. Lamartine assembled together all the individuals holding employments in the office of Foreign Affairs. "Set your minds at rest," said he to them; "I represent a revolution, but it is a paternal revolution; those among you who are willing to serve the republic with fidelity will be retained in their functions. The country has not disappeared with royalty. Diplomatists are like soldiers; the flag is their rallying-point, and their unalterable duty is to defend and maintain the greatness of the nation in foreign parts."

However, a revolution at the moment of its consummation cannot confide its secrets and intrust its salvation to those who only the day before dreaded and opposed it. This would be to betray itself. Lamartine would not break up the machinery or dismiss the persons engaged in the central office of Foreign Affairs, which time had organized, and which numbered in its employment several trustworthy men distinguished for special talent and experience. He left these men at their posts, either unemployed or occupied only in business of mere formality. He drew into his own cabinet and into his own employment all the talent, all the secrecy, and all the discretion of the diplomacy of the republic.

But persons who were the more patriotic in heart, in proportion as their minds had been more or less exclusively directed to the permanent interests of the country, were not backward in adhering with all the force of their patriotism to the republic, as the representation at once of order and of France. Even those who had retired voluntarily, from scruples of honour

(for example, the director of the political department, M. Desages, a man of first-rate merit) gave the government the benefit of the experience and intelligence they possessed. MM. de Viel Castel, Brennier, Cintra, and Lesseps remained at the head of their several departments of the Foreign Office. They rendered indefatigable service to the republic in that long tumult of events and assaults, during which the minister's hotel was at once a council and a camp.

Lamartine, on the other hand, successively recalled from abroad all the ambassadors, and nearly all the ministers plenipotentiary. Their presence in the different courts was objectionable on two grounds. As yet the republic was not acknowledged, and there seemed reason to fear that the residence of the French envoys at courts, either undecided or hostile, might give occasion to collisions unfavourable to the establishment of new relations. Moreover, those ambassadors were, for the most part, political men; some had been ministers, and were personally attached by sentiments and sympathies to the fallen royal family. To intrust to these persons the negotiations of the republic, while she was yet struggling against royalty, would have been to incur the risk of disservice. The minister therefore sent, in lieu of those official individuals, certain secret or confidential agents, selected from among men of republican opinions, or those not prepossessed in favour of the fugitive dynasty. To each he gave verbal instructions suited to the countries to which they were respectively sent. These instructions were summed up in the following words:—"Observe and inquire, and in your conversations with sovereigns, ministers, and people, give its true character to the new republic, viz., pacific if it be understood, terrible if it be provoked."

He, moreover, confided to each of his agents in foreign countries the plan of diplomacy he proposed to follow, so that each envoy, notwithstanding the necessary vagueness of his instructions, and the uncertain and sudden occurrences incidental to his mission, should be initiated beforehand in the foreign policy of the republic, so that he might frame all his words and acts in accordance with the general plan.

To await with dignity the decision of England, to conciliate Prussia, to keep watch on Russia, to soothe Germany, to elude Austria, to smile on Italy, but without exciting her,

to encourage Turkey, to leave Spain to herself, to deceive no one by vain fears or hopes, to be cautious not to drop a single word which it might be necessary one day or other to retract, to make republican probity the soul of a diplomacy devoid alike of ambition and weakness,—such were the confidential instructions given to the foreign envoys. Whatever might be the turn of events, it was the desire of Lamartine that the republic should stand right everywhere.

He held the same language to the ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires, who, in Paris, represented the different foreign courts. The rapidity of the revolution, the enthusiasm with which it had been unanimously accepted throughout France, without a single protest against such a democracy; the magnanimity of the people, intrepid in action, moderate, merciful, and cordial after the victory; the spectacle of the capital, where seven men ruled thirty-six millions of citizens by the mere power of speech; the abolition of the punishment of death; the repudiation of the spirit of war; the voluntary restoration of order in the streets; the inviolability of religious toleration; the respect for foreigners; the adhesions and deputations from departments, communes, and from foreign nations, pouring into the Hôtel de Ville, like continuous explosions of popular intelligence; the firm but respectful tone maintained to foreign nations and governments; the speeches of Lamartine and his colleagues, in answer to the foreign deputations;—all these prodigies made a deep and happy impression on the eyes and minds of the ambassadors. Enthusiasm for France pervaded even the enemies of the republic.

The members of the diplomatic body, without having yet acknowledged the new government, held official interviews with the minister for foreign affairs. The feelings of umbrage which their courts might have conceived were dispelled in these unreserved communications between men all alike desirous of averting human misery, and sparing the effusion of blood. How fortunate for mankind was this pre-existing concert of good intention, intelligence, and wisdom, between the provisional government and the representatives of Europe then in Paris. Lord Normanby, the English ambassador; Baron Von Arnim, the Prussian minister; M. de Kisselef, the Russian minister; M. d'Apponi, the Austrian

minister; M. de Brignole, the Sardinian minister; the Prince de Ligne, the minister from Belgium; the Pope's nuncio, together with all the principal members of the diplomatic body in Paris at that juncture, were luckily men of enlarged intelligence, and friends to peace. The characters of statesmen may exercise as great an influence over events as their opinions. Their characters are the commentaries of their instructions; they may predispose their courts to justice and to peace.

Friendly relations quietly but speedily established themselves between the cabinet of Paris and the foreign cabinets.

The first indication of the wish to establish pacific relations with the new French government was an observation dropped by the duke of Wellington to Lamartine, in answer to an indirect overture verbally made by the latter through the medium of a nephew of the duke. To this observation Lamartine returned a written reply, expressive of the high gratification he felt at hearing words of peace from the lips of the man of war. The first impression of England, declared by her first citizen, was an augury which held out hope to the world. When France and England agree together to secure the peace of Europe, no power can with impunity disturb it.

France had made the movement. On France all eyes were fixed; it was for France to speak first. Europe, as well as France herself, anxiously awaited the first declaration of the republic to the world. To defer this declaration for a few days was alike prudent and dignified. It did not become the republic to rush forward to embrace peace like a timid power, fearful of war. It was for the republic to avow peace to be possible, but not to implore it as a necessity; and before giving utterance to the dogmas of peace, it was necessary for the republic to assure herself that those dogmas would not be insultingly disclaimed by other powers. The republic might have incurred the risk of seeing a misinterpretation given to her advances in favour of the pacific principle:—instead of well-merited sympathy, she might have received challenges, which must have been overlooked or resented. These reasons determined Lamartine not to be precipitate. In those brief nocturnal intervals, during which he could escape from the tumult of popular assemblages, he employed himself in draw-

ing up the manifesto of the republic. On the 6th of March he submitted it to the consideration of his colleagues, the ministers, and a few distinguished political men of republican opinions, who were that day present at the deliberation.

It was a solemn conference. Seven men, who a few days previously had emerged from a political storm, held in their hands the decision of peace or war. With a single word they could set principles and men throughout the world in deadly contention; or dispel the clouds which overhung the horizon of the globe. Lamartine had determined to make the declaration of peace the absolute condition of his presence in the government. On this point, the majority of his colleagues, as well as the ministers, were not less decided than he was. The manifesto, in its principle, created no dissent. The deliberative parties concurred without any preconcerted understanding. The only difference of opinion turned on certain expressions, which were discussed and modified; but there was an almost unanimous accordance as to the manner in which the republic should declare its understanding of the treaties of 1815. Louis Blanc himself hailed with applause the fraternal era which this manifesto would open to mankind. Those parties who were secretly dissatisfied with the pacific resolution of the government, felt so assured that these words were merely words scattered to the winds, and that the French people would speedily, of their own will, invade the continent, that they did not think it worth while to dispute the manifesto. Belgian, German, and Polish clubs continued to hold their meetings, headed by secret conspirators, and the armed propaganda party was preparing to tear up the page of national philosophy to make cartridges for the musket of invasion.

On the following day this manifesto appeared:—

MANIFESTO TO EUROPE.

"You know the events of Paris—the victory of the people; their heroism, moderation, and tranquillity; the re-establishment of order, by the co-operation of the citizens at large, as if, during this interregnum of the visible powers, public reason was, of itself alone, the government of France.

"The French revolution has thus entered upon its definitive period. France is a republic. The French republic does not

require to be acknowledged in order to exist. It is based alike on natural and national law. It is the will of a great people, who demand the privilege only for themselves. But the French republic, being desirous of entering into the family of established governments, as a regular power, and not as a phenomenon destructive of European order, it is expedient that you should promptly make known to the government to which you are accredited, the principles and tendencies which will henceforth guide the foreign policy of the French government.

"The proclamation of the French republic is not an act of aggression against any form of government in the world. Forms of government have diversities as legitimate as the diversities of character,—of geographical situation,—of intellectual, moral, and material development among nations. Nations, like individuals, have different ages; and the principles which rule them have successive phases. The monarchical, the aristocratic, the constitutional, and the republican forms of government, are the expression of the different degrees of maturity in the genius of nations. They require more liberty in proportion as they feel themselves capable of bearing more. They require greater equality and democracy in proportion as they are inspired with a greater share of justice and love for the people over whom they rule. It is merely a question of time. A nation ruins itself by anticipating the hour of that maturity; as it dishonours itself by allowing it to pass away without seizing it. Monarchy and republicanism are not, in the eyes of wise statesmen, absolute principles, arrayed in deadly conflict against each other; they are facts which contrast one with another, and which may exist face to face by mutually understanding and respecting each other.

"War, therefore, is not now the principle of the French republic, as it was the fatal and glorious necessity of the republic of 1792. Half a century separates 1792 from 1848. To return, after the lapse of half a century, to the principle of 1792, or to the principle of conquest pursued during the empire, would not be to advance, but to retrograde. The revolution of yesterday is a step forward, not backward. The world and ourselves are desirious of advancing to fraternity and peace.

"If the situation of the French republic in 1792 explained

the necessity of war, the differences existing between that period of our history and the present time explain the necessity of peace. Endeavour to understand these differences, and to make them understood by those around you.

"In 1792 the nation was not united. It may be said that two nations existed on the same soil. A terrible conflict was kept up between the classes who were deprived of their privileges and the classes who had just conquered equality and liberty. The dispossessed classes coalesced with captive royalty and jealous foreign powers, to dispute with France the right of her revolution, and by invasion to force back upon her monarchy, aristocracy, and theocracy. At the present time, there are no distinct and unequal classes. Liberty has enfranchised all. Equality in the eye of the law has levelled all; fraternity, of which we proclaim the application, and of which the National Assembly will organize the blessings, will unite all. There is not a single citizen in France, whatsoever may be his opinion, who does not rally round the principle of the country before every other consideration, and by that very unity France is rendered invulnerable to the attempts and to the alarms of invasion.

"In 1792 it was not the whole body of the people who made themselves masters of the government; it was the middle class alone that wished to exercise liberty, and to enjoy it. The triumph of the middle class was therefore selfish, like the triumph of every oligarchy. The middle class wished to secure to itself alone the privileges acquired by all. Accordingly it was found necessary to create a powerful diversion against the advent of popular supremacy, by urging the people to the field of battle, and thereby preventing them from taking part in their own government. This diversion was war. War was the ardent wish of the monarchists and the Girondins; but it was not desired by the more enlightened democrats, who, like ourselves, were anxious for the sincere, complete, and regular reign of the people themselves; comprising under that denomination all classes, without exclusion or preference, which compose the nation.

"In 1792 the people were made the instruments of the revolution, but they were not its objects. The present revolution has been achieved by them and for them. The people and the

revolution are one and the same. On entering upon the revolution, the people brought with them their new wants of labour, industry, instruction, agriculture, commerce, morality, welfare, property, cheap living, navigation, and civilization. All these are wants of peace. The people and peace are but one word.

"In 1792 the ideas of France and Europe were not prepared to conceive and to accept the great harmony of nations among themselves for the benefit of the human race. The views of the century, then drawing to its close, were confined to the heads of a few philosophers. But at the present day philosophy is popular. Fifty years of the freedom of thought, speech, and writing, have produced their results. Books, journals, and tribunes, have accomplished the apostolic mission of European intelligence. Reason, dawning everywhere over the frontiers of nations, has given birth to that great intellectual nationality, which will be the achievement of the French revolution, and the constitution of international fraternity throughout the globe.

"Finally, in 1792, liberty was a novelty, equality a scandal, and the republic a problem. The very name of people, only just then revived by Fenelon, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, had been so far forgotten, buried, profaned by old feudal, dynastic, and sacerdotal traditions, that even the most lawful intervention of the people in their own affairs appeared a monstrosity in the eyes of statesmen of the old school. Democracy at once spread terror among thrones, and shook the foundation of society. But now, on the contrary, both kings and people are accustomed to the name, to the forms, and to the regular agitations of that freedom which exists in various degrees in almost all states, even those subject to monarchical rule. They will become accustomed to republicanism, which is public liberty in its most perfect form, among the more mature nations. They will acknowledge that there is a conservative freedom;—they will acknowledge that there may exist in a republic, not only greater order, but that there may even be a more genuine order in the government of all for the sake of all, than in the government of the few for the sake of the few.

"But independently of these disinterested considerations, interest alone for the consolidation and duration of the

republic would inspire the statesmen of France with a desire for peace. It is not the country, but liberty, which is exposed to the greatest danger in time of war. War is almost invariably a dictatorship. Soldiers are regardless of civil institutions and laws. Storms tempt ambition; glory dazzles patriotism. The prestige of a victorious name veils the design against national sovereignty. The republic doubtless desires glory, but she desires it for herself, and not for Cæsars and Napoleons.

"But let no misapprehension exist. These ideas, which the provisional government charges you to convey to the powers as the pledge of European security, must not be understood as suing for pardon to the republic for having presumed to rise into being;—still less must they be regarded as humbly soliciting that a great right and a great people may hold their place in Europe. They have a more noble object in view, which is to make sovereigns and people reflect, and to prevent them from being deceived respecting the character of our revolution; to place the event in its true light, and in its proper character; finally, to give pledges to humanity before giving them to our rights and our honour, should they be disavowed or menaced.

"The French republic, therefore, will not commence war against any state; it is unnecessary to add, that it will accept war should conditions incompatible with peace be offered to the French people. The conviction of the men who govern France at the present moment is this:—it will be fortunate for France should war be declared against her, and should she be thus constrained to augment her power and her glory, in spite of her moderation; but terrible will be the responsibility to France should the republic itself declare war without being provoked thereto! In the first case, the martial genius of France, her impatience for action, her strength accumulated during many years of peace, would render her invincible on her own territory, and perhaps redoubtable beyond her frontiers: in the second case she would turn to her own disadvantage the recollections of her former conquests, which give umbrage to the national feelings of other countries; and she would compromise her first and most universal alliance, the good-will of nations and the genius of civilization.

"According to these principles, Sir, which are the principles coolly and deliberately adopted by France, and which she avows without fear and without defiance, to her friends and to her enemies, you will impress upon your mind the following declarations.

"The treaties of 1815 have no longer any lawful existence in the eyes of the French republic; nevertheless, the territorial limits circumscribed by those treaties are facts which the republic admits as a basis, and as a starting-point, in her relations with foreign nations.

"But if the treaties of 1815 have no existence save as facts to be modified by common consent, and if the republic openly declares that her right and mission are to arrive regularly and pacifically at those modifications,—the good sense, the moderation, the conscience, the prudence of the republic exist, and they afford to Europe a surer and more honourable guarantee than the words of those treaties, which have so frequently been violated or modified by Europe itself.

"Endeavour, Sir, to make this emancipation of the republic from the treaties of 1815, understood and honestly admitted, and to show that such an admission is in no way irreconcilable with the repose of Europe.

"Thus we declare without reserve, that if the hour for the reconstruction of any of the oppressed nations of Europe, or other parts of the world, should seem to have arrived, according to the decrees of Providence; if Switzerland, our faithful ally from the time of Francis I., should be restrained or menaced in the progressive movement she is carrying out, and which will impart new strength to the fasces of democratical governments; if the independent states of Italy should be invaded; if limits or obstacles should be opposed to their internal changes; if there should be any armed interference with their right of allying themselves together for the purpose of consolidating an Italian nation,—the French republic would think itself entitled to take up arms in defence of those lawful movements for the improvement and the nationality of states.

"The republic, as you perceive, has passed over at one step the era of proscriptions and dictatorship. It is determined never to veil liberty at home; and it is equally determined never to veil its democratical principle abroad. It will not

suffer anything to intervene between the peaceful dawn of its own liberty and the eyes of nations. It proclaims itself the intellectual and cordial ally of popular rights and progress, and of every legitimate development of institutions among nations who may be desirous of maintaining the same principles as her own. It will not pursue secret or incendiary propagandism among neighbouring states. It is aware that there is no real liberty for nations except that which springs from themselves, and takes its birth on their own soil. But by the light of its intelligence, and the spectacle of order and peace which it hopes to present to the world, the republic will exercise the only honourable proselytism, the proselytism of esteem and sympathy. This is not war, it is nature; it is not the agitation of Europe, it is the life of nations; it is not kindling a conflagration in the world, it is shining in our own place on the horizon of nations, and at once to anticipate and to direct them.

"We wish, for the sake of humanity, that peace may be preserved; we also expect that it will. A question of war was agitated a year ago between France and England; that question was not agitated by republican France, but by the dynasty. The dynasty has carried away with it that danger of war which it created for Europe by the exclusively personal ambition of its family alliances in Spain. That domestic policy of the fallen dynasty, which for the space of seventeen years has been a dead weight on our national dignity, has also, by its pretensions to a crown in Madrid, operated as an obstacle to our liberal alliances, and to peace. The republic has no ambition; the republic has no nepotism, and it inherits no family pretensions. Let Spain govern herself; let Spain be independent and free. For the consolidation of this natural alliance, France relies more on conformity of principles than on the successions of the house of Bourbon.

"Such, Sir, is the spirit of the councils of the republic; such will invariably be the character of the frank, firm, and moderate policy which you will have to represent.

"The republic pronounced at its birth, and in the midst of a conflict not provoked by the people, three words, which have revealed its soul, and which will call down on its cradle the blessing of God and man:—*liberty, equality, fraternity.* It gave on the following day, in the abolition of the punish-

ment of death for political offences, the true commentary on those three words, as far as regards the domestic policy of France; it is for you to give them their true commentary abroad. The meaning of these three words, as applied to our foreign policy, is this:—the emancipation of France from the chains which have fettered her principles and her dignity; her reinstatement in the rank she is entitled to occupy among the great powers of Europe; in short, the declaration of alliance and friendship to all nations. If France be conscious of the part she has to perform in the liberal and civilizing mission of the age, there is not one of those words which signifies *war*. If Europe be prudent and just, there is not one of those words which does not signify *peace*.

"LAMARTINE."

This manifesto was received throughout France with applause, and throughout Europe with respect. It gave to the republic its attitude, to democracy its existence, to war its significance, if it were to break out, and to peace its dignity, if it were to be maintained. It rendered democracy a diverse but integral part of the European system: so that, without violently menacing governments founded on another principle, it would successively rally round the French principle the nations which attained different degrees of liberty. It was the reason of revolution expressing itself in the face of the world, instead of its fury making Europe tremble, as in 1793. The manifesto did not admit a single ground of war beyond the limits prescribed by the law of nations. It repudiated several grounds of war; above all it repudiated ambition and conquest.

The effect which Lamartine had anticipated from this declaration, and the results he had promised to the government, speedily became manifest throughout Europe. We shall presently take a review of them.

But this diplomatic attitude of the government entailed the necessity of an armed attitude capable of meeting the contingencies that might arise. The minister for foreign affairs demanded armaments of security commensurate with possible danger, or with the precaution which the state of things rendered advisable.

Spain had not yet explained her intentions. Secret intelligence revealed dispositions of no very friendly character at

Madrid. There were rumours of the assembling of troops on the other side of the Pyrenees, and in near proximity to the French frontier. The recent marriage of the duke de Montpensier with the sister of the queen of Spain, had necessarily established between the proscribed dynasty of France and the Spanish government, sentiments of unity and friendship which might lead to hostility to France. It was announced that the princes of the house of Orleans were about to seek an asylum in Spain, where their presence might denote vague ideas of restoration by armed force. The minister required that an army of observation, comprising from fifteen to twenty thousand men, should be forthwith sent to the Pyrenees. This measure was decreed.

Italy, already agitated to her furthest extremities by the revolution of Naples, which preceded the revolution of Paris, seemed likely to be shaken by the rebound of the republic. The Pope by his words and acts had roused the spirit of independence, and a feeling of hatred to Austria. That well-intentioned, but rash and timid pontiff, already began to experience the difficulty of repressing the movement to which he had given the impulse. He had wished merely to restore vital warmth to the benumbed body of central Italy: he kindled the spark, and the whirlwind stirred up by the events of Paris, fanned it into a flame.

Tuscany could not, in the nature of things, escape the influence of this agitation. Though in the enjoyment of freedom and happiness under the municipal and paternal government of the descendant of Leopold, yet she wished to establish her freedom on the security of law, to establish her habits of liberty on the basis of institutions.

Venice and Genoa thrilled at the name of the republic, which conjured up recollections of their former glory.

Finally Piedmont, the only military power of Italy, had long previously been prepared for war. Its king, in his schemes of ambition, had dreamed of winning the twofold title of liberator and protector of Italy. Wavering, during a series of years, between the Austrian alliance, which would render him a satellite of servitude, and the French alliance, which might make him ruler of the Peninsula—pressed in two opposite extremes, first by the priestly influence, which had made him the persecutor and the gaoler of liberalism; and next by the

liberal spirit of his own subjects, who sought to convert him into an innovator and a constitutional prince—what course could he take? If he declared himself hostile to the republic, and wished to make his army of one hundred thousand men an advance-guard of Austria against us, it was necessary that we should prepare to meet him at the debouches of Savoy and on the boundary of the Alps. Should he himself raise the standard of Italian independence, it would be requisite alike to provide against the event of his defeat and of his triumph;—either would involuntarily draw us into Italy. An army of observation, to be called the army of the Alps, ready, according as events might require, to cover the Alps from Var to Grenoble, or to march across them, was dictated by the prudence as well as the energy of the republic. The minister demanded the immediate formation of this army of sixty-two thousand men; and the government unhesitatingly agreed to the measure.

The presence of this army at the foot of the Alps, and in the valley of the Rhone, had also its use for the protection of the interior. The republic might be menaced by the attempts of monarchical restoration, in favour of the elder branch of the Bourbons in the south;—by detachments of the army of Algiers, influenced by affection for the princes of the Orleans family, and landing with them on the southern coasts;—by the anarchical agitations by which Toulon, Marseilles, Avignon, Arles, and other cities of the south, had annoyed the first republic;—or, finally and most especially, by socialist movements similar to those which had disturbed Lyons, the capital of industry, in 1830 and 1832. An armed force, moveable, disciplined, and imposing, would thus be available at once for exterior and interior defence.

Finally, the minister desired that an army of one hundred thousand men should be dispersed along the Rhine, destined to observe Germany, and to unite with the army of the north (comprising thirty thousand men), to cover our frontiers or to cross them, according as the movements of Belgium, Prussia, or Austria, might call for precautions or acts.

The provisional government adopted all these measures. On the 3rd of March it appointed a committee of defence, composed of the most eminent generals, without any formal acceptance of opinion. The French army was above suspicion.

The sentiments of gratitude which some of its chiefs might have retained towards the princes vanished before the sentiment of patriotism. The government did not inquire whether they were republicans;—it knew that they were Frenchmen.

During the first days of the revolution, Marshal Bugeaud had written to Lamartine in terms worthy of his character and his rank, tendering his adherence to the republic. Lamartine returned for answer that the republic was France; that her pride and her strength were alike centred in her children;—that she hoped not to be forced to unsheath the sword; but that if war were declared against her, she would confide the most important point, that is to say, the Rhine, to the general whose name, courage, and talents were dear to the army and imposing to Europe. The marshal perfectly understood that his co-operation in the government then existing could be justified only by war. The attachment he had recently manifested for the banished royal family, the services he had rendered to the house of Orleans, the soldier-like sincerity of his regret for their misfortunes;—in fine, the susceptibility of the French people, and the necessary reserve of the government itself, dictated to Marshal Bugeaud a temporary retirement, until such time as the republic, ratified by the National Assembly, would cease to tempt any general to play the part of Monk. But Generals Lamoricière, Bedeau, and Oudinot were included in the government committee. Those three generals had not for a moment hesitated to rally round the republic, after the fulfilment of their honorary duty to royalty.

The members of the government assisted several times at the deliberations of this committee of war, with the view of impressing upon it their own thoughts, inspirations, and energy. Lamartine recommended that forty or fifty thousand men should immediately be recalled from the army of Africa, then about a hundred thousand strong. It appeared to him that a hundred thousand men in Africa, to defend an almost uninhabited colony against a few tribes without leaders, without government, and without armies, was, at least at a moment so critical to Europe, a useless and onerous luxury. He thought fifty thousand men a force sufficient to hold the colony; that if we should have war with England, these hundred thousand

men, cut off from the mother country, would share the fate which had visited the army of Egypt after Bonaparte left it; that in the event of our continuing at peace, the sort of armed peace to be maintained on the continent would burthen the treasury with the expense of fifty thousand troops, which must be raised, armed, and equipped, to supply the place of the fifty thousand whose return from Africa he called for;—in fine, he represented that the troops in Africa, being already disciplined and inured to war, would be equivalent on the Alps and on the Rhine to a force of double the number of young soldiers and raw recruits.

The African generals strongly opposed this reduction of our active forces in Algeria. Lamartine was vexed by these mistaken views, the tendency to which he conceived would be the systematic paralyzing of a portion of the forces, which prudence as well as policy would naturally have concentrated on the territory of the republic. A battle in Belgium, on the Rhine, or in Piedmont, lost through the absence of fifty thousand men, would sacrifice the republic. A few skirmishes more or less successful in Algeria would only entail the loss of a desert, which might be easily regained after the conclusion of peace. On this subject obstinate discussions were renewed and prolonged. Warm words and remonstrances were interchanged between General Lamoricière and Lamartine; and at length the latter began to regard the young general with distrust. He doubted not his integrity, but he suspected his connections. He believed him to be on terms of intimacy with the party which cherished implacable resentment to the revolution. He afterwards acknowledged that he had been mistaken, and that General Lamoricière, as brave in action as he was intelligent in council, was as ready to shed his blood as to hazard his popularity for the welfare of the government.

Generals Bedeau and Oudinot, who were both deserving of the highest commands, at that time vainly endeavoured to justify their brethren in arms, and to overcome unjust prejudices in the mind of Lamartine. The government, half satisfying the demand of the minister for foreign affairs, decreed that first twenty thousand men, and afterwards ten thousand, should be recalled from Algiers, and their place in Africa filled up by troops of new levies.

The minister of the war department, General Subervie, was the president of this committee of national defence, of which M. Charras, a young staff colonel, was secretary. The measures of the committee were not only accepted; they were pressed forward with an ardour approaching to impatience by the unanimous accord of the government. The reorganization of our forces was urgent; for Algeria had absorbed all. The preceding government was constructed for peace; but we did not regard that fact as a reproach. The republic, at its birth, was called upon to reconstruct military France in the twofold anticipation of peace or war. To enable France to stand fairly on her guard, as she did in 1792, and at the same time to keep her occupied and laborious as she was in 1847, it was requisite that her active and paid force should be merely the advanced guard of her armed population. With these views, Lamartine had already urged the creation of three hundred battalions of departmental mobile guards, to be kept disciplined and armed, and in readiness to serve either as a reserve on the frontiers, or as a restraining force in the interior of the republic. At a subsequent period he succeeded in realizing this idea. The measure which was voted by the National Assembly, and momentarily abandoned by the authorities who succeeded the provisional government, was calculated to impart to the republic a force of order everywhere present in the interior, and a force of defence, capable of being made promptly active abroad. Lamartine conceived this plan would lead to the perpetual federation of the departments, of property, and of society, against anti-social factions and anti-French coalitions.

On the 1st of March the army comprised an enregistered force of three hundred and seventy thousand men, of whom ninety thousand were in Algeria, exclusive of the native forces. The number of troops fit for service amounted only to three hundred and thirty-six thousand, of which number eighty-two thousand were in Algeria. This number seemed sufficient for the incidental necessities of a government resolved not to attack. But when the government appealed to the generals for information as to the amount of immediately active forces to be counted upon, either for a campaign on the Rhine, or for an expedition beyond the Alps, the cipher was so reduced by garrisons, coasting, and colonial defence,

and invalids, that the minister for foreign affairs and his colleagues trembled to reflect on the hapless condition of the country, had they been overtaken by events. To gain time, whatever might be said by the partisans of aggressive war, was to gain strength; it was to save at once the blood of France and the destiny of the republic.

The government, whilst gaining time upon Europe, lost none for itself. It was resolved that the army should be raised to five hundred and eighty thousand men. All the orders of the government, all its appeals, and its purchases of horses;—all the labours of the committees of defence, all the efforts of the two successive war ministers (General Subervie and M. Arago) were directed to that augmentation. Every week, every month, brought us nearer to its completion. On the 1st of April we counted three hundred and thirty-eight thousand men fit for service; on the 1st of May, three hundred and forty-eight thousand; and on the 1st of June, four hundred thousand. The prompt execution of the measures decreed by the provisional government, which were successively carried out by M. Arago, M. Charras, General Cavaignac, and General Lamoricière, raised the army, before the close of the year, to upwards of five hundred thousand men; whilst the number of horses, which on the 1st of March was forty-six thousand, increased to sixty thousand in July, and to seventy-five thousand in November. The mobile and republican guards, temporary and improvised corps, which had been armed, disciplined, mounted, and equipped in anticipation, moreover, composed in Paris a force of about twenty thousand men, all excellent soldiers, raised from among the populace, and during the excitement of revolutionary commotion.

General Duvivier, a soldier, a philosopher, and a republican, had been directed by the government to organize and command the mobile guard. Never did a more difficult duty devolve on a military commander: it was nothing less than to form an army of order, in a capital in a state of revolution, and to form that army out of elements the most confused, the most uncertain, and the most turbulent. And how marvellously was this difficult task accomplished in the short space of a few weeks! General Duvivier's battalions were chiefly composed of young men of the lower class of the Parisian population; and hour by hour, whilst yet clothed in their

tattered garments, they were drilled into perfect soldiers. The general won them by affection; the government won them by confidence. The mobile guards saved Paris day after day. They were admired and worshipped in the capital. They were first the heroic pupils of the republic, and afterwards the defenders of social order. Their generals, Duvivier and Damesne, fell, whilst leading them on. On the mobile guards devolved all the duty of those three months, during which sedition was everywhere repressed. Their battalions were a rampart to the government of the 16th of April. They surrounded the assembly on its arrival. They defended it on the 15th of May with the national guard. They shed their blood for it on the 23rd of June. They reopened to the army the gates of Paris, and deemed it an honour to range themselves under the orders of their seniors in military service. They well deserved to be adopted by the National Assembly, instead of being disbanded and forgotten. But though contemporaries may forget, history will remember. The page of the mobile guard will be recorded in the services it performed, and inscribed with drops of the blood it shed.

Whilst General Subervie, General Duvivier, and the generals of the committees of defence, seconded the efforts of the government for re-organizing our land forces, M. Arago, whose very name flattered the pride of our navy, maintained with a firm hand the discipline of our fleets. He armed our squadrons, fortified our ports, and gave the unreserved confidence of the government to those officers of the French navy whose honour sufficiently guaranteed their fidelity to the republic. With views at once patriotic and pacific, M. Arago made the French flag wave along the coasts of the Mediterranean.

But these great developments given to our national forces, with the view of preventing surprise, either by land or by sea, guarding against any risk of invasion, or any insult to the republic, demanded corresponding efforts on the part of the treasury.

On the accession of the provisional government, the finances were in a condition which must have been deemed low, even in ordinary times, and which, in the course of a very few months, would have rendered necessary a loan of six hundred millions. Loans require credit, and revolutions ex-

tinguish credit; because they not only shake interests, but they excite alarm. The public mind being alarmed, the hands which hold money in an industrial nation are closed. Accordingly, the prudent members of the provisional government directed their first attention to the financial question. They were aware that the whole character of the revolution, either for violence or for moderation, must depend on the first financial measures adopted by the government, on entering upon its functions.

They openly declared that there were only two alternatives which would enable the republic to pass the abyss of an unforeseen revolution, without the ruin of the public fortune: —these alternatives were dictatorship or credit.

Dictatorship might have effected bankruptcy, created assignats and maximum, and it might have supported those desperate attacks upon property by appeals to the poor against the rich. Means for carrying out these measures were not wanting. The fact of the revolution, sudden and complete as it had been, accomplished by the arms of proletaries;—two hundred thousand workmen in Paris, who might be fired with fanatical fury against wealth, as easily as they had been inspired with enthusiasm for virtue;—two millions of labouring people let loose over the surface of the republic, demanding bread in the manufacturing towns or in the workshops, and about to unite and combine together;— these were elements of terror for the classes possessing property, and elements of irresistible compression for a desperate government. There is nothing which such a government might not have felt itself strong enough to do during the first two months of the republic. It was backed by the impulse and the weight of a revolution, which might have pressed it on to destruction; but which still would have pressed in a manner to defy resistance. If that government did not launch into tyranny, it was because it had wisdom enough to despise it, and policy enough to fear it. Day by day it became more and more difficult to decline than to assume the exercise of tyrannical authority. At that moment a word from the government would have swayed all France. "We have power enough to do all the evil that man can contemplate," observed Lamartine to Dupont de l'Eure: "as to doing good, that is a different matter; good must be effected slowly

and gradually." Accordingly, the means of assailing wealth was not a question which could create any perplexity to the provisional government; these means superabounded.

But all these means,—bankruptcy, assignats, forced loans, taxing the rich, decimation of capital, sequestration, confiscation, proletaries imposed as *garnisaires* on landed proprietors, implied violence against things established. The wise and moderate members of the government well knew that between violence to things, and violence to persons, there is no greater interval than that which separates to-day from to-morrow. Each of these measures would have led to the burying of money, stopping the sources of taxation, destroying credit, and annihilating labour. To recover money, taxes, credit, and labour, would demand the exercise of rigour. The severity of the law would have led to resistance; resistance would have caused crimes, and crimes must have been followed by condemnations, fines, and incarcerations, from whence the scaffold was but a step. That step being passed, blood would have flowed. The first drop shed by the revolution, and in the name of the republic, would have reopened the floodgates of blood. Human life would have been sacrificed, the revolution perverted, liberty dishonoured, France sacrificed to crime, the rich held in terror, the poor plunged into civil war, and the republic consigned to the execration of future generations.

These ideas, which were incessantly present to the members of the government, and which were forcibly put forward in the council, both by political and financial men, left no possibility of hesitation to the majority of the council. The first measure of violence that might have been decreed would have caused prudent men to retire from the government, to avoid participation in crime and disgrace. To retire would have been to deliver up the republic to chance, Paris to instantaneous tumult, and France to the licters. No one could think of this without feelings of horror.

Meanwhile it was fearful to contemplate the condition of the treasury. It could not be filled in proportion as it was drained, except from daily sources, as abundant and as inexhaustible as the urgent necessities which consumed the public finances. On the 25th of February the treasury contained one hundred and ninety millions; a sum very far below the

amount usual in that month, when there is an accumulation of receipts preparatory to the payment of dividends in March. It was evident that if the treasury manifested the least hesitation in fulfilling its engagements, the word bankruptcy, synonymous with that of ruin, in the estimation of the people, would instantly have been uttered by every mouth, would have appalled every mind, locked up all capital, and decimated the taxes. This crisis was approaching, and it threatened to come upon us in a few days. It was requisite to make a show of confidence for the sake of inspiring it. The name of the minister of finance imparted confidence to the capitalists and the bankers of Paris. M. Goudchaux was a man of probity, of uncompromising scruples, of upright intentions, of financial experience, the determined opponent of schemes and devices for creating the confidence which ought to prevail in the region of financial business. He was precisely the man required at such a moment,—one intent on maintaining financial regularity in the midst of political revolution. But he had the defect which usually accompanies the good qualities he possessed; he was of a timid and doubtful turn of mind. He too readily took alarm at the doctrines rashly broached by those who imagined that tyranny imposed on capital was identical with what they termed the organization of labour. The harangues of industrial socialism, delivered at the Luxembourg—(harangues which evaporated in the atmosphere of the good sense of France) and indeed the speeches of some of the workmen themselves, caused the utmost anxiety to M. Goudchaux, in his capacity of superintendent of the treasury.

The speeches at the Luxembourg had altogether produced a fatal effect. At first the workmen were raised to a pitch of ecstasy by the high-sounding words which appeared to be of evil import to the capitalists. The manufacturers, alarmed at the theory of wages arbitrarily fixed by the state, imagined the scheme to be more dangerous than it really was. Panical fears closed the manufactories; the progress of production and consumption received a check; yet, nevertheless, as the enlightened members of the government had foreseen, the mass of labouring people began to be convinced of the fallacy of the Luxembourg theories. The equal distribution of wages among workmen, unequal in strength, skill, steadiness, and

industry, outraged all their notions of justice. The compulsory disbursement of capital in the mere payment of labour, without reaping its interest, or utilizing its products, was irreconcilable with their common sense. They were charmed by the eloquence of their young tribune, Louis Blanc; but when he had ceased to address them, they naturally asked each other what there was applicable to their condition in this gospel of equal wages. They weighed the words, and discovered that they were mere empty sounds. They looked at the consequences, and found that they tended only to impossible results. Accordingly, they shook their heads, and said with the emphatic energy of their plain language,—"This Luxembourg is a pastime which the revolution has furnished to the idle. They think to lull us with fair words, so that we may not feel the pangs of hunger. Let us go back to plain common sense. Neither capital, wages, nor work can exist without liberty. If we take liberty from the manufacturer, and capital from the man of wealth, we shall all be equally miserable. The doctrine that is preached to us here is the equality of starvation."

The problems of Louis Blanc, of the socialists, and of the economists, were confounded together at the Luxembourg like the tongues at Babel. The heart of Louis Blanc overflowed with fraternal sentiments and his language with imagery, but his system was involved in misconception. He was the O'Connell of the labouring classes, setting forth problems, promising impossibilities, and holding out remote results to those who were suffering from pressing and immediate wants.

Some members of the majority of the government assembled at the residence of M. de Crémieux, the minister of justice, to examine the position and to hear the troubles of M. de Goudchaux. There, in the presence of MM. Marie, Bethmont, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, Duclerc, Pagnerre, Carnot, and Lamartine, M. Goudchaux announced his irrevocable determination to retire. The members of the government who were present, and the ministers, were filled with consternation. They felt that whatever little degree of public confidence yet survived would receive a heavy blow by the retirement of a minister so highly esteemed, and one who possessed the confidence of the capitalists. This was an open avowal of distress in the public eye. Dupont de l'Eure, Garnier Pagès, Lamartine, in

short all the members of the conference, entreated M. Goudchaux to renounce his resolution. They urged upon his consideration the deplorable consequences that would result from it; the hostile feeling of capitalists, the alarm of tax-payers, the monetary panic, the closing of work-places, the inundation of Paris by masses of workmen out of employ, &c.

M. Goudchaux was inexorable; a mournful pause ensued. Each one felt that at a juncture so critical, when everything depended on the direction of the department of finance, when a bankruptcy might lead to the disappearance of specie, and when specie itself might perhaps disappear with M. Goudchaux, the resignation of the finance minister was the most terrible blow the government could sustain.

There ensued a moment of agony, the impression of which must remain vivid in the minds of those who felt and understood the magnitude of this catastrophe of affairs, occurring as it did, within so brief an interval after the proclamation of the republic.

Lamartine quitted the conference, overwhelmed with dread. He felt convinced that bankruptcy, terror, and war were then one and the same word. But he was likewise convinced that the government could not avow itself subdued by financial difficulties, without succumbing entirely.

"To acknowledge ourselves to be conquered or disabled by the perils of the treasury; to allow the enemies of France to say that the republic commenced its career by bankruptcy! rather die on the rack!" he exclaimed, rising in a transport of despair. "The resignation of the minister of finance dismays us, but it shall not dishearten us. Now, having made every endeavour to avert the misfortune, let us exert every effort to repair it."

The same feeling animated every individual who had assisted at the conference. Garnier Pagès, though greatly exhausted by illness and debility, felt within his heart that courage of honesty which never flinches. He accepted the burthen, the full weight of which no one was more competent to estimate; but at that moment his patriotic piety equalled his self-devotedness. His acceptance of office saved the treasury, and by protecting the finances against the rash and extreme measures counselled by imprudence and despair, he was really the saviour of the republic.

BOOK X.

As yet the government had received no precise information relative to the fate of the king, the queen, and the royal family. The commissioners appointed by Lamartine to protect their flight, awaited in vain the order for departure. It has been seen that the government was anxious to facilitate the departure of the king, the princes, and ministers, instead of throwing any impediments in their way. Accordingly recourse was had only to official modes of ascertaining the direction they had severally taken. Without the knowledge of the government, and by a spontaneous judicial measure, a mandate had been signed by the procureur-general, ordering that the fugitive ministers should be arrested and brought to trial. With astonishment and regret the government heard of this proceeding, which was at variance with all its intentions, and excited the most painful emotions in the capital. The measure was adverse to the character of mildness and magnanimity which the members of the government were desirous of stamping upon the revolution. Lamartine summoned the procureur-general to the office of Foreign Affairs, and expressed to him his sentiments on the subject;—sentiments which appeared to be shared by the magistrate himself, who alleged that he had acted only in obedience to a superior order. M. Portalis promised Lamartine that the mandate should be regarded in the light of a mere formality, and suffered to perish in oblivion.

A similar misintelligence arose out of a government decree for the suppression of titles. The question had been discussed at the Hôtel de Ville, on the 27th of February, and had been contemptuously dismissed by the council. "Let us not begin the republic by an absurdity," observed Lamartine; "nobility is abolished; but it is impossible to abolish either recollections or vanities."

The members of the government were surprised some days afterwards at seeing a decree for the abolition of titles. Their measure had referred only to desuetude. The innumerable decrees which crowded upon them in circumstances of the greatest urgency, and amidst the tumult of the Hôtel de Ville,

gave occasion to some errors of this nature. In several instances decrees were signed by only one or two of them, then carried away from the council-table, and printed without having been submitted to the sanction or verification of the council.

It has already been stated that the king and queen, with the duchess de Nemours and her children, seated themselves in two hired coaches, drawn by a single horse, on the Place de la Concorde. They took the road to Saint Cloud, escorted by a regiment of cuirassiers, commanded by General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely. On reaching Saint Cloud, the king took court carriages and proceeded to Trianon, where he stopped for a few moments, as if to allow time for fortune to overtake him and arrest his flight. General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely at length inquired what orders the king wished to give to the troops, and whether he desired to assemble them round him at Saint Cloud? "That is no longer any affair of mine," replied the king; "it is now for the duke de Nemours to determine." The post-master of Versailles brought twenty-eight horses to Trianon for the king's carriages; conduct very different from that of the famous post-master of Sainte Menehould, who by detaining Louis XVI. in his flight from Paris, caused that unfortunate monarch and his family to forfeit their heads. The post-master of Versailles thus addressed Louis Philippe:—"These are the best horses my stables contain, and I have selected them for their strength and swiftness, to insure the departure and the safety of the king, by the indirect routes he may deem it expedient to take. Urge them forward as long as they have a gasp of breath remaining. Think not of my interests. Kill them, Sire, but let them save you."

When evening set in, the king departed, taking the road to Dreux, which place he reached in the early part of the night.

As yet the inhabitants of the town knew nothing of the recent events of Paris. M. Maréchal, the sub-prefect, being informed of the arrival of the court carriages at that unwonted hour, concluded that some of the princesses, alarmed by the tumults at the Tuileries, had sought refuge in the royal residence of Dreux. He immediately repaired to the palace, and there recognized the king.

"I am king no longer," said Louis Philippe, addressing the sub-prefect; "I know not even whither I shall fly to

save my life; I have abdicated to avoid the worst misfortunes. I now place myself under your protection in my evil fortune, as I have done in my days of happiness. Ascertain what has taken place, and inform me; for as yet I am ignorant of the result of events, and counsel me according to the circumstances which this night may reveal to you."

Just as these words were uttered, the mayor of Dreux entered to pay his respects to the king. He was in ignorance of all that had transpired. The king, then becoming the messenger of his own misfortunes, related in detail, and with much emotion, the vicissitudes of the few preceding days; ending with the sad moment when, surrounded in his palace by the insurrectionary storm, ill inspired by his late ministers, ill aided by those newly appointed, ill defended by his troops (nevertheless faithful), and forsaken by the national guards, his only alternative was abdication, and his last resource flight, amidst volleys of musket-shot. The king told all this with feeling and firmness. He spoke indignantly of the blindness of the national guards, of the vacillations of his ministers, of the ingratitude of nations, who raise a man to a throne to save themselves from anarchy, and in a moment of caprice, hurl him down into the gulf from whence they drew him. He reflected on the nullity of services rendered to mankind, and adverted sorrowfully to the position of the queen, and to the fate that awaited both himself and her—that of lingering out their yet green old age in the dulness of royal exile, far from Paris, which they both so dearly loved;—far from the government he had directed,—and far from the councils he had enlightened by his knowledge and experience.

The two magistrates were deeply moved on hearing the fallen monarch thus vent reproaches on his fate and his country. Turning from these melancholy reflections, the king next alluded to his grandson, and expressed concern for his children, thus by a demi-revolution cast on a throne which he himself, with all his caution, could not consolidate. He seemed to presage misfortune, and he despondingly invoked heaven to watch over the destinies of his family.

Meanwhile the king still cherished the hope that his retirement had appeased all violent feeling, and that by his abdication he had left behind him the throne, the chambers, and

the government. He informed the mayor and the sub-prefect that it was his intention to remain four days at Dreux, and there to await the decision of the chambers respecting his future place of residence, and the position which the nation might thenceforward allot to him. He partook of some refreshment, and inspected by torch-light the works he had ordered to be undertaken at the palace. In short, his manner was altogether that of a man who feels no misgivings for to-morrow.

The palace of Dreux had been for some time unoccupied, and objects of indispensable necessity for the use of the king, the princesses, and the children, were wanting. The inhabitants of the town, who were attached to the royal family, hastened to provide furniture, linen, wearing apparel, and plate. A sum of money, in gold specie, was collected as a loan for the king. The sub-prefect proposed to send for the regiment which was in garrison at Chartres, but the king would not suffer this to be done. The national guards of Dreux formed themselves into posts of protection and guards of honour.

The repast being ended, the king wrote a letter to M. de Montalevet, the minister of his household, directing that his portfolios, dressing-cases, and articles requisite for the toilette, should be forwarded to Dreux, and giving some preliminary instructions relative to the arrangements to be made for his future destiny.

The courier set out with this despatch at two o'clock. The king then retired to bed, and fell into a profound sleep. Whilst he was sleeping, a friend of M. Bethmont arrived from Paris, and announced to the sub-prefect the proclamation of the republic.

M. Maréchal would not disturb the king, thinking that a few hours' rest would recruit his strength, and enable him the better to bear the shock he had to sustain. At seven o'clock he proceeded to the palace, where he informed the aides-de-camp and the duke de Montpensier of what had occurred. The king was still sleeping, but the royal family awoke him, and the queen communicated the intelligence, giving it as mild a colouring as possible. The courage which the queen had manifested during the turbulent scenes she had just passed through now gave place to calm resignation. A council, composed of the members of the royal family

and their friends, was held at the king's bedside. It was determined that the members of the family should effect their escape separately and in different directions, so as to evade any suspicion that might be created by the carriages being noticed, or their occupants recognized on the roads.

The place of rendezvous assigned to the king and queen was a secluded and unoccupied country house belonging to M. de Perthuis, situated on the Cap d'Honfleur, whence, it was hoped, they might easily find means secretly to embark and reach the English coast. The duke de Montpensier, the duchess de Nemours and the children, were to take the road to Avranches, and from thence to proceed to Jersey or Guernsey.

It was determined that the court carriages were to be left at Dreux; others less likely to attract notice were provided by the sub-prefect, who borrowed them from the inhabitants of the town. The fugitives were disguised in clothes of the plainest possible description. A *calèche*, containing the duke de Montpensier and the duchess de Nemours, took the road to Avranches. The king, the queen, a *femme de chambre*, a valet, and M. de Rumigny, the king's aide-de-camp, got into a close carriage. The queen had ordered that on the following morning a mass should be performed in the chapel containing the tomb of the duke of Orlëans; but time pressed, and she could not even utter a parting prayer over the ashes of her son. The sub-prefect of Dreux, having mounted the coach-box, departed with them. The carriage took the road leading to Anet and Louviers.

On arriving at Anet, the first post relay, the king was recognized and greeted with respect. M. Maréchal procured eight or ten thousand francs in gold, and obtained passports under fictitious names.

At Saint-André the party had to wait for a short time, the horses not being ready. It was market-day, and the town was crowded with people, whose suspicions seemed to be roused. They gazed at the carriage, and some of them at a distant view fancied they recognized M. Guizot. Shouts of "*C'est Guizot! C'est Guizot!*" were immediately raised. The excitement increased and became somewhat alarming. The sub-prefect, who was known to some of the inhabitants of Saint-André, endeavoured to undeceive the multitude; and

with this view he made some partial disclosures, which were understood and respected.

Meanwhile three men advanced close to the carriage, and looked towards the back seat, where the king was sitting. He wore a black cap drawn down over his forehead, his eyes were concealed by spectacles, and his bald head was uncovered by a wig. The three men looked at him doubtfully, and after retiring for a moment, returned again, accompanied by two gendarmes. The passports were demanded. M. Maréchal presented them, and then drawing one of the gendarmes aside, he confided to his generosity the secret of the escape of the king and queen. The gendarme was dismayed; but instantly recovering his self-possession, he pretended to examine the passports and to find them right. The horses were then harnessed, and the king departed.

The carriage drove on all day without impediment. The only difficulty that presented itself was in passing through Evreux. M. Maréchal trembled lest the king should be recognized and detained in a town so near to Paris, where popular excitement might create some commotion. His anxiety every moment increased. Already the church spires of Evreux appeared in sight, when a sudden recollection occurred to his mind. Remembering that one of his friends possessed a country house near the high road leading to Evreux, he ordered the carriage to stop, and questioned a labourer who was breaking stones at the wayside. The man immediately pointed to the house of M. Maréchal's friend, and directed him how to reach the cross-road leading to it. The postilion was immediately ordered to drive in that direction.

The owner of the house was absent, but the farmer and his wife received the travellers, without knowing who they were. The king and queen were shown into an apartment adjoining the kitchen of the farm. There they warmed themselves at the fire, and partook of the rustic hospitality of their humble hosts, who supposed them to be friends of their master.

Leaving them to enjoy a little interval of repose, M. Maréchal proceeded to Evreux on foot, sought his friend, and informed him who were the individuals whom he had lodged in his house.

The intelligence of the events of Paris, which successively reached Evreux, had thrown that place into a state of fer-

ment. To pass through the town was impossible. M. Maréchal and his friend, having ascertained the best route that could be taken for turning the wall of the town, joined the royal family in their retreat.

The farmer, who was now made acquainted with the rank and misfortunes of the guests he had sheltered beneath his roof, ardently devoted himself to their service. He, who was acquainted with all the by-ways in that part of the country, harnessed his own horses to the carriage, and himself drove the king.

A confidential man was intrusted to drive the queen by another route. The travellers set out at seven o'clock in the evening, and travelled all night. Before daybreak, the king and queen, each arriving in different directions, met at the Cap d'Honfleur, and without attracting any notice, they alighted at the house of M. de Perthuis. This house, concealed amidst trees, is built on an eminence, at the distance of about half an hour's walk from the town.

This was on the 26th of February. M. de Perthuis, the owner of the house, was not there at the time, but the gardener, an intelligent and confidential man, had been previously made acquainted with the trust that was about to be reposed in him. This man inspired his wife and children with the discretion and devotedness requisite for carrying out the plan for securing the safety and escape of the king and queen. None of the inhabitants of the country around suspected for a moment that the lonely house contained those personages who, only two days previously, had been the sovereigns of France and the owners of palaces. The window-blinds were kept constantly closed; and it was only during the night that smoke was suffered to issue from the chimneys. This confinement and restraint lasted nine days, and that interval was employed by Generals Rumigny and Dumas, and some other trustworthy persons, in arranging means to secure the safe landing of the king in England. Louis Philippe and his friends were not aware that the government had authorized Lamartine himself to provide the means of escape with all the prudence which the peril of the case demanded, and with all the consideration due to misfortune.

The king, fearful of being recognized and arrested at

Havre, if he repaired thither to embark for England, proceeded during the night, and on foot, to Tronville, where a merchant of that town, M. Gueltier, gave him shelter for two days. Acting on the advice of M. Gueltier, the king determined to hire a fishing-boat of the port of Tronville, to convey him out to sea and put him on board an English steamer. The master of one of these fishing-boats, who was first applied to, appeared to have some suspicion; he bargained, and wished to exact an exorbitant sum for his services. He was dismissed, and application was made to another, who, though he likewise suspected that the object in view was to effect the escape of fugitives, tendered the use of his boat gratuitously. His generous offer was accepted; but the man who had been first applied to, instigated by feelings of jealousy and shame, on being informed of the projected departure, divulged the secret, and denounced his comrade. The king, hearing the rumours which were circulated about the town, began to be apprehensive of the domiciliary visits to which they might give occasion, and he consequently left his place of refuge. Setting out at night, walking through the muddy roads, under a pelting rain, and in continual fear of pursuit, he returned to the house of the gardener. There, dejected in spirits, and worn out by fatigue, he rejoined the queen. The coast now appeared to be closed against them. The general feeling of enthusiasm for the republic, though it was manifested inoffensively and generously, seemed nevertheless to give to the whole country an appearance of hatred to royalty.

A young officer of the French navy, who happened at that time to be at Havre, and who was ignorant of the king's proximity to that port, though rumour led him to suspect that the royal family were vainly seeking means of escape, resolved to make an effort to aid them. With this view he took upon himself to ask Captain Paul, of the English navy, whether he would consent to receive Louis Philippe on board the steamer he commanded, if the king should succeed in getting out to sea in a fishing-boat. Captain Paul returned for answer, that he could not do so consistently with his orders; but on his arrival at Southampton he hastened to communicate confidentially to the Admiralty the overtures that had been made to him, and to point out the service which a steamer, cruising along the coast of France, might render to

the king. This communication induced Lord Palmerston immediately to despatch orders for the guidance of the English consuls resident in the northern ports of France.

The young French naval officer, who had interested himself in behalf of the royal fugitives, having received a message from the English consul at Havre, succeeded in discovering the king's place of concealment. He introduced the vice-consul to Louis Philippe, and it was arranged that the king should embark at Havre, on board one of the vessels employed in the conveyance of cattle and provisions from France to the English coast.

For the space of five days adverse winds and a violently tempestuous sea, retarded the departure of those vessels. All this time the king was counting the hours, and consuming himself with impatience and anxiety. Several times he proceeded from his place of refuge to the port of Havre, and from the port back to his place of refuge; journeying on foot across the open fields, in the darkness of night, and during the most inclement weather. At length he resolved on a scheme more hazardous than any that had yet been contemplated. This was to embark at some distance from Rouen in the steamboat which runs from that place to Havre. This boat would reach Havre at night, a circumstance which, the king conceived, was calculated to afford him a fair chance of getting through the town unobserved. Passing for one of the travellers who had arrived from Paris by way of the Seine, he would go on board the steamboat which would be in readiness at Havre to convey the passengers from the Seine boat direct to England.

To carry out this scheme, the king disguised himself and assumed the name of *Theodore Lebrun*. The mayor, by a little pious connivance, favoured the embarkation. The English vice-consul offered his arm to the queen, and the royal couple having reached the deck, discovered to their no small surprise that they were on board the identical steamer they had themselves engaged a year previously for a marine excursion during one of their happy sojourns at the Château d'Eu.

Several of the sailors who were then on board the vessel now formed part of the crew. The man whose business it was to collect the fares of the passengers went round with a lantern, the light from which happened by chance to fall full

on the countenance of Louis Philippe. The man instantly recognized the king, who, had other eyes discerned him, might have been betrayed. With great presence of mind the sailor turned his lantern, at the same time bowing with respectful discretion to his old master.

Whispers ran from mouth to mouth among the crew, that the fugitives of Eu were on board the steamer; but not one for a moment conceived the thought of serving the republic by a base betrayal of old age and misfortune. The crew pretended to observe nothing, whilst they were closely watching every one on board. When the steamer was moored to the quay of Havre, they ranged themselves as if accidentally in two lines, between which the royal travellers passed, whilst uncovering and bowing respectfully, the men uttered in a suppressed tone of voice, "May heaven preserve you!" Such was the prayer of the republic itself, uttered through the voice of its government, during that interval when guns were still firing, and the stains of blood were not yet washed from the streets of Paris.

The only difficulty now remaining was limited to the breadth of a quay, which had to be crossed, in passing from the Rouen boat to the Southampton steamer. The king and queen, preceded by General Rumigny and General Dumas, crossed the quay, without attracting any notice, and soon all were on board the English steamer. At the moment when the king was stepping down the ladder, a woman rushed forward with a lantern in her hand, exclaiming:—"It is he! it is the king!" An officer advanced, apparently for the purpose of ascertaining the fact by the evidence of his own eyes. "It is too late," said the captain of the steamer; and he immediately ordered the ladder to be withdrawn.

This incident made a deep impression on the persons who accompanied the king. They were convinced that his preservation depended on that critical moment, when his safety might have been compromised by the exclamation of a woman, and the curiosity of a soldier. Yet no order for opposing the departure of the king had been issued by any one, and instructions perfectly adverse to any attempt against his safety or liberty, were in the hands of the government agents.

The steamer departed, and, during a stormy night, con-

veyed the king to Southampton,* where he was informed that the hospitality of his son-in-law, the king of the Belgians, had assigned the palace of Claremont as his abode.

Other vicissitudes, arising out of a similar misconception respecting the intentions of the government and the magnanimity of the people, attended the flight of the duchess of Orleans and her children, the duke de Nemours and his children, and the duchess de Montpensier.

It has already been mentioned that the duchess of Orleans, when obliged to leave the Chamber of Deputies on the second entrance of the people, retired in company with the count de Paris, and attended by MM. de Mornay, Scheffer, Lasteyrie, Courtais, and Clement. With admirable courage and presence of mind, M. de Mornay, who protected her departure, conducted her from the Chamber of Deputies to the Hôtel des Invalides; and the carriage, which conveyed the princess, escaped the observation of the populace. Marshal Molitor received the princess, the count de Paris, and the duke de Nemours, and lodged them in his apartments. But the veteran marshal, who was suffering from illness, began to be alarmed at the responsibility he was incurring. Some doubts which he expressed respecting the disposition of the invalides themselves, and also relative to the security of the hotel as a place of refuge, very greatly shook the confidence of the princess and her friends.

Whilst the marshal was ordering dinner for his guests, the princess, in whose mind the recollection of the captivity of the Temple was ever present, and who imagined she should see her son consigned to the custody of another Simon, resolved not to remain an hour longer in the Invalides. Before evening set in, she departed with her son under the safeguard of M. Anatole de Montesquiou for the Château de Ligny, some leagues distant from Paris.

M. Anatole de Montesquiou had been one of the emperor's aides-de-camp, and was afterwards attached to the court of Queen Amelia. He was one of those courtiers whose only courtier-like qualities are grace and refinement, and who unite in themselves the courage of the soldier, the

* Lamartine has here committed a little mistake, which it may not be unimportant to correct. Louis Philippe did not land at Southampton, but at Newhaven, on the Sussex coast.—(TRANSLATOR.)

chivalry of the poet, and the devotedness of the honest man. The duchess of Orleans, protected by M. de Montesquiou, and hour by hour apprized by her friends in Paris of all that concerned the fate of her children, together with every circumstance that might render it expedient either to suspend or to hasten her flight, remained concealed in the Château de Ligny for several days. Meanwhile she was harassed by anxiety for the fate of her second son, the duke de Chartres.

Whilst escaping from the Chamber of Deputies, the princess was separated from her children by the crowd of people, who, forcing their way in, filled the staircases and passages. In this confusion the duke de Chartres was knocked down. The duchess implored that he might be brought to her; but in vain. The crowd, which rolled in like the waves of the sea, was deaf as those waves to the mother's cries.

Some of the deputies, and several attendants, employed in the chamber, undertook to rescue the young prince. They conjured the duchess not to hazard her own safety and that of the count de Paris, by remaining longer in the crowd, where she incurred the risk of being crushed to death or made prisoner. Two brothers, ushers to the chamber, moved by the distress of the duchess, exerted the most strenuous efforts to find and save the young prince. These brothers were named Lipman, and they were of an Alsatian family. One of them, Jacob Lipman, raised the child in his arms to give him breathing-room and to save him from the pressure, whilst the other stood at the entrance of the corridor and kept off the crowd, resisting the crush of the multitude, which, like a torrent, threatened to overwhelm him. Jacob Lipman carried the child to his lodgings, situated near the Chamber of Deputies. There he sheltered the young prince until he had an opportunity of intimating to M. de Lespée, the questor of the assembly, the trust which the chances of the day had thrown into his hands.

At eight o'clock in the evening, M. de Lespée, imagining the duchess of Orleans was still in the Invalides, went to Lipman's lodgings to convey the duke de Chartres to his mother. The young prince, dressed like a child of the common class, was carried by Lipman in his arms. The duchess having by that time left the Invalides, M. de la Valette and M. d'Elchingen consigned the prince to the care

of M. and Madame de Mornay. During two days, and whilst suffering from illness, the young prince remained in the house of a poor woman in the Rue de l'Université, to whom M. de Mornay had intrusted him for the purpose of concealment. On gaining intelligence of the feelings of the government, M. and Madame de Mornay removed the prince to their own residence, where they rendered him every attention, and then consigned him in safety and with restored health to the arms of his mother.

The princess left the Château de Ligny, in disguise, and proceeded to Versailles in a carriage which her friends had provided. At Asnières she took the railroad to Lille. She passed a sleepless night, watching and praying by the bedside of her children.

The shadow of the revolution still pursued her; and even when she reached the utmost boundary of France, she trembled lest she should be detained there, and her sons doomed to share the fate of the children of Marie Antoinette; but France was no longer devoid of justice and humanity; it had ceased to be the France of prisons and scaffolds.

General Baudrand, the governor of the count de Paris, and a man on whose advice the princess placed great reliance, though ill and scarcely able to move, repaired to his post at the palace the moment he heard of the forcible entrance of the mob. Just as the duchess had departed, the people rushed in, and the general, addressing himself to some of the ringleaders, informed them that they were in the apartments of the widow of the duke of Orleans. At these words they took off their hats. The apartments were respected, and some of the mob did duty as sentinels at the doors, to protect from depredation or injury objects dear to the memory of the mother and the widow. The people were maintaining a conflict against royalty, but they bowed to the feelings of nature.

The duchess of Orleans had friends among the military commanders at Lille, and the numerous force garrisoned in that city might, by her presence, have been won from the republic, and urged by enthusiasm to defend the cause of a woman and a child. The thought of showing herself to the troops, and claiming the throne for her son, occurred to the duchess during this last night of her stay in France; but the crime of civil war stood between the throne and this thought, and

the duchess of Orleans renounced it. She left Lille, and travelling under the title of the countess de Dreux, she reached the bank of the Rhine. At Ems she was met by her mother. Whilst her memory reverted to the pure but short-lived happiness she had enjoyed in France,—to her bereavement, her sorrow, and the ruin of her fortune through the faults of others,—she tranquilly resigned herself to the doom pronounced by her adopted country, where, among persons of all political parties, the name of the duchess of Orleans will ever be associated with sentiments of admiration, affection, and respect.

The duke de Nemours quitted France without any impediment as soon as he had discharged his duty to his father, his sister-in-law, and his nephew. This prince proved himself more worthy of his popularity in adversity than in prosperity. He had evinced at once courage and disinterestedness; for he neither bargained to save his own life, nor set up his claim to the regency, for the sake of preserving the crown for his brother's son. History will render him the justice which contemporary opinion has denied him.

Two of the princesses were separated from the king and queen in the precipitate departure from the Tuileries. These were the Princess Clementine, wife of the duke of Saxe-Cobourg, and the duchess de Montpensier. The duke de Montpensier, having escorted his father to the coaches which were waiting on the Place de la Concorde, hoped to return uninterruptedly to the Tuileries to take charge of his wife. The duchess, then in an advanced state of pregnancy, had not quitted her apartments for several days. The crowd rushing into the palace by all the doors leading from the gardens, soon convinced the duke de Montpensier that his return was impossible. On his departure he had confided the princess to the care of some of the gentlemen of his household, especially M. de Lasteyrie, whose high character and popularity seemed to be a security against danger whatever might ensue. The duke de Montpensier hastily mounted his horse, and followed the king to Saint Cloud.

As soon as the populace began to force their way into the Tuileries, M. Lasteyrie thought it time to remove the princess. Leaning on his arm, she passed through the riotous crowd; and, as was naturally to be expected in the excitement of that moment, a young lady walking through the gardens attracted no attention.

M. de Lasteyrie hoped to reach the Pont-Tournant in time to enable the duchess de Montpensier to depart in safety with the royal family; but just as he issued from the gardens of the Tuileries he saw the coach, the door of which was hurriedly closed by M. de Crémieux, drive rapidly off. The Princess Clementine, who had been left behind, was running to and fro on the Place, not knowing where to seek refuge. Luckily she espied M. de Lasteyrie and her sister-in-law, and she joined this wreck of her family.

M. de Lasteyrie conducted the two young princesses to his mother's residence, without being either recognized or questioned on the way. The house, which derived a twofold claim to respect, from the name of Lafayette and the virtues of his daughter, Madame de Lasteyrie, was an asylum invulnerable alike to popular suspicion and violence. After remaining there a short time, the Princess Clementine set out for Trianon, where she rejoined her father. The young duchess de Montpensier remained until the 25th in the house of Madame de Lasteyrie, and under that lady's protection. The duke then sent his aide-de-camp, General Thierry, from Dreux, with instructions to conduct the duchess to the Château d'Eu, where he would join her. He supposed at that time that the king would be able to proceed to Eu, and to make the chateau his place of residence. But the current of events had overtaken Louis Philippe on his road to that place of exile, and he was wandering from place to place on the sea-coast.

On arriving at Eu, the duchess alighted at the chateau, and found no one there to receive her. Alarming reports announced that a body of workmen from Rouen were advancing on the Château d'Eu, there to perpetrate the same sort of devastation as had been committed at Neuilly. The duchess, therefore, left the chateau, and sought an asylum in the residence of M. Estancelin, a diplomatist attached to the French embassy at Munich. At night-fall she set out for Belgium, accompanied by M. Estancelin and General Thierry. They proceeded direct to Brussels.

As the carriage passed through Abbeville, it excited attention. The populace assembled, stopped the horses, exclaiming that the carriage contained some members of the royal family who were making their escape. M. Estancelin, who was known by name in that part of the country, looked out at

the carriage window, affirming that the princess was his wife, and that they were both returning to Munich, where he was to resume his diplomatic functions. With the view of more effectually averting suspicion, he directed the postilion to drive to the house of one of his friends, whose republican opinions were a guarantee to the people. He alighted at the door of this friend, and in a whisper acquainted him with the rank and the flight of the young lady by whom he was accompanied. This man, either from timidity or cold-heartedness, refused to afford them refuge; expressing fears that the secret, if discovered, would render him unpopular, and possibly place his life in jeopardy. In vain did General Thierry and M. Estancelin conjure and supplicate, representing the sacredness of misfortune and the sex of the fugitive, who, then *enceinte*, might be exposed to the turbulence of popular commotion, to the terrors of captivity, or to the risk of an impracticable flight on foot. But fear is deaf; selfishness is implacable.

The travellers perceiving that a group of men of the lower class had assembled round the door, alighted, and leaving the carriage in the street, they proceeded on foot to seek another place of refuge. Thinking it would be most expedient to separate, M. Estancelin directed General Thierry to proceed in the direction of one of the gates of the town. It was arranged that the general should pass through the gate with the duchess, and having conveyed his charge safely out of the town, he was to wait at the boundary of the Belgian road for M. Estancelin, who engaged to meet them with the carriage about eleven or twelve o'clock at night.

In pursuance of this plan, they separated in Abbeville, M. Estancelin seeking some other friends to aid him in procuring horses.

General Thierry and the young duchess groped their way through the streets of Abbeville in a cold and rainy night. The wind, which blew violently, had extinguished the lamps, and they advanced, as it were, blindfolded, in the direction traced out to them.

After losing their way several times, they at length arrived at one of the city gates, then being built, or undergoing repair. A scaffolding was erected before it, and it was closed by planks of wood on the side towards the open country. Finding that there was no egress, the general and the duchess

walked back a little distance, and found an outlet by a narrow side door, which had been left open by the workmen. Having by this means got beyond the gate, they thought themselves safely out of the town.

But the road, which had been soaked by the heavy rain, was furrowed by the ruts of cart-wheels; whilst here and there it was flooded by pools of water, or choked up by rubbish and fragments of stone. This road led direct to a quarry, and appeared to have no visible outlet. The duchess, who had several times been ankle-deep in mud and water, now lost her shoes, which stuck fast in some soft clay. The general was in despair; he trembled lest the excessive fatigue, and exposure to the inclemency of the weather, might be fatal to the princess, as well as hazardous to the life of the infant yet unborn. At length she found a temporary resting-place on a stone, where General Thierry persuaded her to sit down; and having wrapped his cloak round her, he entreated she would remain on that spot whilst he went back to the town to seek shelter or obtain a guide.

He stepped up to a door, but feared to knock, lest the princess might find beneath its threshold a snare instead of an asylum. Whilst hesitating what to do, he was accosted by a stranger. This person proved to be a friend of M. Estancelin, who had been despatched by that gentleman in search of the fugitives. Having made known his errand to General Thierry, they both immediately repaired to the spot where the duchess was waiting. Escorted by their guide, the fugitives then proceeded to some little distance from the town, and the young princess found shelter in a cart-house attached to a tile-kiln.

There General Thierry and the duchess de Montpensier wearily counted the moments, until their suspense was relieved by the arrival of the carriage which conveyed the duchess to Brussels. From thence she speedily departed to rejoin her husband.

Throughout the whole of the miserable night passed in the vicinity of Abbeville, the princess evinced the courage of a heroine, combined with the lightheartedness of a child. When she lost her shoes in the mud, and was obliged to walk on without them, General Thierry sought to fortify her courage by appealing to the excitability of a romantic imagination.

"Madame," said he, "we have encountered some marvellous adventures during this horrible night." "Yes, indeed," replied the duchess, "but I like these adventures a vast deal better than the monotony of the round work-table in the well-warmed and splendid saloons of the Tuileries."

The duke of Wurtemburg, the husband of the Princess Marie (whose premature death was mourned in the world of art no less than in her father's court), was the last member of the royal family who remained in Paris. Lamartine furnished him with passports in a name less distinguished than his own, and he returned to Germany.

Such was the emigration of the Orleans family;—a family aggrandized by revolution and expelled by revolution;—who, after having returned from exile to ascend a throne, had once more gone back into exile. Of that family, some of the members carried with them veneration, others esteem, others hopes. France in her emancipation was just and magnanimous. The republic, the offspring of intelligence, and not of fury, was satisfied in establishing the supremacy of the nation. No proscription was waged against princes and princesses,—the throne only was set aside. The republic already beheld in perspective the time when it would be sufficiently strong and consolidated to allow a share in the country to those who would claim no more than the rank of Frenchmen and citizens.

The confiscation of the property of the king, the princes, and princesses was oftener than once proposed by that reckless class of republicans who harassed the provisional government with their injunctions and their advice. The proposition was unanimously rejected. The members of the government would not, for any consideration, found the republic on spoliation or injustice. To provide alimentary succour to the starving workmen, they merely awarded the grant of a million, being the sum paid by the nation to royalty.

The consideration of what the republic was to determine in reference to the pecuniary affairs of the king and the princes, was postponed until such time as public tranquillity should cool down excitement and restore right feeling among the people. It was merely resolved, in the first instance, that the personal property of the king and the princes should remain inviolable: that in the event of insufficiency, the nation would make for the exiled king a provision suitable to

his rank and commensurate with the expenses of his position: that in the event of any excessive amount of personal property being retained on the French territory by the king and the princes, his sons, the nation would hold it in trust during the first years of the foundation of the new government: that it would allow a suitable portion of the revenues to the use of the princes, and capitalize the rest for their benefit, to be surrendered to them in full as soon as it was proved to be out of their power to keep up civil war by the help of money: that, finally, the nation would offer to the duchess of Orleans and her son, a subsidy commensurate with the rank she had held and the sentiments she had inspired in France. M. Lherbette, a man whose high character was universally recognized, and who had formerly been a member of the Chamber of Deputies, was accepted at once by the nation and by the royal family, and was appointed to superintend and pay these allowances. From a scrupulous feeling of honour, M. Lherbette declined the office, and M. Vavin was requested to accept it. Every time that the question came under the consideration of the government, it was discussed and disposed of in the same manner by the majority of the council. In this intermediate *régime* the ultimate decision was referred to the National Assembly. That body, when convoked, adopted the resolution of the provisional government, thus giving it the authority and dignity which belong to the will of a great nation.

The questions relating to the private property of the princes and princesses were discussed in the same spirit by Lamartine, in interviews which he held with the Spanish and Brazilian ministers. All that was said on the other side of the Channel respecting the rapacity and harshness of the republican government in reference to the king, princesses, and ministers, was devoid of foundation. So much at least for the proscriptions and spoliation of the first government of the republic.

The apprehensions of civil war, suggested by the presence of the duke d'Aumale at the head of the army of Africa, speedily vanished. The government had appointed General Cavaignac to be governor-general of Algeria. The name of Cavaignac was consecrated in the minds of the republicans by the memory of the elder brother of the general, Godefroy

Cavaignac, whose character held the same high place as that of Carrel in republican esteem. He died before the triumph of the political opinions he advocated, but those opinions rendered homage to his memory in the person of his brother. That brother was himself an officer who had earned military renown. He had won the confidence of the army by his courage; and without repudiating the principles of his brother, and the aspirations of his mother in favour of republican government, he gained the esteem and confidence of the princes. The frankness with which he avowed his opinions placed him beyond suspicion; for frankness and conspiracy are things incompatible. Cavaignac was known to be incapable of treason. The duke d'Aumale, on receiving intelligence of his father's abdication, published an address to the inhabitants of Algeria and to his army, couched in terms worthy of the early days of the first republic. His address was as follows:—

"Inhabitants of Algeria,—

"Faithful to my duties as a citizen and a soldier, I have remained at my post as long as I could believe that my presence would be useful in the service of my country. It can now no longer be so. General Cavaignac is appointed governor-general of Algeria; and until his arrival here, the functions of governor-general of the colony *ad interim* will be discharged by General Changarnier.

"Submissive to the national will, I depart; but in my place of exile my best prayers and wishes shall be for the prosperity and glory of France, which I should have wished still longer to have served.

"H. D'ORLEANS."

"General Changarnier will discharge, *ad interim*, the functions of governor-general, until the arrival in Algiers of General Cavaignac, who is appointed governor-general of Algeria. In separating from an army, which is a model of honour and courage, and in whose ranks I have passed the happiest days of my life, I cannot but wish that it may enjoy new triumphs. A new career for its valour is perhaps about to open; that it will pursue that career I feel firmly convinced.

"Officers, sub-officers, and soldiers,—I hoped again to have fought with you in the service of France; that honour is

denied me. But though in exile, my heart will be with you wheresoever the will of the nation may call you: it will triumph in your success, and its wishes will ever be for the glory and happiness of France.

"H. D'ORLEANS."

Whilst public opinion gained confidence on this point, the state of our finances was a source of continually increasing uneasiness. The congress of waged men who assembled at the Luxembourg excited alarm, and it doubtless portended danger. But history is bound to acknowledge this fact: the voice and the intervention of Louis Blanc, which had in the outset exercised a powerful influence over two hundred thousand workmen, had also a moderative effect on the passions of the people at large. Louis Blanc set forth false systems, but he did not preach evil sentiments. His theories held out sickly and extravagant hopes, but they did not breathe vengeance. He promised chimeras, but he did not promote disorder, violence, or bloodshed. The Luxembourg, under his sway, contributed greatly to intimidate capital; but it also contributed to maintain order, to prevent expropriations, to depopularize war, and to cultivate the instinct of humanity among the masses of the people. A false notion may be perfectly honest; and that which is honest, is not to be wholly condemned because it may happen to be allied with mistaken views on the subject of industry. Such was in their commencement the nature of the harangues delivered by Louis Blanc at the Luxembourg.

The other members of the government supported this congress, viewing it doubtless as an evil; but as an unavoidable evil, and one which was attended by a counterbalancing benefit. Louis Blanc, had he been thrown out of the government, expelled from the Luxembourg, and by that very persecution made the idol and the eloquent Masaniello of between two and three hundred thousand idle and fanatical Parisian workmen, would have become an infinitely more dangerous element of trouble than Louis Blanc haranguing at the Luxembourg, himself restrained by his connection with the government, and in his turn restraining the multitude within a visionary circle, the boundary of which he did not suffer them to overstep.

Nor would it have been just to withhold from the working

classes (those soldiers of a revolution effected in the name of labour) full freedom of discussion on those questions relating to labour which constituted at once their system of politics and their very existence.

Meanwhile it was necessary to arrest the hourly increasing panic, and several measures were sketched out, of a nature tending to impart confidence to capital, labour, and credit. The word bankruptcy had been uttered with the view of exciting terror in the public mind; but it was answered by a decree which anticipated by several weeks the payment of dividends to the creditors of the state. Here was a fact given in answer to a suspicion; a challenge thrown in the face of distrust. But even this measure was insufficient to restore confidence. The bankers regarded it as a bravado set forth for the purpose of disguising fear. They calculated that when once the dividends should be paid, the treasury would be found empty. Alarm increased, and money grew more and more scarce. The seven hundred millions due from the state to the savings banks, to the holders of treasury bonds, and to the public service, pressed heavily on the minister of finance, and he hinted at sinister contingencies, to which he trembled to lend the sanction of his name. Garnier Pagès, who had accepted the burthen of the department of finance, did not disguise from himself the extreme dangers which were impending. In entering upon the duties of office, he yielded less to the solicitations of his colleagues than to the impulses of his own courage. He is one of those men whom peril tempts, and whose great qualities grow still greater in momentous crises. He devoted all his energies and all the weight of his high name to the duties he had undertaken; and he selected as his coadjutor, Duclerc, a man no less courageous and indefatigable than himself.

In the space of a few hours, these two men sounded the state of the finances. They imbibed confidence; and in their turn inspired the same feeling in the government. Before the 8th of March, Garnier Pagès had fully developed to the council the disorders of our financial position, and the remedies he proposed for their cure.

France had suffered greater injury during fifteen years of peace, than a protracted war could have inflicted on her. The finances were pledged to such an extent as to deprive the

country of all freedom of action, in the event of extraordinary demands occurring unexpectedly. The king's government had made its financial system accord with its own plans. Everything was arranged with a view to a long peace. This system, good in intention, flowed in its excess into innumerable industrial shares—a fictitious sort of money, which filled the portfolios of private individuals and bankers; representing only problematical capital, producing no interest, and furnishing a source of agency speculation. In this fictitious way the value of at least two milliards was represented; and all was now about to disappear, or to be left standing in the hands of tradesmen and contractors for great public works. The aggregate sums required for the service of one year, as fixed by the budget, amounted to seventeen hundred and twelve millions. Five hundred and fourteen millions were promised and due for the continuation of works already in progress. The public debt amounted to five milliards one hundred and seventy-nine millions; which debt had augmented by nine hundred millions in the space of seven years. The monarchy had counted largely on the future. The republic was about to be charged with a heavy weight of responsibility, together with the unpopularity of a liquidation which it had had no share whatever in causing. Neither the debt nor the revolution was the work of those now doomed to bear the blame of both the one and the other. The monarchy created the debt, and its ministers caused the revolution.

But besides the budget of seventeen hundred millions, the public works entered upon to the amount of five hundred millions, the two milliards of industrial shares thrown into the Bourse by the government, and five milliards capital of public debt,—besides all this, the monarchy had left nine hundred and sixty millions of debt at short exchange, or immediately demandable, in three hundred and twenty millions of treasury bonds and saving-bank funds deposited in its hands.

The treasury had thus to meet a milliard of funds immediately demandable; also seventy-three millions required for payment of the half-yearly dividend due on the 22nd of March; and also the expense of the ordinary services and outlays demanded by those unforeseen incidents which might suddenly arise in a country in a state of revolution, and threatened with internal and foreign war.

To satisfy all these demands, the government found only one hundred and ninety-two millions in the treasury; a loan in the course of negotiation for two hundred and fifty millions, but which the lenders refused to conclude; and a tax, direct and indirect, which was likely to be nullified amidst the panic and distress of capitalists and consumers, added to the disappearance of gold and silver.

The Bank of France, that independent instrument of credit and of temporary resources for the government, had itself experienced a deficiency of cash a few months previously. Some little relief was afforded by the investment of fifty millions of specie from Russia. Bills of exchange, which among private individuals supply the place of cash to an incalculable amount, were withdrawn, suspended, or annihilated all at once, under the apprehension of a general liquidation. The consequence was, that cash alone, and that in the hands of government only, was required to keep up the whole existence and circulation of the country. Again, by a most unfortunate coincidence, it happened that the crisis was general throughout Europe. No country was able to lend aid to another. In St. Petersburg, in London, in Vienna, and in Berlin, business transactions had been multiplied to a degree totally disproportionate with the capital in circulation. Gold and silver were wanting, and paper was held to be of no value.

These concurrent causes of distress presented formidable difficulties in the way of a revolutionary government,—a government which had at once to feed a working population, to recruit and equip an army, to face extinct credit, misery, poverty, internal disorder and foreign war; to replace cash, restore credit, and re-establish trade and industry:—and all this was to be done without having recourse to revolutionary exactions and violence. These difficulties, it must be confessed, were of a nature to dismay even men of the strongest resolution.

Garnier Pagès encountered them with that sanguine courage which performs miracles, because it ventures to hope for their attainment, when the rest of the world regards them as impossible. He as well as his colleagues placed full faith in honesty of purpose, and Providence rewarded him. He conceived, as it were by a sort of inspiration, the only plan by which the republic could be saved

from bankruptcy. Though this plan might be found deficient in some of its details, and though certain measures might fail in their execution, yet the whole scheme was nevertheless equally logical and bold.

Above all things, the government stood in need of money, and there were only three modes of raising it, viz. by credit, by the circulation of paper, or by exactions. Exactions would have been synonymous with bloodshed on the first symptoms of resistance. The government was resolved at all risks to live and die pure. The issue of assignats would have produced a general panic, and would have caused the total disappearance of specie. To enforce the reproduction of specie, would have required violent measures; these in a revolution are tantamount to proscription; confiscation is equivalent to murder. The majority of the government was always inflexible in its opposition to any proposal for the introduction of assignats. The next resource was credit; but of this the government had been deprived by the revolution. It was necessary to seek the restoration of credit in an institution independent of the government itself, and which should be, as it were, security for the government, in the eyes of France. Such an institution, though feeble in proportion to the important part proposed to be assigned to it, was to be found in the Bank of France. There were two modes by which the aid of that establishment might be rendered available; viz. by constraint or by protection. The latter course was determined on.

Thrice did Garnier Pagès save the Bank of France. First, by resolutely refusing to grant to the tradespeople of Paris three months' suspension of their liabilities to the bank; next, by repressing that sort of paper money which would have had the effect of submerging the bank; and thirdly, by adopting the bold but effectual measure of authorizing the acceptance of bank-notes as money. The bank thus saved, was, in its turn, the means of saving the government, by supplying a loan of two hundred and thirty millions. The bank in allying itself with the government, was animated by a spirit of intelligence and patriotism. M. d'Argoult, the governor of the bank, was not withheld by his old attachment to the fallen monarchy from devoting himself exclusively to the financial salvation of his country. He was at once the mainspring of the bank and

the soul of the treasury. He proved himself a true patriot and statesman by the courage with which he met distress, and the readiness of his resources amidst difficulties. The bank, which had hitherto been serviceable only to commerce, now became useful to the country. Heretofore public opinion had at best only held it in respect, and sometimes had regarded it with jealousy; it now obtained and merited the gratitude of the nation. At the suggestion of Garnier Pagès, the provisional government was not slow in merging and nationalizing the credit of the other banks of the republic in the central credit of the Bank of France.

But to enable the bank, thus protected and centralized, to continue supplying loans of hundreds of millions to the government, some moral security was requisite. The certainty of the replenishment of the treasury, which had been unexpectedly drained, was calculated to afford this security. The territorial imposts were well paid. Indeed, such was the enthusiasm of those on whom the imposts were levied, that the payments were made in advance. All ranks of the public were eager to aid the good intentions of the government, and to avert the temptation or the necessity of resorting to revolutionary extremities. The clergy preached in behalf of the imposts, and recommended the payment of them as a public virtue. The rich paid the whole year in advance, and the poor brought their twelfths. The offices at which the imposts were collected were thronged by persons who rushed thither to pay money, as eagerly as though they had been going to receive it. Payments became the subject of emulation; so firm was the conviction that the grand danger lay in the emptiness of the treasury.

Amidst this enthusiasm, and eagerness to secure the public safety, a national loan was practicable, and it would have been attended with advantage during this first transport of public spirit. Several members of the government impatiently urged Garnier Pagès to seize this opportune moment for proposing the loan; but prudent considerations withheld him from consenting to adopt this measure. The consequence was, that the right time passed by, public feeling cooled down, and the people contented themselves with the payment of the taxes. Here the government committed a fault.

Meanwhile the indirect taxes, the immediate and daily results of consumption and production, were decreasing. The army required a prompt and vigorous reorganization. The treasury might be taken by surprise, and the country thereby rendered defenceless. The continually increasing aid required by workmen without wages, and consequently without bread; the pay and equipment of the mobile guard; the establishment of discount banks in all the manufacturing towns; loans of money to the great central points of industry; a certain proportion of public works to be kept up in order to avoid an influx of idlers into the departments; the navy, foreign affairs, the elections, and in short the whole internal administration of the country; all naturally created sinister fears of an empty treasury. One day's insufficiency of resources would have brought about a general catastrophe. Functionaries and capitalists might wait; but hunger admits of no postponement. Six millions of workmen were supported by public assistance, and one day's adjournment of their pay would have been a signal for the mad sedition of starvation and despair. It was necessary at once to provide, and to foresee.

The government, resolving to avoid bankruptcy at any sacrifice, had only the alternative of choosing between the issue of paper money, or a tax for the crisis, such as those levied in 1815 and 1830. The question was to save landed property, and it was for landed property to help to save itself. Assignats, on the day after their issue, would probably diminish in value by one-half: the money for which they were to be exchanged would disappear, and provisions would rise in price in proportion to the falling credit of the assignats. It would have been found necessary to create a *maximum* in order to place these provisions within the reach of the poor. The *maximum* would have created want; want would have produced despair, and despair would have led to crimes. In the space of a fortnight we should have come to assassinations and scaffolds.

There remained then the land-tax, which may be said to be the summary of all the other taxes, and which extends over all sources of wealth, in times when every conventional value disappears.

Garnier Pagès and the government, therefore, determined to levy a supplementary land-tax, by the addition of forty-

five centimes on all the other taxes. This additional impost created murmuring among the landed proprietors, but nevertheless it preserved them from ruin. It saved the poor from perishing of hunger, it saved labour from stagnation, it warded off the deficit which threatened the treasury, and it protected the great manufacturing cities from sedition, idleness, and misery. It moreover defended the country against external danger, by affording the government the means of maintaining public credit, and establishing banks of exchange in all the important towns in which they were required. This tax enabled the government to enrol in the mobile guard the superfluous and most restless portion of the young population of Paris, to augment the army, to provide for its pay, to furnish food to a million of indigent labouring men, to calm the growing excitement against the rich and the murmurs vented upon the selfishness of property. It was the means of suppressing the stamp-duty on the circulation of thought, of abolishing almost immediately the salt-tax, reducing the entrance-duty on meat in Paris, and diminishing the tax on wines in the Paris *octroi*. This supplementary impost, it was computed, would bring one hundred and ninety millions into the treasury, if distributed impartially and levied on all persons liable to it. The government authorized the collectors to make an equitable estimate of the contributive powers of the small landed proprietors, and to enforce payment only from those who were able to pay. This considerate course, dictated alike by justice and policy, reduced the produce of the tax to one hundred and sixty or to one hundred and fifty millions. These one hundred and fifty millions, with the two hundred and thirty millions advanced by the bank on security of the state forests, sufficed for all demands, and left in the treasury the sums necessary for covering all the ordinary expenses of the year 1848, as well as the extraordinary expenses incurred by the outlay of a million per day in public works for the employment of unoccupied hands. Such was the price of the revolution, and never did a nation purchase a revolution so cheaply. Yet this prudential and salutary tax, which established credit and industry, and afforded succour to a suffering nation;—this tax, which intervened between bankruptcy and the republic, between property and beggary, between France and foreigners, between the lives of the citizens and the fury of starvation,

excited, after a little interval of time, as much murmuring as though the government had been guilty of some act of violence against property, or had committed depredations on private fortune, and ravaged the soil. The rich whom this impost had saved, the poor whom it had relieved, the proletaries whom it had fed, joined in one general malediction: in short, the whole population of Paris raised their voices, not against the extra burthens, but against the reduction of the taxes on butcher's meat and wine made in their favour. The selfishness of the landed proprietors and the ingratitude of the proletaries will be judged in the pages of history. There will stand recorded the fact that the raising of one hundred and sixty millions by the supplementary tax of the forty-five centimes was an act of necessity and prudence, on the part of the republic, whose peace and safety were thereby secured. France will blush on comparing this price with that which she paid in blood and treasure for the first republic, the empire, the restoration, the invasion in 1815, the second restoration, and the revolution of 1830.

As the crowning of his scheme, Garnier Pagès conceived the idea of the purchase of all the great lines of railway by the state. The shares in these railways had fallen in price in a degree ruinous to the companies to whom they belonged. By buying them up at a reduced yet equitable price, the republic would immediately have raised their value by state security, and at the same time there would have been thrown into circulation a property previously dormant or held in little credit. Actual property would thus be restored to the hands of private individuals instead of the fictitious money which filled their portfolios. The lines already commenced might have been completed and new ones traced out; finally, the government would have effected the loan of a milliard, thus secured with a few years' mortgage on the value of three or four milliards.

Those particular companies, to whom this plan was a measure of security, pressed its adoption on the government; whilst others, with the view of raising the price of shares, declared the measure to be one of spoliation. Lamartine used all his endeavours to induce the government to enter into the arrangement whilst the companies were willing to

consent to it. He foresaw too well that this bargain between the companies and the state, which might be carried out by a concentrated and dictatorial government, would become impracticable with a sovereign assembly, worked upon in various ways by the influence of companies making higher demands. The delay of this affair was the only fault with which Lamartine reproached the minister of finance.

But the government having thus secured the means of paying the interest of the national debt, and defraying the expenses of the public service, could not, without the issue of paper money, pay, at short dates of exchange, the whole capital of the floating debt, amounting to seven hundred millions. The reimbursement of the treasury bondholders and the savings banks was postponed. The effects of this unfortunate but necessary postponement were mitigated by an increased rate of interest to the bondholders, and by partial reimbursements to the most needy individuals having deposits in the savings banks.

Whilst the provisional government thus saved the republic from the incalculable consequences of bankruptcy, the war minister, supported by all the power of the public treasury, actively carried out the measures agreed upon for augmenting the army in a degree commensurate with our external dangers.

Some symptoms of insubordination showed themselves, but immediately disappeared. These symptoms were the inevitable result of the temporary anarchy which might be expected to prevail in Paris immediately after a revolution. The soldiers, who were for a brief interval disbanded, were restored to their regiments, and voluntarily resumed that yoke of discipline and obedience which patriotism enjoins as a duty and honour regards as a virtue. The spirit of France is shown in her army. Revolutionary agitation did not cross the threshold of the barracks. Society stood in need of the aid of the army, and the army gave that aid unreservedly. The government was annoyed by some trivial seditious movements, which, however, were suppressed as soon as manifested. These movements occurred in one or two regiments of cavalry and artillery, in which some sub-officers had attempted by club speeches to sow the seeds of insubordination. Never did a national army exhibit a nobler example of calmness amidst

general agitation, of intelligent obedience to its commanders, fidelity to its colours, and attachment to the government. It was the armed instinct of the country. Those four months during which the troops distinguished themselves by incorruptibility amidst disorder; by resignation to the necessity of being kept at a distance from Paris; by implicit respect for their commanders; by restraining their impatience to overstep the frontiers; and by moderation towards the populace, will be recorded in history among the most glorious campaigns of the French army. It will show how the blessings of liberty and information diffused among the rural classes of our population, since the close of the wars of the empire, had transformed the character of the nation; for the army is always the criterion of the real state of a nation. When at the close of an intestine commotion, the soldier remains a soldier, there is no reason to fear that revolution will degenerate into anarchy.

There was, however, one melancholy symptom which cast a gloom over public feeling, and revived recollections of the hideous scenes of the first French revolution. This symptom reflected no discredit on the army in active service. It manifested itself among the idle inmates of the Hôtel des Invalides, that pompous establishment founded by Louis XIV. for the veterans of war. It is just and magnanimous on the part of a nation to provide by pensions and gratuities for the old age and infirmities of those who have shed their blood and lost their limbs in the public service. But these pensions, gratuities, and rewards should be paid and granted in the home and in the family of the invalid soldier. An assemblage of three or four thousand idle soldiers, under a system of discipline necessarily lax, and in a focus of licentiousness and vice like a great capital, may gratify the vanity of a country, but it must be attended by danger to morals, to order, and to military regulations. A system less ostentatious, but more truly remunerative of military service, would break up these congregations of idleness, and disperse into cottages those pecuniary aids which are squandered and wasted in palaces.

In the Hôtel des Invalides there had long existed a grievance of some kind or other, in connection with the food of the soldiers; and murmurs on this subject were perpetually breaking out. In these sullen murmurs, which are frequently the forerunners of sedition, charges were made against the internal management of the establishment.

One evening, about the end of March, when Lamartine had just returned to the hotel of Foreign Affairs, after attending a sitting of nine hours' duration at the Hôtel de Ville, he was informed that a numerous deputation of Invalides, in a state of angry excitement and intoxicated by drink, had been at the hotel during his absence. These men, in violent and indecorous language, had set up claims subversive of order, and irreconcilable with the rules of the establishment. The deputation withdrew on being informed that the minister was absent.

No sooner was Lamartine informed of this movement, and the threats which had been uttered, than he received information of the insurrection in the Invalides. A few turbulent spirits, exciting others to violence, had broken into the apartments of General Petit, a brave and loyal officer, who filled the post of sub-governor of the hotel. General Petit was an honourable relic of the old French army, and was historically celebrated by the embrace he had received from the Emperor Napoleon, in the tragical farewell scene at Fontainebleau. Unmindful of the respect attached to that recollection, the reverence due to old age, and the authority of command, this group of seditious men had, in the presence of three thousand veterans (either passive spectators of the outrage, or accomplices in it), dragged the aged general from his apartments, into the court-yard of the hotel. There, having bound him in a cart, like a criminal, they issued forth from the Invalides, accompanied by a numerous retinue, composed of that vile class of the populace who may be called men and women of prey, and who never fail to track the path of victims. Two or three Invalides, seated in the back part of the cart, and holding drawn sabres in their hands, by turns vented imprecations, and addressed the mob, announcing that the object of their errand to the government was to demand the punishment of their commandant. In this manner they passed along the quays of the Seine. Every one who beheld them trembled lest a nocturnal crime should be committed, and the general hurled into the river.

Intelligence of these occurrences was communicated to Lamartine, just as he had sat down to dinner. He instantly rose from table, and, without waiting for a carriage, he hurried away on foot, accompanied by his secretary. He proceeded towards the quays, in the direction which he was informed

the procession had taken, resolved to throw himself between the fierce insurgents and their victim, and to make his own body a shield of defence for the unfortunate general. He dreaded to reflect on the sinister consequences of the first revolutionary massacre; and his mind revolted at the idea of veteran soldiers setting the first example of crime to a populace whose conduct had heretofore been characterized by humanity, but who might by such an event be incited to acts of barbarity. He inquired at every post, and of every person he met, what route the cart had taken. He despatched messages to give intimation of the occurrence to General Duvivier, who commanded the mobile guards, and to the head-quarters of the national guards. In the midst of a heavy rain, he continued to pursue the cart as well as he was able; but the confused directions he received, once or twice caused him to lose the track. On arriving at the Hôtel de Ville, he inquired of M. Marrast, who, however, could give him no information. He then repaired to the prefecture of police; but M. Caussidière knew nothing of the matter. He resumed his course along the quays in a state of unutterable anxiety. He trembled lest the crime should have been committed in darkness, at some solitary spot on the bank of the Seine. At length he learned that the unfortunate general had been rescued from his assailants, near the Hôtel de Ville, —that his life was safe, and that he had received shelter for the night at the head-quarters of the Place.

That night the members of the government, filled with horror and indignation at this outrage, deliberated on the best mode of arresting its consequences, and punishing its perpetrators. The national guard, which during this interim was awaiting its reorganization, had no existence save in its head-quarters, and in the persons of some good citizens, who were ready to volunteer their services in case of danger. There were at this time no troops in Paris. To leave such a crime unpunished would have been to surrender up all restraint over the army;—to sanction insubordination and sedition, by an avowal of inability to arrest the criminals. On the other hand, to have attempted their arrest in the midst of three thousand men, supplied with artillery, would have been to attempt an impossibility, and would have exposed the authorities of government to flagrant defiance. This latter course,

though desperate, was nevertheless that dictated by honour and duty, and the government resolved to adopt it.

The minister of the war department, M. Arago, with General Courtais, and M. Guinard, the chief staff officer of the national guard, undertook the execution of this measure. On the following day they assembled some men of tried courage to form an escort for General Petit, and they proceeded to the Champ de Mars, where two or three thousand labourers, belonging to the national *ateliers*, were at work. M. Arago and General Courtais, addressing these men, described the outrage which the aged general, the living wreck of our military glory, had sustained at the hands of the unruly body of soldiery, and they pointed out the necessity of aiding the government in suppressing acts calculated to disgrace the nation and to destroy the army. Reason and right feeling asserted their sway in the minds of the men to whom this appeal was made; and the assembled workmen immediately shouted, "*Vive le général! Vive Arago! Vive Courtais!*" They offered of their own accord to go to the Hôtel des Invalides, and restore subordination among its refractory inmates. MM. Arago, Courtais, and Guinard placed themselves at the head of these men, and, entering the court of the hotel, they assembled the Invalides, and reprimanded them for their disgraceful conduct. An order was given for the arrest and imprisonment of the principal ringleaders of the outrage, who submitted to this sentence without resistance, and General Petit was reinstated in his post, amidst acclamations of repentance and enthusiasm.

This energetic measure, and some others of the same kind, taken by General Subervie and M. Arago, had the effect of consolidating the army, and checking all attempts at disorganization in the different corps. Those two ministers, by the confidence they felt in their own authority, thenceforward established it on an incontestable footing, and the army, on its part, rendered full justice to the government. It permitted no inquisitorial examination of the opinions of officers. It adopted, in the name of the republic, all who saved their country.

A union of the war department with that of the minister of marine had just been formed, and these combined ministerial offices were placed under the direction of M. Arago. This measure of government, whilst it was a mark of deference and

confidence justly due to M. Arago, was at the same time an injustice to General Subervie, and a surprise to some members of the government. The circumstances which led to this change were the following.

For several days vague complaints had been raised against the minister of war. It was believed that the advanced age of General Subervie operated against his activity, or rather this was pretended to be believed; for the fact was, that all the ardour of General Subervie's early youth was rekindled in favour of the republic. The reality was, that the new army was eager to repudiate the veterans of the old army. The young officers of the army of Africa were desirous, though perhaps without avowing it, to maintain in the councils of the war department that paramount and exclusive authority which they hoped to exercise more completely under a minister who was a stranger to the army than under an old general of the republic and of the empire.

The generals who assembled to hold councils of defence were desirous to deliberate independently of the minister of war, and of communicating in a direct way with the government without his intervention. Some articles inserted in the *National*, a journal erroneously supposed to be the government organ, had adverted in an uncalled-for way to the war minister, representing him as oppressed by a weight of duties disproportioned to his age. These articles were supposed to reveal the first traces of a plot hatched in the very heart of the government against General Subervie. Though this notion was wholly devoid of foundation, yet the position of the minister seemed to be in some degree affected by the mere suspicion. The general naturally felt hurt at an opposition which seemed to have accomplices in the government itself. He complained of this to Lamartine, who endeavoured to satisfy him, and was resolved to support him. In an incomplete sitting of the government, held one day when Lamartine, Flocon, Ledru Rollin and other ministers were absent, the opinion of the *National* and of the military officers opposed to Subervie was put forward. The general was dismissed, and M. Arago was made provisionally minister of the war department. M. Arago was far from desiring this appointment; on the contrary, he long hesitated to take upon himself the responsibility of this twofold duty.

At six o'clock in the evening, on his return from the Hôtel de Ville, where he had passed the day, Lamartine received a visit from General Subervie, who informed him of what had taken place at the Luxembourg. "You see," said the general, "that my suspicions were well founded; they have waited only for your absence, and that of some of your colleagues, to carry out the proscription of the *National* and its friends." "Nothing has been done," replied Lamartine. "Steps so important as the dismissal and nomination of the war minister cannot be taken without the cognizance of the minister for foreign affairs, and during the absence of two or three members of the government. I have promised to support you with all my power. I will keep my word, or I will declare myself at variance with the government. To-morrow I will bring the subject again under deliberation; I will protest against a resolution for your dismissal, and the question shall be put to the vote of all the members of the government. I feel confident that the republic will not willingly be deprived of the indefatigable services you have rendered it since the first hour of its birth."

"No," replied the general; "it is enough for me to know that you have kept your word, and that I am sacrificed, without your participation, to some feeling of hostility or ambition. I decline the reparation which you offer me. It would make me unhappy to reflect that my name should have furnished a subject for division in the government. Besides, I perceive clearly that I have enemies either in the government or among persons connected with it; and those persons would not forgive my triumph over them, nor would they scruple to injure the public cause for the sake of injuring me. I am one of that generation of soldiers who have always counted themselves as nothing, and willingly sacrificed themselves for their country. I will prove myself worthy of my contemporaries." He then embraced Lamartine and withdrew.

As soon as M. Arago entered upon the duties of the war department, he presided at deliberations held by the generals who were members of the council of defence. These deliberations had for their object the reorganization of the army on the bases proposed by Lamartine as minister for foreign affairs. The differences of opinion which had arisen between Lamartine and the generals, on the subject of the forty thou-

sand men, whom the former wished to recall from Africa, and whom the latter wished should remain there, had several times broken into almost angry discussions. At length this variance of opinion was veiled in the secrecy of the deliberations of the council of defence, whose meetings (not identified with the proceedings of the government) were under the responsibility of the war minister only. However, the intelligence, activity, and energy of this council, counterbalanced, in the opinion of the government, everything that might have been objected to. M. Arago, following up the plans of General Subervie and the generals of the council, raised the army, in the space of a few months, from three hundred and seventy thousand men to four hundred and sixty-five thousand men; and the horses were increased from forty-six thousand to seventy-five thousand. Arms, equipments, uniforms, coast defence, and the fortification of strong places, all were augmented and extended on a proportionate scale. It was computed that the republic, including its naval force and its mobile guard, would possess, before the month of October, an armed force of five hundred and eighty thousand men, independently of the three hundred battalions of departmental mobile guard, which, having been subsequently demanded as a reserve by Lamartine and Flocon, were decreed by the provisional government, and voted by the National Assembly. I shall again advert to this reserve, and the twofold view which dictated its creation. It was an object to which the thoughts of Lamartine had been earnestly directed, for the sake of establishing the external force and the internal federation of the republic, on a footing capable of resisting any meditated aggression on the peace and safety of society.

At this time, when all trade was suspended, the task of soothing and mitigating the distress of the industrial classes devolved on M. Bethmont, the minister of the departments of commerce and agriculture. No man could be better fitted for this office. His disposition was patient, serene, and resigned; he was gifted with eloquence, and he possessed a heart overflowing with compassion for the sufferings of his fellow-creatures. M. Bethmont reflected on the republic that character for probity, solicitude, and sympathy, which belonged to himself personally. He was regular and attentive in his presence at the sittings, and he profited by his intervals of

respite from official duties, to assist at the government council. There he invariably took the side of republican moderation, law, and order, on the model of the great magistrates of the assembly of 1790. His post should have been at the head of the magistracy.

M. Marie, who possessed a more active temperament, greater boldness of conception, and who took a wider and more enterprising range in matters of business, temporized with the public works, which were too much protracted, and kept up with too much routine. One of the political and social solutions of the crisis would have been, in the opinion of certain members of the government, a vast body of unemployed men, suddenly occupied in some great public works for the fertilization of the French soil. Lamartine shared this opinion. Some of the Socialists, then moderate and prudent, though afterwards violent and factious, urged the government to take a first step in furtherance of this scheme. A great campaign, in the interior of France, with agricultural implements for arms, like the campaigns undertaken by the Romans or the Egyptians for digging canals or draining the Pontine marshes, appeared to these persons to be the course marked out for a republic desirous of continuing at peace, and of saving property, by protecting and raising up the proletarian class. This was the idea of the hour. The appointment of a ministerial department for the administration of public works on a vast scale would have been the policy appropriate to the situation of affairs. One of the great errors of the government was postponing too long the realization of these ideas. During this postponement, the national workshops, crowded by misery and idleness, became day by day more burthensome, more unproductive, and more menacing to public order.

In the outset, however, they exhibited no alarming character. They were merely an expedient for restoring order; a rough plan of public assistance contrived on the morrow of a revolution, by the necessity of furnishing food for the populace, and yet not maintaining them in idleness, for fear of the disorders to which that idleness would lead. M. Marie manifested considerable intelligence in his manner of organizing these labourers, though their work was unattended by any useful result in the way of production: he formed them

into brigades, to each of which a chief was appointed; and he inspired them with a spirit of discipline and order. From being a force at the mercy of the Socialists and the insurgents, M. Marie transformed them, in the space of four months, into a prætorian force. They were, it is true, an idle body of men, but they were commanded and directed by chiefs, who secretly shared the anti-socialist opinions of the government. Until the convocation of the National Assembly, these workshops formed a counterpoise to the sectarian assemblages at the Luxembourg and the seditious meetings in the clubs. They were offensive to the eyes of the Parisians, by reason of their vast magnitude, and the inutility of their labours, yet they several times protected and saved Paris, though that fact was not known to the inhabitants of the capital. So far from being in the pay of Louis Blanc, as was alleged, the workmen were inspired by the spirit of his adversaries.

At first they numbered only twenty thousand, but every day brought a fresh reinforcement of poverty or idleness. The fortification works, commenced so improvidently and precipitately, had drawn to Paris a mass of about forty thousand workmen, who, being once established in the capital, would not leave it. These men, who were for the most part carpenters and masons, had none of the conditions of a resident population. The republic was thus doomed to expiate the imprudence of the monarchy. Those branches of industry which supply the demands of luxury, and which are naturally the first to suffer in political convulsions, were suddenly suspended throughout Paris. The savings of the workpeople soon became exhausted, and their families were reduced to severe privation. Some of the more wealthy manufacturers, from a generous desire to assist their workpeople, retained a portion of them at half-wages. In certain manufactories, one-half of the workpeople, instead of being employed throughout the whole week, worked only four days, whilst the other half were idle; then those who had been employed left off work, in their turn, for the sake of making way for their comrades. But from week to week large establishments were successively closed; and the consequence was, that two hundred thousand artisans of Paris gradually enrolled themselves in the temporary army which occupied the national workshops.

To these artisans were speedily joined numerous professors of the liberal arts, whose last resources were likewise exhausted. These consisted of artists, designers, correctors of the press, booksellers' clerks, literary men, actors, &c. Persons whose occupations had heretofore been confined to the pen or the graver, now presented themselves at the national workshops courageously asking for pickaxes or spades, wherewith to dig the earth in the Champ de Mars; or requesting to be sent to any carpenter's yard where labour might be assigned to them.

Every morning, on the boulevards, in the Champs-Elysées, and in the faubourgs, parties of from twenty to a hundred men, of all ages and in all sorts of attire, might be seen proceeding to their work,—each party being preceded by a flag and headed by a brigadier. The countenances of these men wore a melancholy, but earnest and patient expression. It was evident that they felt an honourable conviction of the sad duty they had to fulfil to their families; but it was also evident that they were fully sensible of the duties which the government was fulfilling towards them, in aiding them by means of labour. Owing to the defective way in which that labour was organized, it was unfortunately but a semblance of public assistance—an expedient dictated by the urgency of the moment, with the view of providing against want, trouble, and despair. Every evening these men returned in the same order to their respective quarters. They themselves performed their own police duties, and kept up a voluntary system of discipline among themselves. Their wages were paid to them every Saturday. This was not a government organization, as was subsequently endeavoured to be shown; it was a sacred and indispensable distribution of alms on the part of the state, and honoured by the semblance of labour. These workshops of Paris (and the same necessity caused similar ones to be instinctively organized in all the manufacturing towns) had certainly the effect of weaning many workmen from the habit of serious labour; but they rescued the masses from starvation and despair, saved society from tumult, and property from pillage.

The government committed one grand error in the outset. It was that of neglecting to apply the labour of these workshops to great works of public utility, and of not dispersing them at certain distances from Paris and other great cities,

which were the nurseries of sedition. When this dispersion was found to be desirable, it was too late to effect it. Another army would have been required to enforce the evacuation of the capital. Humanity as well as necessity caused the workshops to be tolerated until such time as the revolutionary crisis having passed over, these elements were re-absorbed by private labour, and their overflowing stemmed by restored public energy.

So much for the national workshops, which have been represented as a system, but which were merely a transient expedient, terrible, but necessary. Those members of the government possessed of most foresight looked forward with apprehension to the moment when sedition would creep into this nucleus of misery and idleness, and when it might be found necessary to dissolve it either by gentle means or by force. However, sedition did not find its way into those workshops until after the meeting of the National Assembly in Paris. They were the rock on which the first regular government of the republic seemed destined to split. We shall presently see by how narrow a chance this danger was escaped.

Of all the institutions of the republic, popular education and elementary instruction, given gratuitously to the people, was one of the most organic and vital. The germ of a nation's civilization lies in its educational institutions. Whilst one generation grows up and dies, another comes into life; and this new generation follows on the track of the other, which at length it supersedes. The traditions of the first generation are the patrimony of the second: thus society has eternally a child to instruct and to bring up.

The attention of the government had heretofore been wholly absorbed by the storm with which it had to contend both at home and abroad. A few days and nights, disturbed by the turmoil that prevailed in the streets, had afforded little opportunity for maturing plans for a system of popular education. Nevertheless, the government was desirous to redeem this pledge of the republic to the people, and to prepare the way for bringing the matter under the consideration of the National Assembly.

This great work was assigned to a man cast in the mould of a patriot of antiquity; one possessed of a feeling heart and a firm mind; a man who at a subsequent time was misunderstood and calumniated for some words imprudently written

amidst the toil of incessant business, and to which malignity and party spirit gave a colouring at variance with his nature and the tenor of his whole life; this man was M. Carnot. The scheme which had its birth in the revolution was precisely what it ought to have been. It was to diffuse instruction among the people by means of an educational system emanating from the republic itself; to render obligatory the elementary, general, and neutral part of this education, that sense of intellectual light which a truly moral society is bound to confer on all who are born within its bosom; not to enslave the youthful mind beneath the monopoly of an educational establishment, but to give to society that which belongs to society, to families that which belongs to families, and to God that which belongs to God.

Republican education may combine all these things, by a strong organization of the educational establishment, and by a complete system of liberty in education in concurrence with the instruction furnished by the state.

A rational republic could not be willing to consign civilization and conscience to the coercion of the clergy, nor to interpose a profane hand between the religion of the father and the soul of the child. Its task was to emancipate the religious conscience from state tyranny, as well as to emancipate popular intelligence from the supremacy of dogmas. Its scheme, the fulfilment of which might be looked forward to hereafter, was to establish intellectual liberty, like the civil liberty of religious worship; to acknowledge the faith individualized in man—God manifesting himself in the ever-growing reason of the human mind,—the pure sentiment of piety under all its forms, guided, propagated, honoured, and cultivated as the universal dogma of all religious society.

In this spirit M. Carnot thought and acted. M. Reynaud, his under-secretary of state, brought to his aid the traditions of the philosophic era, corrected by religious sentiment, and applied in conformity with the democratic sentiment. The enlightened views of the Constituent Assembly, and the fraternal instincts of the true republic, combined with the tolerance and the moderation of the present age, were the qualifications with which M. Carnot was endowed. He of all the ministers had most leisure for reflection, and he meditated most for the public good.

M. Carnot's first act on entering upon office was a circular addressed to the clergy. This circular declared that the republic was desirous of being religious, and it encouraged the clergy to return to their churches, which had been respected by the people and protected by the government. Carnot proposed two laws; one relating to primary instruction conciliated the three principles above referred to, viz. the obligation, the gratuity, and the liberty of popular instruction, and it proposed to make the teacher a functionary of public morals and intelligence. He likewise founded the school of administration, which, however, had the fault of singleness of object, instead of being special to each branch of administration. He raised the salaries of teachers; he founded the maternal school (a nursery of charity for forming adoptive mothers for houses of refuge); he gave increased extension to agricultural instruction in the primary schools; and he urged the state to adopt those pupils who distinguished themselves by superior talent in their particular vocations. Carnot restored, the Lycées, where he ordered that the History of the French Revolution should be read and studied; and he energetically repressed the spirit of insubordination, which it was feared the counter-stroke of the crisis of February might kindle in those institutions. He proposed the establishment of a free Athénée, to be the complement of the high branches of study and the public courses, and for exercising the minds of youth in the loftiest speculations of philosophy. He organized public lectures for the leisure hours of the people; encouraged popular literature, a thing which has scarcely any existence in France; and he gave directions and offered premiums for this mode of propagating thought.

Carnot was deceived by the injudicious editors of these popular books, and he was accused of mischievous propagandism, whilst the fault consisted only of omissions in his censorship. Like the legislators of ancient times, he established musical instruction as tending to the elevation and refinement of the moral and civilizing feelings of the people. He grouped around him, as it were in a philosophic and literary council, the men whose names were highest and purest in philosophy and republican literature. Among them the people complacently beheld Beranger, the man of their predilections.

A phrase, badly constructed and wrongly interpreted, in a circular of M. Carnot, operated unfavourably to his administration, and obliterated the recollection of all his services. The phrase had no other meaning than that of recommending the completion of the agricultural representation, by intimating to the labourers that they were more capable of understanding and promoting their interests than more highly educated representatives who were strangers to the soil. M. Carnot, being apprized of the erroneous interpretation alluded to, immediately corrected the phrase, and expressed his meaning in terms which left no doubt of his right intentions.

"My circular," said he, "of the 6th of March, has been cited as the complement of those which emanated from the office of the minister of the interior. It is necessary that I should explain my meaning. In the eyes of the public, two opposite tendencies were personified in M. de Lamartine and in the minister of the interior. I need not state that my sympathies belong to the former." In fact, Carnot was the very last man who could fairly have been charged with demagoguic violence or fury. Had the new republic desired to present to its friends or to its enemies a model of intelligent and moral republicanism, Carnot was the man who should have been singled out for that purpose. He was punished for words, whilst his thoughts and his acts were forgotten; but the integrity of the man remains unblemished, and the republic will sooner or later feel the necessity of recalling him.

Next to the ministers of the interior and the war department, the minister of justice was the individual to whom were intrusted the most extensive duties, official and personal. These duties involved the most serious and important questions. M. Crémieux entered upon them all with so much judgment and shrewdness, that the Constituent Assembly converted almost all the decrees of that minister into laws.

As to the measures which belonged to the department of the minister of the interior, they consisted chiefly in sending commissioners and sub-commissioners to supersede the prefects and sub-prefects in the departments. Nearly all the departments, without awaiting orders from Paris, had voluntarily and tranquilly passed from monarchical into republican forms of administration. Nowhere had a prefect, a

general, or a soldier resisted. It appeared as though the revolution had been previously accomplished in the public mind, and had only to declare itself in order to be recognized. Everywhere, and without disturbance, those citizens who had been prominent in their opposition to the old government were, when the events of Paris came to be known, surrounded by their fellow-citizens, and escorted to the hotel of the prefecture or sub-prefecture, where the functions of office were quietly transferred to them by the retiring authorities. Everywhere, too, and with the same readiness, the prefecture councils, the mayors and the provisional councils of municipalities, were changed or recruited by new members having the confidence of the people. There was not an intervening minute during which anarchy could have introduced itself between the two governments.

The new authorities were instinctively obeyed, with even greater unanimity than those whom they superseded. It seemed as though all France had been endowed with a genius which adapted itself naturally to revolutions; for the complete transition from a monarchical to a republican order of things was effected just as an army executes a manœuvre in which it has been exercised and disciplined. This was one of the results of the thirty years of constitutional liberty which France had enjoyed since 1814: liberty and reason progress side by side among the masses.

The minister of the interior, M. Ledru Rollin, confirmed in several instances the selections of commissioners made by the departmental populations. Other commissioners he sent from Paris. At first the choices were unexceptionable, and they bore evidence of the high and conciliatory spirit which the majority of the government, together with the minister of the interior, wished to keep up between themselves and the departments as the type of republican administration.

To second the good spirit of the departments in their spontaneous elections; not to constrain, but to win their confidence by the esteem their commissioners inspired; to moderate whatever was excessive; to temper whatever might be too ardent; to impart fervour to that which was too lukewarm; to hold the reins of government in the hearts of good citizens; not to leave the excited populations time to perceive a chasm in the execution of the laws for maintaining

public order; to prevent at any sacrifice civil war and bloodshed; to console and protect the conquered; to show the conquerors how to ennoble their triumph by generosity; to forget the mutual hostilities of party feeling, and to confound together in the national family all who shared in the love of their country, and in the defence of society—such were the wishes expressed in the council by the unanimous voice of the members of the government. These wishes were repeated and commented on by Lamartine in his addresses to the deputations from the departments, as well as in his harangues to the populace at the Hôtel de Ville and in the public streets. The same wishes were embodied in all the first instructions issued to the government commissioners by the minister of the interior.

In the first instance these commissioners consisted for the most part of members of the Chamber of Deputies who had been distinguished for moderate opposition to the old government, editors of the most respectable of the democratic journals, and contributors to the republican press of Paris, especially to the *National*. To these the minister of the interior added the contributors to the democratic journal called *La Réforme;* this publication had been the active and revolutionary focus of the anti-monarchical conspiracies. Finally, there were among the commissioners a very few of the supporters of the Socialist schools,—men as temperate in their conduct as they were extravagant in their ideas.

These precipitate selections, made as it were at the urgent call, and even at the dictation of various parties, at first excited no disapproval. The minister of the interior unfolded to his agents the spirit of his administration in a first circular, dated March 8th:—"All France," said this circular, "speaks with one voice, because it is throughout of one mind. This union of all in one and the same thought is the most certain pledge of the duration of the republic, and it should be the source of moderation after victory. Your first care must be to make it understood that the republic should be free from all thought of vengeance and reaction. Yet let not this generosity degenerate into weakness. Whilst abstaining from all scrutiny into former opinions and acts, observe as a rule that political functions, in whatsoever degree of the hierarchy they may have place, can be intrusted to tried republicans only; in a word, to men of the day before, and not men of the day after."

The first words of this instruction were entirely congenial with the spirit of the government; the latter part pointed at a sort of purification of France. To purify France from all that had not been republican the day before was to alienate it from the republic. The republic, by alienating from itself the majority of France, would become a government of minority; and a government of minority would find it necessary to intimidate the majority—that is to say, the nation—in order to establish itself and maintain its stability. To do this, the republic of the 24th of February must have perverted its own nature.

The radical difference of opinion prevailing among the members of the government as to the right mode of understanding the new republic, and the best method to be adopted for its practical working, was unfortunately revealed in this circular. It was evident that the posthumous, conventional, and dictatorial spirit of the supporters of the *Réforme* was seeking to draw the internal policy of the government back into the channel of revolutionary inspection and intimidation. Though acts were tolerant, words were harsh. This was sufficient to alarm the country at the very moment when it was above all necessary to inspire confidence, and to conciliate it wholly to the republic.

This ill-timed provocation, addressed to all who were to be adopted by the republic only on condition of carrying to it the whole plenitude of their honour and their rights, raised up the first feelings of resentment, and gave cause for the first umbrage. However, the measures of the minister of the interior, and of the majority of the commissioners whom he had appointed, did not, at that time, correspond in any way with this language. The words seemed to be a concession to a violent party, to whom acts could not be conceded; and they were allowed to pass without the government thinking it worth while to cancel or contradict them. The minister of the interior, who was absorbed in the immensity of the details of his department, could not really be held accountable for all that was put forth under his moral responsibility. He rarely attended the councils of the government, which were still held at the Hôtel de Ville, amidst a continual succession of popular crowds. He governed apart that branch of the public service which was consigned to him.

Lamartine, on his part, ruled with absolute independence

the foreign policy, and directed that portion of the public mind which corresponded with his views. Each minister exercised sovereign authority in his own centre of action, whilst they all mutually submitted to each other only those very important questions which had reference to the general policy of government.

Louis Blanc and Albert, who had been at a former period connected with the party of *La Réforme*, now connected themselves with other active men of that party, and sought to give weight to the Socialist doctrines and republican discontent which they severally cherished. Flocon, whose turn of mind was rather politic than speculative, endeavoured to bring back to a due equilibrium these pretensions of the Socialists and the extreme republicans. He is entitled to the credit of having ably effected many compromises which the two parties of the government made with each other to avoid a violent rupture of that seeming unity which repressed disorder throughout the country.

Caussidière, who possessed a pliant and refined mind under a rough and unpolished exterior, inclined, in appearance, to the policy of the minister of the interior, but he served his friends less than he made them subservient to his own use, for the sake of enhancing his importance. He was a man of action, in contact with the people, and surrounded by a militia ready for anything. The consequence was, that his friends could do nothing without him, and he assumed an independence which sometimes exposed him to suspicion and rendered him always redoubtable. The party of the *National* was in hostility to Caussidière. That party believed the prefect of police to be the satellite of the minister of the interior, and his agent against them.

Lamartine had understood at a glance how immensely useful Caussidière might be in aiding the re-establishment of order, and he perceived that it would be very desirable to augment his importance in the eyes of more dangerous enemies. He showed Caussidière that he reposed confidence in him, and urged him to apply to government for more extensive police powers and larger funds. In the council Lamartine took the lead in the questions relating to armed municipal corps, republican guards, and watchmen of Paris under the immediate orders of the prefect of police. He conversed confidentially and frankly with Caussidière respecting general

policy, internal and external. He did not in the least degree disguise from himself the complex position or the ambition of Caussidière; but he could discern probity under his ambition, and good faith under his finesse. Caussidière had a heart, and that heart was honest and generous. If his opinions were not to be trusted, his principles, at least, might be implicitly relied on. He might dream of great revolutionary changes, but never of criminal acts. He was a man of conflict, but not of anarchy. He was anxious to see the results of the victory promptly established on a footing of order; to retain the confidence of the friends who had conspired and fought with him; to win the esteem of the conquered and the gratitude of Paris; to legitimize his conquest, and to transform the conspirator into a magistrate. Caussidière loved the people, but he did not flatter their excesses, not even in his dreams.

Lamartine frequently pointed out to him the danger of the communist propagandism of his friends at the Luxembourg, and the necessity of restraining his theories of social change within the limits of institutions for assisting, instructing, providing work for, and bettering the condition of, the proletaries. Caussidière was entirely of this opinion. "I feel," said he, in a tone of contempt, as it were sullied by meddling with this Socialism, "I am for order, fraternity, and progress, but not for chimeras!"

He powerfully aided Lamartine in restraining the Polish, German, Belgian, and Italian refugees, who were labouring to draw the republic into wars of aggression in furtherance of the interests of foreign factions. At first these schemes seemed to be, if not secretly favoured, at least tolerated by men closely connected with the government. Lamartine pointed out to Caussidière the danger of these attempts, which might raise up the hostility of Europe against the republic, and cause the renewal of a coalition. He sought to convince him that a more upright line of policy, and one marked by greater talent as well as by more honesty, would render such a coalition impossible.

A lady, exceptionable by the style she has assumed, and a favourite orator (Madame Sand, and M. Jules Favre), lent the assistance of their talents to support the policy of the minister of the interior.

On hearing the first intelligence of the revolution, Madame Sand had hastened to Paris, and had seen Lamartine. The minister for foreign affairs sought to gain over to his views that genius, masculine in its form, but feminine in the mutability of its convictions. He had had an interview of several hours with Madame Sand, at a crisis when the popular storm could only be quelled by the direction of the winds which might be made to blow over the waves. He had convinced Madame Sand that the safety of the new institutions could be secured only by the prompt, energetic, and complete repudiation of those excesses and crimes which had dishonoured and ruined the first revolution. He conjured her to devote the talent with which God had endowed her to the cause of order and the moralization of the people. Madame Sand promised to do so, in that tone of impassioned enthusiasm which reveals the sincerity of conviction. She expressed a wish to go only for a few days to Berri, for the purpose of arranging her affairs, and, on her return, she was to become the editor of a popular journal, which would disseminate in the minds of the masses the principles of peace, discipline, and fraternity, and which her pen and her name would invest with the influence of her brilliant popularity.

Madame Sand departed from Paris with this intention: on her return, her old predilections in favour of the dangerous theories of Socialism drew her, through the medium of Louis Blanc, into a vortex of opposite politics. Lamartine learned that she was editing, at the office of the minister of the interior, an official paper entitled *Le Bulletin de la République.* This paper, imbued with the inflammatory inspiration of the Communists, revived by its language terrible recollections of the first republic. In some persons this paper excited a frenzy of rage and impatience; others it filled with terror.

The majority of the council, being informed of the existence of the *Bulletin*, lamented this misapplication of high talent, which had the effect of placing under the responsibility of the government language and doctrines in direct opposition to its sentiments. The minister of the interior himself had not leisure to exercise a supervision over this publication, though it emanated from his office, and consequently he did not forbid its mischievous exaggerations. It

was determined that no more of these *Bulletins* should be sent to the departments, without being previously examined by one of the members of the government. This examination was assigned to one or the other on different days of the week; but the numberless details of business which pressed upon them, and the urgent circumstances which every succeeding day brought forth, frequently caused the duty to be neglected. By dint of this negligence some numbers of the *Bulletin* were suffered to escape unexamined, whereby falsehoods and incendiary opinions were conveyed to the departments. Some commissioners very prudently took upon themselves to interdict in the communes, not only the *Bulletin* itself, but also the announcements of its publication.

Meanwhile Paris, though stirring, was calm. The government had convoked all France to the elections, which were fixed for the 24th of April. That date afforded the interval of time strictly necessary for the operations of the mechanism of universal suffrage.

The anticipation of this grand installation of the sovereignty of the people appeased the minds of the great bulk of the public. To some, however, it was tantalizing. Two months of revolution and dictatorship, yet to come, seemed like two centuries. In the ultra-revolutionary party it was hoped that these two months, agitated by events, by various factions, by threats of war abroad, and by trouble and misery at home, would prevent the government from realizing this great act. Between the time then present and the 24th of April, a thousand gulfs were perceived, into which the government might be hurled, before the arrival of the day fixed for vesting authority in the hands of the nation.

BOOK XI.

THE moderate party of the government (and at that time it was very nearly unanimous) looked forward hopefully to the moment when the nation, calling up from her own bosom all her rights and all her strength, should herself come to her own aid, and take the control of her own revolution. The anarchical and terrorist party abroad anticipated with dismay

the hour which would take from them all chance of prolonging their reign, and of realizing their hopes of subversion. During the first days of the revolution, that party having been put down by the defeat it sustained at the Hôtel de Ville, and by the unanimous enthusiasm in favour of order and moderation, was now endeavouring to pervert the republic in the clubs.

These clubs are revolutionary institutions, or rather revolutionary results. They are merely tumultuous assemblages of men regularly and periodically brought together: the mobs of the Place Publique concentrated in areas more confined, but animated by the same passions, agitated by the same storms. But there is one danger connected with clubs which does not attend out-door mobs:—they are animated by sectarian spirit, and they are ruled by the combined discipline of parties. As soon as order was restored in the streets, through the spontaneous good-feeling of the people, and the intelligence and vigilance of the rising authority, clubs began to be formed in all quarters of Paris. The government could not oppose their establishment without falsifying its own nature, and disavowing the position of France. The clubs, at that juncture, were but the dominant voices of public opinion,—the deliberate assemblies of the revolution.

Some persons, alarmed at the supposed analogy between these assemblages and the meetings of the Jacobins, regarded the republic as lost, and the government coerced from the day when the first clubs were established. Others were sensible of the difference between a single revolutionary club (like that of the Jacobins, affiliating to itself all the intelligence of a revolution, and even ruling the Convention), and a multitude of clubs, animated by various views, differing in their objects and theories, forming opposition and counterpoise the one to the other, already depopularized in the opinion of the citizens by the sinister recollections of 1793, and presenting to an able and firm government points of support and points of resistance against the dangerous unity of a single faction. Accordingly, the members of the provisional government did not conceive the alarm with which it was sought to inspire them. "I should tremble," observed Lamartine to the alarmists, "if there were only one Jacobin club, and I

should not endeavour even to struggle against such an assemblage otherwise than by the insurrection of the departments. I would resign to it the victory and the supremacy. But with numerous clubs, all free, unprivileged and unconstrained, I fear nothing save confused and isolated attempts, to oppose which, public feeling will aid us, and even the clubs themselves will support us against the clubs. Let them call upon me! I am ready to present myself to them as Dumouriez did in 1792, and I will join in the discussions which their orators may bring forward."

Accordingly, Lamartine himself aided well-disposed citizens in hiring halls and establishing committees, with the view of founding in various quarters of Paris well-managed clubs, which would afford occupation for those evening hours of idleness so dangerous to the mass of the people, and which would lead the public mind in the direction of his policy. He also entered indirectly into relation with the more turbulent and ill-inspired clubs, for the purpose of watching over their explosions, and causing incendiary motions to be refuted by orators whose speeches were calculated to neutralize sedition. With the exception of some few infuriated men, who from time to time demanded, at the club of the Palais National, that Lamartine should be impeached and brought to the scaffold, and who were in consequence hooted and driven from the tribune, the spirit of the clubs was excellent, and in general they exercised a wholesome influence. The weight of public good sense pressed upon ill-disposed citizens, and the well-disposed were fortified by the consciousness of unanimity. The mayor of Paris had placed provisionally at the disposal of the clubs several large public rooms and theatres for the purpose of facilitating their meetings. The majority of the clubs was, by this means, in harmony with the government itself, and they propagated among the multitude the spirit of order, patriotism, free discussion, and conciliation. One circumstance imparted a novel and characteristic feature to these clubs.

The government had thrown open the dungeons in which some precursors of the republic, found guilty of plots and attempts to subvert the monarchy, had languished during several years in captivity. Two of these first champions in the cause of democracy had just been liberated. These were

Blanqui and Barbès. Lamartine did not know Blanqui: he had become acquainted with Barbès in the following manner.

Barbès had been condemned to death by the Court of Peers under the late government. At four o'clock on the morning of the day appointed for his execution, a young lady called at the house of Lamartine, and requested to see him. Lamartine immediately rose and went to her. The young lady, in tears, threw herself at his feet, informed him that she was the sister of Barbès, and implored him to save her brother. Lamartine had no connection with the court, but he recollected that he had once enjoyed the acquaintance of M. de Montalivet, the minister and friend of the king. He hastened to him. M. Montalivet possessed a generous heart, whose noble impulses were not less quickly aroused than his courage. He was then very ill; but, without considering his health or calculating his strength, he rose from his bed, and ordered his carriage to be got ready to convey him to Neuilly. The king, whose feelings in this matter had anticipated those of his minister, spared the life of Barbès.

But, during M. de Montalivet's interview with the king at Neuilly, the insurrection in Paris had spread. Musketry was fired in the streets, and the Chamber of Deputies was surrounded by artillery and troops. On seeing this, Lamartine trembled lest the government should order the sentence to be carried into effect, under the impression that pardon might seem to be weakness, or might be interpreted as a concession to the insurgents. But his anxiety was soon relieved by a second message from M. de Montalivet. The king resolved to spare the shedding of blood, and Barbès was saved. His sister was waiting to hear his doom in one of the apartments of the Chamber of Deputies. Lamartine informed her that her brother's life was spared; she fainted whilst kissing the hands of the bearer of this intelligence.

Seven years had elapsed since this occurrence, when Lamartine, some months prior to the revolution of February, received from Barbès two letters which the prisoner had secretly contrived to forward by eluding the observation of his jailers at Nimes. In these letters Barbès said to Lamartine, "To you I am indebted for existence. Next to God, you are my saviour. If I should escape from these prison walls, when the certain triumph of the republic will force an opening

through them, my first visit shall be to the man to whom I so earnestly long to offer the outpourings of my gratitude; and I pray that, after having saved me, he may also save my country."

Barbès kept his word. On the day after his arrival in Paris he came and threw himself into the arms of Lamartine. "Your deliverance," said the minister for foreign affairs, "makes me doubly happy. You are free, and it is the republic, that government of your predilection, which receives you in liberty. At this moment you may be useful to the republic. The people, who are now restrained only by our words, require to be guided and subdued to moderation. They will lend ear to you; you are one of their martyrs. They will listen to your voice as to that of an oracle. Counsel them, not with the fury of a combatant, but with the generosity of a conqueror, and with the coolness of a statesman. The republic is exposed to no dangers, save such as may arise out of its own excesses. Show as much heroism in restraining republicanism as you have manifested impatience and courage in promoting it. Ideas can be moulded into government only on condition of their being restricted within the limits of order and moderation. Forget the traditions of the first republic, and help us to found one which may be unsullied either by anarchy or scaffolds, in which the grievances of all may be merged in the rights of all."

Such were the words of Lamartine. Barbès listened to them with every appearance of acquiescence, in heart and mind. "Your ideas," replied Barbès, "are identical with those I have matured in my own mind during my captivity, and which constitute my political faith. I will not employ the influence which my fame as a victim may give me over the people, except in the way you have suggested. But I have been for years a stranger to the political world. I was young when I was thrown into captivity, and now I have no knowledge either of men or things. Will you permit me to consult you from time to time? You may help me to regain the right path, if my ignorance of affairs should cause me involuntarily to swerve from it."

Lamartine promised that he would open to him his heart whenever he might desire it. He recommended him not to connect himself with those who confounded democracy with demagoguism, or who sought to improve the social condition

of the proletaries by the subversion of property; property being the common foundation which supports all, and without it proprietors as well as proletaries would be hurled together into one common gulf of destruction.

Lamartine found in Barbès the instinct of an exalted mind and an honest heart, combined with the disposition to promote conciliation and moderate views among the people. This disposition was maintained for some time, and it would have been permanent, but that Barbès was speedily drawn into another focus of political opinion. He again imbibed his old doctrines relative to the radical levelling of conditions and fortunes, that eternal illusion of the zealots of the absolute equality of wealth, from the ages of the early Christians and the Gracchi, down to the time of Babeuf and Marat. These doctrines inculcate virtue in principle, and fraternity in institutions, but they tend to madness and crime in revolutionary realization.

Barbès was shortly afterwards made colonel of the 12th arrondissement of Paris. He founded a club which took his name, and in which the doctrines of socialism were mingled with the energy of republicanism. The name of Barbès sounded in the ears of the people like the tocsin against monarchy and the bourgeoisie. Barbès was somewhat taciturn, and when he spoke, it was not with any brilliancy of effect. He was a Spartacus liberated from the dungeon. He was like the statue of the revengeful slave, handsome, but marked by chains, and devoured by the unextinguishable flame of revolutions.

Barbès, when in conversation with Lamartine, several times spoke in a tone of bitterness of another man, who had been his rival in conspiracy and captivity, who, by a coincidence of chances, had, like himself, been liberated, and who had become an object of suspicion to his associates. This man was Blanqui.

Whilst Lamartine was still permanently located in the Hôtel de Ville, an unknown hand, disposed to favour certain compromised men, surreptitiously removed some secret documents which had been deposited in the ministerial portfolios. Among the papers there was a disclosure to which no signature was attached, and addressed to the king's government, in relation to the plots of the secret societies. This disclosure

was evidently the work of an intelligent leader of these societies. It had been imprudently shown to some one who gave it publicity, and a half-suppressed murmur of indignation had immediately accused Blanqui.

Blanqui had just then opened a club, where he delivered speeches marked by talent, and as yet restrained within the bounds of moderation. In this club, over which he presided with the active genius of conspiracy, he gained fame and popularity, and enlisted in his own cause a phalanx of extreme opinions.

Rumours of the accusation above alluded to threw a cloud of doubt and suspicion over Blanqui. It deprived his name of the influence that had hitherto belonged to it, and detached from his club the crowds who had been accustomed to attend it. His old associates, and especially Barbès, called upon him for explanation. They tried and condemned him before the tribunal of republican opinion. Blanqui, like a man contaminated by suspicion, withdrew from his club for a few days, prepared a written defence of his conduct, and circulated it through Paris.

This defence, though it did not entirely exculpate him from having made some vague disclosures (relative to things, though not to persons), nevertheless so far cleared him, that he was enabled to resume his post and his influence in a club composed of his own partisans. His reappearance in his club was hailed as a triumph. The cloud which had temporarily hung over him urged him to make a point of exaggerating his republicanism, and to indulge with greater force and vehemence his passion for public speaking. His club became the focus of demagoguic extravagance and fury. However, as this violence was vented merely in flourishes of words, and in reminiscences which bore no real reference to the actual state of the people, the revolution, or the time present, the frequenters of the club attended it as they would have visited a theatre, to see the events of a by-gone age represented or parodied by actors, clad in antiquated costume. The fact was, that individuals belonging to the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, who were insulted and menaced by the orators of this club, attended the meetings from motives of curiosity, and to hear, as it were, from a distance and without danger, the ravings of Babeuf and Marat.

Blanqui himself was pleased by the alarm his name created, and he made a display of fury which he did not really feel. He, however, showed no disposition to diffuse that fury among the multitude, and he even adroitly flattered by looks and gestures those whom his tongue menaced. He was a tribune; but one who seemed to have more policy than sincerity. In tact, in intelligence, and in that quality which may be termed popular diplomacy, he was superior to all the agitators of the moment. He disconcerted his associates by going beyond them; whilst he was incessantly challenging them to go beyond him.

Whenever Blanqui left his club, he withdrew into solitude. He took no part either in the acts of the government or of the multitude. He lived in some poor and obscure place, and his dwelling was known only to a few of his friends and followers, among whom were Lacambre and Flotte. He never showed himself but at night, when he was miserably dressed, and sought to excite the interest of the populace by exhibiting in his own person a specimen of proletarian wretchedness. Though not gifted with eloquence, yet he was an impressive and able speaker, and his speeches always embraced a plan and an object, means and an end. Blanqui's club was not a mere vain echo of tumultuous passions, like the other anti-social clubs. It was a revolutionary instrument, the keys of which were touched by his hands for the purpose of exciting and directing the passions of the masses.

But such was at that time the ascendancy of right feeling and general intelligence, that Blanqui's club gave little inquietude or alarm to the reflecting members of the government. Indeed, the harangues delivered in that assembly, disgraceful as they were, may be said to have been serviceable rather than injurious to the regular republic. The persons who figured in that club were like the inebriated helot who was exhibited to the Spartans to disgust them from the vice of drunkenness.

Raspail, who was less of a politician but more of a sectarian than Blanqui, exercised, through the influence of his name, his journal, and his club, an ascendancy more moderate but more direct over the faubourgs. Fifteen or twenty thousand men from those districts, which might be called the Mount Aventinus of Paris, attended the sittings of Raspail.

He was personally beloved by his followers, and his word was their law. He professed and preached Communism to a certain extent, but his was the Communism of sentiment rather than of subversion, and it was impressed with an inoffensive philosophy and a practical charity, which sought to attain equality by voluntary levelling, and not by violent expropriation. He worked on the minds of the people by exciting their hopes, and not by rousing their hatred against the rich and the happy. His social philosophy did not vent itself in imprecations against society, and still less against government. He preached patience, order, and peace; but his grand mistake was to promise more than the republic could accomplish. His vague and golden theories were like clouds which present to the fancy a thousand perspective images, but which can only be viewed from a distance, and never reached.

Cabet, the founder of another sect, had opened, in the very centre of Paris, in the rue Saint Honoré, a club in which he ruled seven or eight thousand individuals. He was the poet of Communism, and he had dreamed of a chimerical Sallentinus, to which he gave the name of Icaria. Here, all inequality, all indigence, all asperities, even those of labour, were to vanish in a fantastic organization, the elements of which were but incoherent hypotheses, suggested by an imagination not very rich even in idealities.

Cabet was the son of an artisan at Dijon, and he had been educated with the view of obtaining an appointment in the magistracy. In 1830 he was elected a deputy to represent his native town; but his political career was checked in 1834, when he was expelled from the chamber and proscribed. After having passed his term of banishment in Belgium, he returned to Paris, where he now threw himself into the proletarian ranks, whence he had originally sprung, and in which he fixed his central point of thought and action. The most distressed and ignorant portion of the working people of Paris were attached to his doctrines. Delusion is at once the consequence and the consolation of extreme suffering. Cabet was the philosopher and the high priest of the religion of social comfort, but that was a religion without a God. The whole system consisted in the satisfaction of the mere material instincts, mechanically combined in an order inverse to

every known social order. It was the worship of alimentary life; not indeed a sanguinary, but a sensual worship—a religion in which mind as well as a deity was wanting. Prior to the revolution of February, Cabet had frequently entered into conversation with Lamartine on the subject of his Utopia. Lamartine did not give him any encouragement. He expressed his conviction that the soil of France would of itself rise up in rebellion against any such chimerical experiment; and he predicted that Communism would be buried in the furrows made by its own ploughshares, on the first piece of land it might venture to usurp. He recommended Cabet not to await the day when insurrection would rise up against impossibility; and he told him that the only field on which he could attempt to carry his theory into practice would be a regular and legal colonization of clearance in the forests of the New World.

"You would there commence," pursued Lamartine, "with an association of planters, protected by a proprietary civilization which would defend you against your own anarchy, as it defends the Quakers. Property will introduce itself into your agricultural colony, and if chimeras may have deceived you, the earth at least will feed your unfortunate sectarians!"

Cabet seized this idea, and he accordingly determined to transplant his system to America, where he solicited a concession from the government. However, whilst he was yet in Paris, the revolution broke out, and the republic was established. His followers flattered themselves that they would see their association realized on the soil of France; and whilst Cabet himself fed their hopes, he kept them within the bounds of order, and of respect for persons and property. Far from preaching insurrection to his adepts, he preached patience, and pictured the horrors of anarchy. By this means, it has been said, he hoped to gain, through his ascendancy over that portion of the people, the share of popular dictatorship which a revolution throws within the grasp of almost every man.

Other clubs, ruled by men less known, held their nightly meetings, and kept up agitation in the populous districts of Paris. The club of the Quinze-Vingts and the club of the Sorbonne chiefly attracted the attention of the government,

as they kept up excitement among the most idle, the most thickly populated, and most irresponsible of the poorer districts of the capital. The minister of the interior had agents who daily reported to him the spirit of these popular assemblages. Lamartine likewise kept watch upon them. He neutralized their mischievous tendencies by his tendencies of a contrary nature, which were openly favoured, and by communicating to their speakers suggestions calculated to counteract the views of anarchists, Communists, and foreign agitators.

These foreign agitators gave the government serious alarm. Paris was rapidly filling with Polish refugees, Belgian conspirators, German demagogues, and Italian patriots, all of whom had been roused to action by the outbreak of a revolution whence they hoped to kindle a European conflagration, which would spread over the whole continent. Eight days after the revolution there were upwards of fifteen thousand of these persons in Paris. The Italians, the most intelligent and most naturally political class of these foreigners, caused no embarrassment to the government. On their part it would have been unnatural to seek to stir up anarchy in a rising republic, the birth of which was propitious to their hopes. That republic, if well directed, was destined to grow great to their advantage, and to extend over them a salutary influence, and a legitimate protection from the summit of the Alps.

But the Belgians were fermenting disturbance. Their emissaries had been connected by anterior conspiracies with some of the secondary men who surrounded the government, and with these men they now secretly formed plans for republican insurrection in Belgium. They hoped to draw France, in spite of herself, into invasions, which, after having indirectly kindled a flame in Brussels, would spread it into the Rhenish provinces. By thus fomenting universal war, they thought to secure in France the triumph of the war of demagoguism.

Irishmen, in conjunction with English Chartists, rushed in numbers to the continent, with the view of stirring up insurrectionary plots in France, among the demagogues in the name of liberty, and among the leaders of the Catholic party in the name of Catholicism.

The German refugees, from the Rhenish provinces, from Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and the grand duchy of Baden,

summoned their countrymen who had been engaged with them in conspiracies in these various countries. Their intention was to recruit and organize in Strasburg a nucleus of republican emigration ready to pass the Rhine under the apparent sanction of the French name, and thus to engage the republic in a war of propagandism against constitutional Germany. Lastly, there were the Poles, a banished people, who have adopted the world as their country, and who carry into every land of their adoption the virtues and vices of their own great and unfortunate nation. Thus did heroism, turbulence, and anarchy excite the population of Paris. France doubtless owed much to brave and ruined Poland, but it was too much to expect that she should sacrifice her policy, or break the peace of the world for that nation.

The Poles, however, demanded nothing less from the French government; and not being able to obtain these concessions from the ruling authorities, they endeavoured to wrest them from the people. During the eighteen years just elapsed, the French chambers, rather from compulsion than just conviction, had, on the opening of every session, repeated the formula of uttering prayers and wishes in behalf of Poland. The wishes of a great people are but a mockery, when they are merely words unaccompanied by acts; and it is evident that France can reach Poland only by the help of Germany, and in a general revolution of the continent. Polish committees were now formed in Paris. Many of the persons composing them were doubtless actuated by generous sympathy for the exiles of liberty; but others sought only to turn to their own personal advantage the popularity attached to the name of Poland.

Encouraged by this support, the Polish refugees fanned the flame of war in the clubs, and formed unions of their own, even more incendiary than the French clubs. Some of the refugees abused hospitality so far as to kindle discord in the country in which they had found an asylum, and the pecuniary aid which France afforded them they employed in agitation, and in the instigation of insurrection and anarchy. The secret Polish society, to whose meetings the police contrived to gain access, revived in Paris the language and the traditions of 1793. In these meetings the name of Lamar-

tine was nightly consigned to execration, and to the justice of assassins, as that of the man who resisted most inflexibly the plots of foreign demagogues against the new republic. These few first weeks gave birth to the plot and the crime of the 15th of May following.

Another class of Polish refugees followed the patriotic inspirations of Prince Czartoriski and other refugee leaders. The conduct of these men was worthy of the respect they bore to their cause, and to France. They were content to look back fondly on their country, hoping to return and die there for their independence, as soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself.

Meanwhile, Europe seemed to be suspended between the terror inspired by the revolution of Paris, and the hope of possibly maintaining peace,—a hope which was strengthened by the manifesto of the provisional government. The American minister had been the first to recognize the French republic: in so doing he anticipated the orders of his government; but he felt warranted in taking that step, by the conformity of institutions now established between France and America. Switzerland, which the French revolution had fortified by an immense accession of force against the almost violent pressure of Austria, showed dispositions less favourable. The minister for foreign affairs was surprised to see the French republic less cordially greeted in Berne than it was in Berlin. He could not be blind to the fact that this coolness of Switzerland, a nation for which France had manifested such warm interest in recent legislative discussions, might, perhaps, arise out of the selfishness of mercantile democracies, who act upon calculation more than upon feeling. It was evident that Switzerland, from her geographical position between Germany and Italy, feared she might be agitated by the contact, and consequently forced to sacrifice her peace, her treasure, and her blood, in the cause of an independence not her own. Lamartine, who had been meditating a proximate triple alliance of republican France, constitutional Italy, and federal Switzerland, to support, in case of need, the equilibrium of the north, was profoundly mortified by the attitude of Switzerland, and concerned for her liberty. Switzerland, however, was not chargeable with any act of disaffection towards France, and she officially recognized the republic.

Couriers, successively arriving from all parts of Europe, brought intelligence that the manifesto had been everywhere received as the basis of an undisputed line of policy, and as the type of the character which the new French republic desired to maintain in the world. The foreign ambassadors and ministers received orders from their respective governments to continue to reside in Paris, and to maintain official and cordial relations with the republican minister for foreign affairs. These relations, which circumstances multiplied, gave occasion to frequent communications between the ambassadors and Lamartine. Conversations, in which the minister manifested without any reservation the decidedly republican, but sincerely inoffensive views of the French government, contributed powerfully to the maintenance of peace, in the absence of those diplomatic notes which the suspension of official relations rendered impracticable. The office of Foreign Affairs became a permanent and preparatory congress; a direct medium of communication with all the different courts to which the ambassadors submitted the words and views interchanged between themselves and the minister of the republic. These verbal negotiations between men who, in mutual conversation, openly expressed their opinions on the very theatre of events, advanced affairs with more rapidity than could have been effected by years of negotiation. There is a heart in words which cannot be communicated to paper; and heart is something even in negotiating the great interests of empires.

As soon as the minister for foreign affairs felt that he could be confident of the favourable disposition of the continental governments, he nominated the ambassadors and ministers of the republic. M. d'Harcourt, formerly a peer of France, a man whose personal dignity was equal to his high name, was appointed ambassador to Rome. This choice, though savouring strongly of liberalism, had in it nothing of a revolutionary character. It announced to the old French aristocracy, to the religious portion of the French people, and to the sovereign pontiff, that the republic was desirous of treating the spiritual chief of Catholicism with the respect due to the representative of a vast portion of religious conscience. The pope, on his part, gave assurance, through the medium of his minister in Paris, that he made no exception to the govern-

ment. His words were benedictions, not anathemas. The French government replied frankly to these overtures, avowing to the pope, that the tendency of the republic was to break off the connection existing in a greater or less degree between affairs temporal and spiritual; to suppress state interference in the direction and in the pay of religion. At the same time assurance was given that the republic, eminently religious in spirit, would effect this great and necessary change only after providing for the existence of the ministers of religion, in the service of churches and private individuals, and by organizing the free association of the faithful for their own religious wants. This change of state payment into voluntary payment, made by persons associated for their own religious worship, would operate only to the extinction of the ministers of the different communions. Piety would gain in purity; individual faith would gain in liberty, and conscientious feeling would gain in dignity and respect. This was the key-stone of the revolution; for the regular emancipation of religious worship is the liberty of God in the soul. Rome and the superior individuals among the clergy, appeared to be in no way alarmed by these avowals, or by the philosophic tendency of the new republic. On the contrary, they beheld in them safety, dignity, and increase of power,—of that power which it is fitting should be exercised over the heart in the empire of religious sentiment.

The minister for foreign affairs spoke in the same tone to the archbishop of Paris, a truly pious man, and one capable of comprehending a higher destiny for his church than that of being the paid instrument of governments,—now their tyrant, now their slave.

General Aupick was appointed to the embassy at Constantinople. He had been long attached to the royal family; nevertheless the members of the government, and the minister of the interior himself, selected him with full confidence as the representative of the republic, at one of the most important points of foreign diplomacy. Every one knew that General Aupick's first allegiance was to his country. High military capacity, combined with a reflective mind and accurate judgment, marked him out as a man well fitted for a post where the diplomatic interests of the whole world might clash together. General Aupick's aptitude alone was con-

sidered, his conscientious honesty of purpose could admit of no doubt.

To London only a chargé-d'affaires was in the first instance sent, with the view of obviating, by the absence of an agent of a higher order, any opportunity of misunderstanding between two great governments, each of which cherished a desire for mutual agreement, for the sake of maintaining the peace of the world, and between which chicanery might have excited irritation and disagreement. Subsequently Lamartine sent M. Tallenay to London. M. Tallenay, who had filled the post of French minister at Hamburg, belonged to the old school of diplomacy. He was a man of frank, conciliatory, and easy manners; well fitted for maintaining confidential conversations with monarchical statesmen, and quietly preparing the way for official negotiation, whenever the recognition of the republic should afford opportunity for the free exercise of his powers.

But the daily conversations of the English ambassador, Lord Normanby, with the minister for foreign affairs, and the unreserved cordiality of their relations, rendered the post of French ambassador in London a superfluity. Lord Palmerston and the English cabinet seemed to have understood with singular sagacity the pacific, moderate, and civilizing character of the republic, directed in a spirit of respect and inviolability towards the institutions of foreign countries. A contrary attitude on the part of the English government would have revived that anti-Britannic prejudice which Lamartine, like Mirabeau, Lafayette, and Talleyrand, was most anxious to annihilate in France. England, by accepting the fraternity which was offered with dignity by the republic, merited the gratitude of mankind. The administration of Lord Palmerston will gather the fruits of that gratitude in history. The minister of the republic was perfectly aware that no serious coalition against France was possible on the continent without the concurrence and the pay of England. He would not, for any consideration, furnish the English aristocracy with a pretext for forcing the English cabinet into a crusade against the republic. To gain time was in his estimation to gain blood and strength for France. If at some future period dissension and war might arise, he was anxious that France should be in a right position to meet those dis-

asters, and that the republic should be armed. Such was not then the case. A coalition at that time would have taken France unawares, and might possibly have overwhelmed her.

This was one of the motives which induced the minister of the republic to resist with inflexible determination the idea of revolutionizing Belgium by the rash and traitorous enterprizes attempted on the frontier, which enterprizes the minister was continually reproached for checking. He had repudiated all contact with the Belgian republicans, who came to Paris to concert schemes with the French republicans of the old school. He had despatched to Brussels several confidential agents, with instructions to observe the real state of public opinion, and to check rather than to excite the demagoguic feeling in the Belgian capital. The principal agent was a man of energetic spirit, but he was not sufficiently well versed in European diplomacy. The minister recalled him without delay, and sent in his stead a man of experience and prudence, M. Bellocq, an old diplomatist, well practised in the tact demanded in difficult political emergencies.

That the republican government should feel any uneasiness in having in Brussels a king, connected by the ties of blood with the fallen dynasty of France, was a susceptibility unworthy of the republic. A revolution in Belgium, and the annexation of that country to France at this time, would have been a premature and impolitic declaration of war against England. Such an event must have had the effect of immediately breaking up the liberal English ministry, and of throwing England into the coalition. France would have been rendered neither stronger nor weaker by the annexation of Belgium; but that nation remaining inviolate, secured to the republic the passiveness of England, the silence of Germany, and the respect of the world.

The minister watched, with a vigilant eye, the plots hatched in Paris for prematurely effecting the union of France and Belgium. In his conversations with the prince de Ligne, Lamartine gave assurances of his prudence and good faith, and the ambassador from the king of the Belgians manifested the utmost confidence in the minister for foreign affairs. This mutual good understanding powerfully con-

tributed to check designs of propagandism, injurious to both nations, to European peace, and to the republic itself.

M. de Lurde, who was appointed ambassador to Holland, was well acquainted with the diplomacy of the North, and he understood the twofold influences which, from St. Petersburg and London, were at work in the court of the Hague.

To Berne M. de Thiard was sent. He was a man of aristocratic family, enlarged mind, and shrewd observation. Since the close of the emigration and the fall of the empire, he had been devoted to the party of the Liberal opposition. The veterans of that party, who were writers for *Le National*, considered an embassy offered to M. Thiard as a pledge granted to their opinions. The minister for foreign affairs regarded M. Thiard as a man well fitted to maintain the republican but anti-demagoguic line of diplomacy, which he was desirous should be carried out. He recommended the observance of the utmost delicacy and caution with respect to Switzerland, in order to win that power to cordiality, as the first step towards alliance. He did not succeed so well as he could have wished, either because the ambassador did not make the disposition of France sufficiently manifest, or because Switzerland was afraid of compromising herself with a republic which, as yet, numbered only days of existence. This was unfortunate for both nations, and still more unfortunate for Italy. The views of the minister for foreign affairs tended towards a system of pacific league. That system was checked by the coldness of Switzerland, compromised by the battles of Goito and Novare. But it is in the nature of things that it should revive under governments more intelligent and better understood. Switzerland will repent of her wavering and delays.

M. Bixio was sent as chargé-d'affaires to Turin. The uncertainty of the relations between the French republic and the court of Turin, which had hitherto been under the influence of sacerdotal and absolutist principles, did not admit of an ambassador or minister being sent thither.

M. Bixio elevated his functions to the level of his own intelligence and patriotism. He was unpractised in diplomatic affairs, but the ability he evinced proved that diplomatic talent is innate, and not acquired. His mission was a

delicate one, precisely because it was to be discharged in a spirit of good faith. His task was to inspire the court of Turin with dispositions favourable to France, and to refrain from throwing out even the slightest hint that might have the effect of instigating war with Austria—a war in which Turin was likely to become involved through her own rash ambition. The French chargé d'affaires was instructed to impart confidence and authority to the constitutional and Liberal party in Italy, but without flattering and exciting the republicans, whose movements were premature and ruinous, to the emancipation of Italy.

Unforeseen chances, and the contradictory fortunes of Piedmont and Lombardy, put the tact of the young diplomatist to a severe test. He did not commit a single fault in a situation in which more experienced negotiators might readily have erred. France could fairly say that not a drop of Italian blood stained the hands of her diplomacy in Piedmont and Lombardy. Italy received no counsel for which she could justly reproach France. M. Bixio, who was of Italian descent, was a Frenchman at heart; and he was alike imbued with the sentiments of his native land and of his adopted country. The minister was about to raise him to higher functions, just at the moment when the National Assembly opened, and M. Bixio wished to have a seat in the assembly. During the turbulent days of June, he fought with the courage of an advance-guard soldier; and he shed his blood unsparingly for the republic. After the election of the president, M. Bixio filled a post in the ministry, which, however, he resigned after a few days, through some susceptible feeling of honour imperfectly explained. He gave decided proofs of his ability for diplomatic negotiation—a department in which his talents ought to be again employed.

M. de Boissy had been appointed minister to Florence. He was an experienced diplomatist and well acquainted with Tuscany. His wife, a native of Ravenna, was distinguished for beauty and enthusiastic patriotism. Her name alone was a passport to negotiation with the high liberalism of Central Italy. She was united in literary friendship with all the illustrious patriots of the Roman states, Pisa, Venice, and Florence. M. de Boissy, a bold and decided man, had resolutely adopted the republic; and whilst in Paris, he had

evinced great personal courage in defending it against the encroachments of demagoguism. His splendid position and aristocratic name would have enabled him to render good service to the republic abroad. However, he did not depart for his post in Florence, but preferred becoming a member of the National Assembly; being more desirous to mount a tribune than to figure in a court. The appointment of envoy to the grand duke of Tuscany was therefore transferred to M. Benoit Champy, who was the ally of M. de Lammenais, and was patronized by that illustrious and popular man. The choice of M. Benoit Champy was a most happy one. He was a man worthy to be sent to the enlightened and liberal prince, who was preparing to make Tuscany a republic, or rather a national family by the help of free and mild government. M. Benoit Champy caused the French republic to be favourably regarded even by that very prince who, by the rebound of the Paris revolution, has since been expelled from his dominions. Had the advice of M. Benoit Champy been more energetically followed, Tuscany might have been spared that disaster, and saved from the reaction which arose against Central Italy.

For the court of Madrid, it was exceedingly difficult to select a French envoy suited to the post. General Narvaez, a man very superior to the mere soldier-like renown for which he is distinguished in the eyes of foreigners, was to Spain a sort of military Richelieu, all-powerful in the second rank. In a court divided by dissension, and deeply sunk in dissipation, Narvaez had studied, with sombre anxiety, the character of the French revolution at its first outbreak. Judging of France by Spain, he might well imagine that civil war would be the offspring of the revolution, and that it would select its leaders from among the princes of the house of Orleans. Anticipating events in which Spain would have a part to play, through her family connection with the dynasty of July, Narvaez had explained himself with sinister ambiguity, and had concentrated troops in the direction of the Pyrenees. The manifesto of the provisional government, and the explanations of its minister with the Spanish chargé-d'affaires in Paris, changed the views of Narvaez. The intrigues of France and England in Madrid agitated Spain, and kept the general in continual alarm for the preservation of his authority. Lamartine, by

withdrawing France from these intrigues, and leaving Spain in possession of her internal independence, tranquillized the Spanish government, and left to Narvaez no other source of inquietude than that which related to England. The result of this policy was such as might have been expected; France ceased to give umbrage, and was the better liked in proportion as she was the less imposing.

But to maintain this system, it was necessary that the French envoy at Madrid should not be a man whose ardent republicanism might render him adverse to the constitution, and tempt him to stimulate the fermentations of impotent insurrection in Catalonia;—nor one whose high military name would revive recollections of the war of independence;—nor a diplomatist of July, who, being lukewarm to the republic, and influenced by attachment to the house of Orleans, might have closed his eyes upon plots in favour of dynastic restoration in France—plots which might possibly be hatched in the palace at Madrid, or in Seville, or wheresoever the duke de Montpensier might reside. The minister for foreign affairs found in M. de Lesseps, the French consul-general at Barcelona, a man well acquainted with the Spanish character, one who was agreeable to Narvaez, and who would implicitly obey the instructions he received. M. de Lesseps was sent to Madrid, and the consequence was that mutual distrust vanished, and repugnance gave way to the well-understood interest of both nations. Never did France and Spain more completely enter into that amicable feeling which naturally connects them together, when they are not separated by a false policy. General Narvaez understood well the spirit of France, and the favourable sentiments cherished by the people of both countries towards each other were suffered to develop themselves freely. The provisional government averted the necessity of assembling an army on the Pyrenees, and the country was more securely protected by friendly relations and reciprocal good faith than by armed legions.

The state of Italy, though not yet perfectly revealed, was foreseen by the minister of the republic. It was evident that the situation in which France would be placed in consequence of the affairs of Italy, precluded the possibility of establishing confidential negotiations with Austria.

M. de Metternich still reigned in Vienna, unconscious of

the volcano which was ready to burst beneath his feet. Old age had not impaired the intelligence of that great minister, but his strength of character had been enervated by the long prosperity of the empire. He believed in the eternity of the Germanic aristocracy, and he trusted to his own genius. He was happy in his elevated position, and with easy unconcern he had, for the space of several years, left everything in the hands of fate. His long course of good fortune was a snare, and Lamartine knew it as it were instinctively. During several previous years an air of decline had been perceptible in the cabinet of Vienna. Hungary, Gallicia, Poland, Bohemia, Lombardy, Venice, as well as all those members of the Austrian empire which were but ill-cemented with the body of the empire itself, appeared to be tending to dissolution. France, whilst unwilling to exercise any constraint in that part of the world, was ready to accept whatever advantages fortune might present.

It was evident that the first differences that might arise between the French republic and the continent would have their origin in questions relating to Italy or Switzerland. In principle, therefore, war existed, though it was not declared, between Vienna and Paris, or it might be more properly said, that there prevailed neither war nor peace, but a state of things which was a combination of both. The French government did not endeavour by false appearances to disguise this fact. It neither sought to deceive M. de Metternich by subterfuges, nor to deceive itself. The disposition of the republic was frankly avowed to M. d'Apponi, the Austrian ambassador in Paris. He, with the good faith and chivalrous feeling which characterized him, declared his willingness to leave in Vienna a French chargé-d'affaires beloved by old Germany and by the court; one who would be content to hear and see, but not to act; for, to act would have been to deceive. The diplomacy of the republic wished not to deceive any one, not even its natural enemy, Austria.

The envoy sent to Naples was less happily chosen. The selection was made to favour the party of the *National*; it being thought desirable to employ the talents and gratify the ambition of some individuals of that party. To the secretary of legation appointed to the court of Naples, the minister for foreign affairs gave instructions in conformity with his idea of Italian

federation, an idea no way subversive of the thrones existing in Italy. But the chargé-d'affaires wholly departed from the line traced out for him; and he seemed to have taken his directions either from the radical propaganda party in Paris, or from the extreme parties in Naples. He held the language and assumed the attitude of those envoys of the Convention, whose mission was to outrage kings and to excite subjects. Admiral Baudin, who commanded the fleet at Naples, better understood the dignity of the republic; and he repressed, as far as lay in his power, all violent ebullitions of zeal. The chargé-d'affaires was recalled, and M. de Bois-le-Comte, a man of moderation and prudence, was sent in his stead. M. de Bois-le-Comte had been the fellow-labourer of M. Buchez in the task of writing the great history of our first revolution. Since the 24th of February, he had borne the irksome weight of official details, whilst working in the true spirit of the new republican diplomacy in the cabinet of the minister for foreign affairs. He was afterwards sent to Turin.

Lamartine was desirous of maintaining amicable intercourse between the republic and the cabinet of St. Petersburg. He felt convinced that there existed between the two powers no incompatibility save that arising out of the condition of Poland. That point, the only one on which the two nations could differ with each other, was not a question of territorial interest, but one of moral feeling. The first execution of the treaties of Vienna, together with some liberal institutions restored by the emperor of Russia to the kingdom of Poland, seemed to hold out a prospect that the two governments might enter into mutual reconciliation with honour and safety to all parties. But time and consideration were required. Lamartine would not incur the risk of having his own views thwarted and the dignity of the republic compromised by sending envoys to St. Petersburg, who might perhaps be coolly received there. A secretary of legation, appointed by the minister of the monarchy but who had no political mission, was accordingly left in St. Petersburg. The Russian minister in Paris was an active, able, and well-disposed interpreter of the wishes of the emperor and of France. The cool intercourse interchanged at intervals between the Russian and French governments was devoid of any trace of acrimony; there can be no clashing from such very remote points, unless

people are resolved to clash by antipathy and by system. The emperor of Russia was too just, and the French republic too wise, to suffer any other feeling than mutual coolness to exist between them.

But the post to which the minister at that moment attached the highest importance was Berlin. Then, as in 1791, the base of the continental equilibrium rested in the Prussian cabinet. There Russia, England, and Northern Germany might be said to meet together to dispute the favour of a powerful military monarchy, and of a public spirit preponderating in the councils of a philosophic king;—that king, a man of daring and restless genius, ever eager to take the initiative and to enter dauntlessly on the path of innovation, capable of understanding, risking, and daring anything. The knot of European peace or war,—of the emancipation and reconstruction of Germany,—of the pacific and partial regeneration of Poland, was to be unravelled in Berlin. The first word that the king of Prussia might utter in reference to the French republic would necessarily influence the whole continent. No one of the continental powers would venture to think of war, if the king of Prussia desired peace. It will be readily conceived that Lamartine, who was so anxious to avert war, devoutly hoped that the genius of humanity, together with some predisposition in favour of the French republic, would inspire the king of Prussia to utter the word peace.

He sought for and found the man capable of filling the important post of envoy at Berlin. Philosophic tendencies, Germanic science, and the far-sighted diplomacy of the new French revolution, all were represented at the court of Berlin by a genius almost universal.

This man, heretofore but little known except in the aristocratic, literary, and scientific circles, was M. de Circourt, who had exercised diplomatic functions under the government of the restoration. The revolution of July threw him into retirement; and his sentiments of opposition approximated more nearly to legitimatism than to democracy. During the years of his seclusion from public affairs, he devoted himself to studies which would have wholly absorbed the lives of some men, but which formed merely the recreation of his. These studies were directed to geography, history, philosophy,

travels, together with the constitutions, languages, and religions of different countries and races of people, from the infancy of the world to the present time, from Thibet to the Alps. In the mind of M. Circourt, all this knowledge was stored up, maturely digested, and readily available. Had he been asked questions involving the whole range of facts and ideas comprised in the world, he could have answered them without the necessity of appealing to any other record than his memory. His mind was a vast field, an immense depth of ideas, of which it was impossible to calculate either the boundaries or the depth; it was a living map of human knowledge. M. de Circourt was all intellect, and his intelligence rose to the height of every truth. He was married to a young Russian lady of aristocratic family and highly cultivated mind. Through her he was established on a footing of friendly intercourse with all the distinguished persons who figured in the literary circles and in the courts of northern Germany. He had himself resided in Berlin, where he had formed acquaintance with the principal Prussian statesmen. That literary and liberal sovereign, the king of Prussia, had honoured him with some intimacy when he was at the court of Berlin. M. de Circourt, without being a republican at heart, was strongly impressed by the grand perspectives which a French republic, arising out of the progressive and pacific genius of young France, might open to mankind. Accordingly he gave his allegiance to the new government, and declared his readiness to serve it. Like Lamartine, he was fully convinced that liberty required peace, and that the maintenance of peace depended on the cabinets of Berlin and London.

Lamartine gave to M. Circourt, in writing, his confidential instructions for the ear of the king of Prussia and his ministers. These instructions were indeed merely framed in the spirit of that philosophy of peace common to all minds penetrated by a ray of divine light,—a philosophy which has become part of a political system, through accordance between the heart of a king and the spirit of a minister in a great rising democracy. M. de Circourt was a man capable of commenting on his instructions, and adapting them both to the Prussian court and to the events that might occur in Germany. The alliance, tacit at least, between Germany and

France; the inviolability of territory; the tendency to moral unity in Germany, which would remove the small states from the exclusive influence of Austria; the powerful arbitration of Prussia between Germanic independence and Russian repression; the restitution of a moral portion of constitutional nationality to the yet living dismemberments of Poland;—such were the texts indicated in the instructions given to M. de Circourt.

He departed, and from his post in Berlin he maintained with the minister for foreign affairs a confidential and voluminous correspondence relating to the state of the north of Europe. He never once erred in any of his calculations. He inclined the heart and the mind of the king of Prussia to all those ideas of conciliation and equilibrium which were for the true interest of both states. At the time when disturbances broke out in Berlin, a revolution in that capital was no longer an event to be regarded by the French republic as essential for securing the triumph of the cause of peace and humanity, which M. de Circourt had been sent to defend. Lamartine and his envoy in Prussia saw more reason for regret than for gratulation in a revolution which, by urging the king of Prussia to go beyond his wishes, might possibly in the end drive him into the arms of Russia.

BOOK XII.

WHILST these negotiations, together with information given privately, but in a way consistently with good faith, prepared and threw light on the European ground, whereon the republic desired to take her stand without violating foreign nationalities;—whilst republican diplomacy held the world in suspense, and thus gained time to enable France to rally and defend herself, Paris continued to live on enthusiasm, and on the almost unanimous hopes of her revolution. The republic had no enemies, and but few were distrustful of its permanency. Those who, at the first moment, had been alarmed at its very name, were now amazed by its magnanimity, its calmness, and its harmony. The first programmes of the government, the spontaneous respect of the people for a ruling

authority (which was the offspring of chance), the patience of the labouring people, the charity of the rich, the serenity of all, diffused a cloudless light over the first weeks of the republic. The unfortunate waited hopefully; the happy enjoyed their security; opinions, the most adverse, became reconciled on the wide field of liberty, that common and secure refuge, open to all. Individuals who had been hurled from power, and who were yet stunned by their fall, were grateful to the government for its interdiction of all recriminations and proscriptions, and for inviting them to the free and full exercise of their political rights.

The departments organized themselves peacefully into patriotic committees, with the view of selecting, earnestly, and in mutual accordance, not mere party men, but the best citizens of every profession; in short, the men best qualified to unite and consolidate the different parties of the republic in a national assembly. Those who are most sceptical respecting the advantages of liberty need only turn their eyes to the picture of those two months of concord and hearty joy, to be convinced of the all-powerful influence which generous sentiments and the amnesty of opinion exercise on a people. With the exception of some furious declamation, vented here and there, in incendiary clubs, and which the government suffered to evaporate in general indifference and public contempt, no insult was offered by one citizen to another; there were no contests on matters of opinion, and nothing to call for violent measures of repression, either in Paris or in the country at large. Thirty-six millions of impassioned minds, at the bidding of a few men, passed without disorder from one form of government to another. The scaffold was abolished; prisons were opened only to receive malefactors; laws were respected; even laws of taxation were implicitly obeyed by a suffering people. Honour and conscience superseded law, and the spirit of conquest was repudiated. War, that natural allurement to French genius, was repressed by the hand of philosophy. The inspiration of God throughout a nation was seen and felt.

This state of things would have continued indefinitely, had not the inspiration of reason, truth, and practical fraternity, been disturbed in the very heart of the government itself by less favourable inspirations;—the posthumous inspirations of

a past age, which had not, and could not have, any analogy with the time present. A deplorable attempt was made to parody the first republic; the words deprivation and exclusion were heard; coarse language and menaces were addressed to people who were amazed to find themselves rebuked and intimidated at the moment when they were voluntarily and unanimously adopting a republic of concord and good-will. The first effect of this error, on the part of certain members of the government, became manifest on the 15th of March, at a time when events were proceeding in a perfectly smooth course.

The department of the minister of the interior was under the almost absolute control of M. Ledru Rollin. That department, which in the vastness of its attributes had reference to almost every object of public interest, acquired additional importance from the name, the talent, and the democratic popularity of the man who was at the head of it. To give a right direction to the public mind, and to organize the elections, were among the functions assigned to the minister of the interior. It is not known whose hand drew up the first circular addressed by that minister to the republican authorities in the departments. The transactions of the other ministerial offices were as much out of the cognizance of the minister for foreign affairs, as the business of his department was out of the knowledge of his colleagues. Whilst united in the great tendencies of order and republicanism, they diverged in details, each following the dictates of his own judgment, and being responsible only to his own conscience and to the country.

The republican circle in which the minister of the interior moved was not the circle of Lamartine, nor that of the majority of the government. Disagreements frequently arose between the minister of the interior and his colleagues; but the latter entertained no suspicions: indeed the frank energy with which the minister avowed his opinions banished all idea of perfidy.

The differences existing between the two systems of republicanism occasioned opposition and clashing; but most frequently these adverse sentiments were modified and conciliated in the council. Soon, however, party discord began to extend beyond the deliberations of the government.

The majority of the country rallied round the men who were favourable to liberty and moderation; the more ardent and violent minority rallied round the minister of the interior and his partisans. It has been alleged that these partisans molested the minister with their advice and their extreme republican ardour; and that they sought to force him beyond the boundaries of unity and concord, within which he, like all his colleagues, was desirous of restraining measures and opinions. These intemperate counsellors wielded their pens in his office, and promulgated, in equivocal and ill-sounding language, their own opinions instead of the sentiments of the government. The opposition of these two parties, the one seeking to soothe, and the other to excite, the passions of the people, occasioned an agitation which was sensibly felt by those who had the direction of public affairs.

The first important circular issued by the minister of the interior, in reference to the elections, appeared on the 12th of March.

This circular, like the sound of the tocsin, startled the country and banished the dream of concord and peace which the government was desirous of prolonging. After offering much useful advice, this circular launched into a strain of violent language calculated to produce a reaction in the minds of persons whose opinions were menaced.

"Your powers are unlimited," said the minister, addressing his agents. This was nothing less than a revival of the dictatorial mandate given to the commissioners of the Convention; and every recollection of that kind spread horror through the country. "We will have all men of the day before, and no men of the day after, in the National Assembly!" This was to banish opinion itself from its own sovereignty. It was the public ostracism of almost the whole nation; for, in proportion as the republicans of reason were numerous, the republicans of faction were few. Here was, in short, an 18th Fructidor of words against France, and it produced a most sinister impression.

This circular, which was most important, inasmuch as it was intended to be understood as promulgating to the nation the spirit of the government, had in reality never been submitted to the deliberation of the ministers. It was the work of abused power on the part of certain persons,

usurping authority in the office of the minister of the interior. The pressure of business and the complication of events afforded not a moment's leisure, either by day or by night, to the members of the government, who were incessantly engaged at the Hôtel de Ville, or in the public streets, addressing assemblages of the people and deputations from the departments or from foreign nations. This continuous occupation had so engrossed Lamartine, that the circular escaped his knowledge, and he was only made aware of its existence by the feeling of anxiety and irritation it created in Paris. He immediately felt the conviction that if this document were not disavowed by the government, the republic would change hands in changing its doctrines; that it would become the tyranny of a minority instead of being the common field of liberty; that this insolent tyranny of a minority could only be sustained by terror at home, war abroad, and everywhere by trouble, exaction, and revolutionary deprivation and sequestration. Lamartine and the majority of his colleagues were resolved to perish rather than associate their responsibility to God, to history, and to their own consciences, with so execrable a government.

Moreover, his political experience assured him that such a government would, before the expiration of three months, end in civil war, and that civil war would be death to the republic.

Accordingly, he demanded that a secret council of all the members of the government should be held at the Hôtel de Ville on the 16th of March, at noon. He determined to bring under the consideration of his colleagues the question of the two principles of government which at length seemed to be arrayed against each other face to face; he was also determined to break up the government at any risk, rather than belie himself by continuing in connection with it.

He did not conceal from himself any of the consequences that must attend a rupture of the government at that moment. He knew that the opinion of the better portion of the people, of the national guards, and of the bourgeoisie of Paris, would instantly and emphatically be declared for him; he also knew that the ultra-revolutionists, the socialists, the terrorists—in short, the active and armed portion of the

Parisian population, would frantically adhere to the leaders of the opposite party; he knew, moreover, that his retirement from the government would be the signal for a struggle, in which all chances were against him; for, though opinion was with him, arms were opposed to him. No matter; we had then arrived at one of those junctures in which it behoves public men to consider, not their own preservation, but their duty.

On the evening of the 16th, Lamartine received at the Hôtel de Ville a deputation of the club of the national guard, headed by M. de Lepine, who was colonel of the Banlieue, and an influential citizen. He seized this opportunity of boldly announcing to the people of Paris the pain which the circulars had caused him, and the struggle to which he looked forward on the following day.

"Citizens," said he, on being interrogated by the deputation respecting the intentions of the government, "it is not for me, in a question so general and so important, to take the initiative on the opinion of all my colleagues, collectively. Nevertheless, I may say, that they will be deeply sensible of and most grateful for the step which you have now taken and the words which you have here uttered.

"The provisional government has not authorized any one to address the nation in its name, and least of all, has it authorized any one to hold language inconsistent with the laws. (Cries of 'Bravo!') That privilege it has granted to no one; for the government itself has not used that privilege, even at the moment when, like an acclamation of the popular voice, it arose to fill temporarily the difficult place it occupies. The government never wished to use this privilege; it never has, and never will use it. Of this, the names of the men who compose it are a sufficient guarantee. ('Bravo!')

"Rest assured that within a few days the provisional government will itself speak out; and that anything in the terms, though not in the intentions, of this document which may have wounded or alarmed the liberty and conscience of the country will be explained, commented on, and settled by the united voice of all the members of the government. (Cheers, and shouts of, '*Long live Lamartine!*')

"Rather say '*Long live the whole government!*'" resumed

Lamartine, "for this thought is not exclusively mine; it is shared by all the members of the government,—by the minister of the interior himself."

A member of the deputation exclaimed:—"We accept it as such."

"Citizens," continued Lamartine, "of all the principles which have survived the great falls of thrones and empires which we have witnessed during the last half-century, there is in our eyes only one imperishable principle:—it is national sovereignty ('Bravo, bravo!');—that national sovereignty which we will never ourselves assail, and which we will never suffer to be assailed either in our name or yours.

"Be assured that the provisional government will rejoice that you have come like a presentiment of true republican opinion, that is to say, free opinion, to elicit explanation respecting the course which it is proposed to pursue in the elections, out of which the republican government of France must take its birth. The provisional government wishes not to influence the elections, nor ought it to influence them either directly or indirectly. Yes, as a government—as men armed with a portion of public authority, we should blush for the reproaches we have addressed to the governments which have preceded us, if, instead of the corruption which by its scandals caused the revolution out of which the republic has arisen, we should now resort to another and a worse species of corruption—that of intimidation and the moral oppression of conscience. ('Bravo! bravo!')

"No, the republic ought to issue and will issue only from a free and pure source. Set your minds at ease, citizens, and repeat these words to your fellow-citizens. (Several voices —'Yes, yes, we will repeat them with pleasure.')

"I wish," continued Lamartine, "we all wish, that these words may resound from the public voice, in Paris and throughout France. We are anxious that they may satisfactorily show the wrong interpretation given to certain words not conveying the signification assigned to them by persons who took alarm at expressions which have misrepresented thoughts. Know this, and tell it to those who are waiting for you outside. The government of the republic collectively feels the necessity of offering a twofold satisfaction to the public mind; now, in this interview which we hold here

together, and by-and-by in a proclamation which will be addressed to all the citizens of France. (Prolonged acclamations.)

"It is your desire, and it is ours, that the republic and liberty should be but one word (cries of 'Yes, yes!'); otherwise the republic would be a falsehood, and we wish it should be a truth. ('Bravo!') We want a republic which shall make itself beloved and respected by all; which shall be feared by no one save the enemies of the country and of her institutions. ('Bravo!') We wish to found a republic which may be the model of a moderate government, and not the mere copy of the faults and the misfortunes of a former period. We adopt the glory of that period, but we repudiate its anarchy and its errors. Help us to found the republic and to defend it. Vote according to your consciences, and if, as I doubt not, they are the consciences of good citizens, the republic will be consolidated by your votes, as it has been created by the arms of the people of Paris." (Unanimous shouts of "Bravo!")

The deputation withdrew amidst reiterated cries of "*Vive Lamartine!*" "*Vive le gouvernement provisoire!*" "*Vive la république!*"

This address was received with frantic enthusiasm by the deputation, and by the vast assemblage formed of other deputations, which Lamartine continued to harangue until midnight in the great hall of the Hôtel de Ville. The address itself, which was regarded as a good stroke of state policy, was circulated from quarter to quarter with the swiftness of thought. It inspired courage in those citizens who had been intimidated; it proved to the partisans of violent measures that the government would not make itself their accomplice; and that, on the following day, they must either defend or disavow their professions.

Lamartine employed a part of the night in drawing up, with his own hand, a government proclamation, which embodied the true principles of a free, representative, moderate, and national republic; a proclamation which, in ideas and in words, was the most literal disavowal and denial of the circular of the minister of the interior. Ready for all, even for the last extremity, and carrying arms about his person to defend himself against violence, Lamartine repaired alone, and on foot, at the appointed hour, to the Hôtel de Ville.

There all the members of the government were already assembled. Lamartine was astonished, on arriving at the Place de Grève, to find it occupied by twenty or thirty thousand men belonging to the picked companies of the national guard. He was recognized and greeted with energetic acclamations. Shouts of "*Vive Lamartine!*" accompanied him, even after he had entered the Hôtel de Ville, and were renewed, with increasing enthusiasm, every time he was perceived, or was thought to be perceived, at the windows of the reception-rooms.

On his inquiring the cause of this spontaneous assemblage of such vast numbers of the national guards, he was informed that they were companies of grenadiers, and that they had come to protest against a decree of the government, by which they would be debarred the privilege of wearing their fur caps. They complained that this decree would have the effect of breaking up their squares, for the purpose of admitting into them all citizens, privileged or unprivileged, and without regard to the uniform fur caps. Lamartine expressed regret at hearing so puerile a complaint at so serious a moment. He harangued the grenadiers, and prevailed on them to consent to the abolition of a distinction, consisting of a mere military vanity, at a time when it was proposed to merge all vanities in the sentiment of patriotism.

During this parley with the grenadiers, General Courtais, their commandant, entered the Place de Grève on horseback, accompanied by his staff. The general galloped into the midst of the tumultuous ranks, receiving insults, braving menaces, and exposing himself to danger. The mob, excited by this scene, hurried to the outlets of the quay, and into the adjoining streets, shouting:—"*À l'aristocratie! au privilège!*" Meanwhile all remained motionless on the Place, which was covered with unarmed legions, who seemed to be expecting an event.

Under these auspices the secret sitting of the government was opened. The two camps were in hostile array within and without doors. Without by the effect of chance, and within by the will of Lamartine. The countenances of all present wore an expression of gloomy and thoughtful resolution, like those of men on the eve of a battle.

Lamartine laid on the table the proclamation which he had

written during the night, and which he had not yet communicated to any one.

"Gentlemen," said he, "up to this time we have been bound together in one single fascis of opinions and sentiments by the force of great revolutionary events. We rushed into the fire of the revolution that we might be the better enabled to extinguish it, and to convert it into a strong, unanimous, and regular republican government. Now, we must no longer deceive ourselves. The acts and words of the minister of the interior are at variance with the spirit with which we were unanimously desirous of imbuing our dictatorship, and they seem to indicate clearly two things,—first, that the minister is desirous of pledging the whole government to his individual acts; whereas the government ought to deliberate collectively on what he says and what he does in a matter so important; second, that the minister wishes to govern in a spirit which I do not believe to be the spirit of the republic, nor the spirit of the majority of the government, and which, at all events, is not consistent with my views. We must, therefore, at this moment, here, and in this sitting, know whether there are two minds in the government. If such be really the case, one or the other must gain the ascendancy; and that party which is overruled must retire and yield the government to the party that is triumphant. The one party cannot take the responsibility of the acts of the other; nor can the republic, at its most problematic, most perilous, and most agitated crisis, be ruled by two adverse policies. Let us know then, once for all, whether there are two irreconcilable policies prevailing among us, and to which of the two you give your adhesion. Let us know this, and let us make it known to the country, for the policy so imprudently promulgated in the circular of the minister of the interior has occasioned great excitement in the public mind. It must either be contradicted or commented on by common accord, or we must separate without the possibility of reconciliation. Here is the proclamation which I propose to the government, as the text of opinions which I believe to be those of the country at large, and those of the government, as they are my own. I will now read it to the council, and the discussion, of which this text will be the subject, will determine the question as to which line

of policy is to direct our commissioners, and thereby satisfy or dismember the nation." He then read the plan of the proclamation as follows:—

"Citizens,—

"In all the great acts of the life of a nation, it is the duty of their government to make its voice heard by the people.

"You are about to accomplish the greatest act in the life of a nation—to elect the representatives of the people;—to create from your convictions and your suffrages, not merely a government, but a social power, a complete constitution! You are about to organize the republic!

"We, on our part, have only proclaimed it. Raised by popular acclamation to power, during the interregnum of the people, we then desired, and we now desire, no other dictatorship than that required by absolute necessity. Had we refused the post of danger, we should have been cowards; were we to continue in it an hour longer than necessity enjoins, we should be usurpers.

"Strength is with you alone!

"We count the days, for we are impatient to restore the republic to the nation.

"The provisional electoral law, which we have made, is of wider range than any law by which any other nation of the earth ever convoked the people to the exercise of the supreme right of man,—his own sovereignty.

"The privilege of election belongs to all without exception.

"From the date of this law there are no proletaries in France.

"Every Frenchman, having attained the age of manhood, is a political citizen;—every citizen is an elector;—every elector is a sovereign. The right is equal and absolute for all. No citizen can say to another—'You enjoy more of sovereign power than I.' Reflect well on that power, prepare yourselves for exercising it, and render yourselves worthy to enter on your reign.

"The reign of the people is the republic.

"If you ask us what republic we understand by that name, and what principles, what politics, what virtues we desire to see in the republicans whom you are about to elect, our answer is—'Look at the people of Paris and France since the proclamation of the republic!'

"The people fought with heroism!

"The people triumphed with humanity!

"The people repressed anarchy from the first hour.

"The people, of their own accord, broke the arms of their just anger as soon as the conflict was ended. They have burned the scaffold, and proclaimed the abolition of the punishment of death upon their enemies.

"They have respected personal liberty by proscribing no one. They have respected conscience in matters of religion, but without inequality and without privilege.

"They have respected property; and they have carried probity even to the extent of that sublime disinterestedness to which history will render a tribute of generous sympathy.

"They have chosen as their rulers the most honest and firm men who have come within their observation. They have raised no outcry of hatred or envy against wealth; no outcry of vengeance against persons; in short, they have made the word people identical with courage, clemency, and virtue.

"We have but one instruction to give you: take your inspiration from the people! imitate them! think, feel, vote, and act like them!

"The provisional government, on its part, will not imitate governments which have usurped the sovereignty of the people, corrupted electors, and purchased, at the price of morality, the conscience of the country.

"To what purpose should we have succeeded those governments were we to resemble them? To what purpose should we have created and worshipped the republic, if that republic, on the very first dawn of its existence, should enter the paths of absolute royalty? The provisional government regards it as a duty to diffuse over the electoral operations that light which directs men's consciences without controlling them. It confines itself to neutralizing the hostile influence of the old system, by which the character and object of election were perverted.

"The provisional government is desirous that the public conscience should reign paramount. It does not concern itself about old parties; those parties have grown older by a century within an interval of three days! The republic will bring conviction to them, if they find it to be true and just.

Necessity is a great master; and the republic, remember, has the good fortune to be a government of necessity. The reflection that must occur to us all is this: we cannot attempt to retrograde to impossible monarchy; we will not descend into the unknown depths of anarchy; we will be republicans by the force of reason. Give safety, liberty, and respect to all; insure to others that independence of suffrage which you yourselves wish to enjoy. Consider not what names those whom you believe to be your enemies may inscribe on their bulletins; but assure yourselves beforehand that they inscribe the only names which can save them, viz. those of intelligent and honest republicans.

"To secure safety, liberty, and respect for the consciences of all citizen electors is the intention of the republican government; it is its duty, and it is yours. Therein consists the safety of the people! Have confidence in the good sense of the country, and it will have confidence in you. Give it liberty, and it will repay you with the republic!

"Citizens, in the midst of some financial difficulties bequeathed by royalty, but nevertheless under providential auspices, France is, at this moment, attempting to accomplish the greatest work of modern times; the foundation of the government of the people at large, the organization of democracy, the republic of all rights, all interests, all intelligence, and every virtue.

"Circumstances are propitious. Peace is possible. The new idea may take root in Europe, undisturbed by any other obstacle than that of the prejudices entertained against it. There is no vindictiveness in the popular mind. If fugitive royalty has not carried away with it all the enemies of the republic, it has at least left them powerless; and though they are invested with all the rights which the republic guarantees even to minorities, their interest and their prudence afford sufficient security that they will not interrupt the peaceful foundation of the popular constitution.

"In the space of three days that work, which was believed to be postponed to some distant period of time, has been accomplished in France, without a drop of blood having been shed; without any other tumult than shouts of admiration resounding through our departments and along our frontiers. Let us not miss this opportunity, single in history; let us

not surrender the main strength of the new idea, the security with which it invests the citizens, the astonishment with which it inspires the world.

"Yet a few days of magnanimity, devotedness, and patience, and the National Assembly will receive from our hands the new-born republic. Thenceforward all will be safe! When the nation, by the hands of its representatives, shall have grasped the republic, the republic will be strong and great as the nation itself, sacred as the idea of the people, imperishable as the country."

The discussion opened with a frank, energetic, and unreserved examination of the two principles, by one or the other of which the course of the government was to be guided. The speeches, and the replies they called forth, revealed the inmost depths of the minds and hearts of the speakers. Reason and passion mingled in the arguments of the two adverse parties. Marie, Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, Arago, Crémieux, and Dupont de l'Eure, who constituted the vast majority, poured forth their whole souls in the deliberation. The minority modified rather than defended the terms of the circulars. Opinions gradually assimilated and sentiments concurred, and the necessity of a disavowal was determined by the preponderating voice of the Assembly. All admitted the liberal and magnanimous character given to the spirit of the government by the plan of the proclamation, some words of which were altered by Lamartine at the suggestion of Louis Blanc. The minority itself signed this programme of the majority; it was sent to the national printing-office; it was posted on the walls of Paris, and was most extensively circulated throughout France. It cheered the public mind; but looked, nevertheless, like what it really was, the ill-disguised token of an internal conflict in the very conscience of the government.

During the two hours occupied by this sitting at the council-table, the clamours from the national guards, who filled the Place de Grève, were audible from without, a circumstance which, in the opinion of some, gave additional power and spirit to the majority. But this supposition was illusory. Lamartine and his friends deplored this accidental and ill-timed manifestation. It might possibly give rise to counter manifestations, exciting class against class, and stirring up the people against the people. Rumours of the assemblage of the na-

tional guards on the Place de Grève, and the puerile motive which caused them to muster there, had by this time spread to the faubourgs, and parties of workmen, who thronged to the place, broke the ranks of the unarmed guards, reproached them for their absurd jealousy respecting a privileged uniform, hooting and insulting them as their detachments retired from the place.

Lamartine and Crémieux, on leaving the council, came out together by a private door at the back of the Hôtel de Ville. They were recognized on the quay, and surrounded and followed by a crowd of people, who accompanied them as far as the Louvre, uttering cries of enthusiasm as they passed along. At length they took refuge in the court-yard of a house, and the door was closed upon them, by this means escaping from an involuntary triumph, which might have alarmed the capital.

Next day the hearts of all the inhabitants of Paris were filled with joy at reading the proclamation to the French people, which so energetically re-established the true and liberal spirit of the republic. This victory of the moderate party seemed to be felt as the victory of all good citizens. In the departments, where greater alarm had prevailed, the proclamation was received with still greater applause. The departments had trembled under the expectation of being visited by proconsuls, armed with unlimited mandates, reviving in peaceful France the arbitrary and violent proconsulates of the Convention.

But though the furious conventional party, which had commenced the work of agitation in certain clubs, felt itself conquered; yet it nevertheless imagined itself to be strong enough to regain the ascendancy by help of a subterfuge.

They pretended to believe, and perhaps did believe, that the manifestations, completely accidental, of the national guards, on the day of the deliberation of the council, had been concerted by Lamartine and his friends for the purpose of intimidating the minority of the government. Possibly the minority itself actually believed such to be the fact. But be that as it may, a sinister rumour was artfully spread through Paris. Endeavours were made to persuade the people that the national guard had surrounded and menaced the government, and that it meditated a *coup d'état* by the hands of the bourgeois aristo-

cracy against its most popular members. The numerous agents of the prefecture of police, and the armed men who encamped in the court-yards of that establishment, were employed to spread this panic among the people. The workmen and the clubs were invited to assemble for a general meeting in the Champs Elysées, to show their force in the presence of their alleged enemies, to defile in their countless numbers before the Hôtel de Ville, and there to make oath to defend the government.

Caussidière, with good intentions at bottom, was himself one of the principal promoters of this prodigious gathering of the people, and he also maintained, on this occasion, a degree of discipline and order which filled the capital at once with dismay and astonishment. The people had, in reality, gathered together only for the praiseworthy object of manifesting their attachment to the government, and showing their readiness to support it. There was not a germ of sedition in this greatest pacific act of sedition that a capital ever witnessed. The worst that was done was a sort of secret insinuation, on the part of the leaders, tending to show that their shouts of predilection were intended to avenge the minority of the government for the triumph of Lamartine.

But whilst the people were thus flocking in crowds from their faubourgs and their workshops for what they supposed to be a loyal and civic demonstration, certain men, chiefs of sects, leaders of clubs, instruments of fanaticism, and agents of sedition, were devising schemes for turning to their own use this popular army recruited in a good cause, and for rendering it the unconscious instrument of their perverse or seditious designs. Luckily these men were in the minority even in the clubs; but what they wanted in numbers they made up for in boldness and desperation.

The committees of the clubs being informed of the assemblage which was to take place on the following day, proposed to head the columns, under pretence of speaking in the name of the people themselves. Some of these leaders of clubs, dissatisfied with the insignificance of their own position, had plotted with their principal confidants to effect a change in the government by violent means. Their scheme was to get rid of some of the ministers, and especially of Lamartine; they, themselves, and their friends to fill the places of these

ministers, and thus to make the spirit of the government favour the views of their factions and the interests of their ambition. Enterprizing and imperious men armed, if not with concealed weapons, at least by the vast numbers whom they controlled, and the chances which always attend the movements of numerous assemblages, might, in the name of the surrounding multitude, call upon the government to obey them and to retire. In case of resistance and a tumult, they might make themselves masters of the government.

Such men existed, and everything seems to indicate that such a plan was contemplated. Other men, leaders of important clubs, and more especially attached to the minister of the interior, to Louis Blanc, and even favourably disposed to Lamartine—as, for example, Barbès, Sobrier, and Suau; and others who were exclusively devoted to the interests of their sects and their own predominant opinions—as, for example, Cabet and Raspail, surrounded the leaders of factions, kept watch upon them, awed them by their superior credit and numbers, and might possibly have sufficient influence to neutralize any attempts to carry out extreme designs. Blanqui, and his friends Lacambre and Flotte, were to take their places in the foremost rank of this vast assemblage. It was a popular review, at which were arrayed opinions and chimeras, good and evil, welfare and misery, patriotism and faction, virtue and vice.

In the morning the majority of the government received information of the immense gathering about to be held in the Champs Elysées, whither torrents of people were already pouring from all the working districts of Paris and the suburbs. Lamartine and his friends were not blind to the fact that such a mass of men assembled together, and floating under some unknown influence, might compromise the safety of the revolution and of the government. The minister of the war department, M. Arago, had no armed force capable of opposing such a deluge of people. The national guard had lost popularity by its demand of the preceding day; and their appearance would only have provoked displeasure. There was nothing to be done but to trust to the chances of the day, and to seek to counteract a possible delusion of the popular mind by instilling right ideas into the minds of the people themselves.

To this object all the members of the government directed their personal influence and that of their friends. Marie could exercise considerable power over the national workshops. Lamartine dispersed upwards of a thousand voluntary and well-disposed agents among the groups of people, to preach concord and oppose evil suggestions. Louis Blanc might probably act in a similar way on the delegates of the workmen of the Luxembourg. He might foster errors, but never sedition.

At noon the members of the government assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, with the exception of the minister of the interior and the minister of war, who arrived together some moments later than the rest. A low dead murmur was heard on the quays and in the streets. The whole population of Paris had poured into the Champs Elysées, there to form a cortège for the popular manifestation. Every other part of the capital was deserted, as though it were to make room for the procession. The citizens, in dismay, were standing on the thresholds of their doors, at the windows, or on the roofs of the houses, anxiously awaiting what was to happen.

A breathless suspense pervaded the capital. Every minute the members of the government stepped out on the balconies of the Hôtel de Ville to watch whether the head of the column was visible on the bridge. At length it appeared in sight. Five or six hundred picked men, from each of the clubs of Paris, marched in order and in silence, headed by their speakers and tribunes. These men were ranged in files, thirty or forty abreast. They advanced at the slow solemn pace of a religious procession, some hand in hand, others linked together by long red or tricoloured ribbons, which like vast girdles, encircled each of the principal groups. Before each club a banner was carried; and the van was led by two or three men and one woman, all wearing red caps. Those hideous symbols of our saturnalia of terror seemed to excite in the mob feelings of indignation and disgust. The workmen hooted, and pulled the caps from the heads of the insane creatures who wore them. Indeed the disapprobation expressed by the workmen plainly indicated that they felt the dignity and humanity of the republic of 1848 to be compromised by this reminiscence of 1793.

This procession of the clubs was followed by a compact

column of the workmen of all trades, marching in order, ten by ten. All were decently clothed, and their deportment was grave, unassuming, and inoffensive. They advanced in silence, scrupulously refraining from the least outcry, or even from any sign or gesture that could possibly alarm or intimidate the other citizens. They looked like men who were calmly proceeding to perform a sacred act of patriotism, and keeping a watchful eye one upon another, that their conduct might present an edifying spectacle to their country.

This column, or rather this army, inundated the square of the Hôtel de Ville, extending from the Place de Grève to the extremity of the Champs Elysées. The number of men, of which it was composed, was estimated to be from a hundred to a hundred and forty thousand. When the square was entirely filled, the surplus of the assemblage halted on the quays to wait till the rest had defiled. The leaders of the clubs and their principal satellites ranged themselves in front of the gateway of the Hôtel de Ville. The government had ordered Colonel Rey to close the gates, and to defend them by a troop of the volunteers of February. This disorderly troop consisted of two or three thousand men, brave, but undisciplined, and in rags. They were the deposit of sedition, and would not fail to return into the element of sedition at the first contact. But the turbulent and revolutionary elements out of which this troop had sprung, imparted to it in less serious disturbances the degree of boldness and authority requisite for resisting the seditious movements.

In this state of things about an hour elapsed. The government, surrounded and motionless, seemed to be awaiting a movement of the people; whilst the people, on their part, appeared to be awaiting the issue of a deliberation of the government. From time to time, the motionless crowd, as if to amuse themselves, looked up to the windows of the Hôtel de Ville, and sang the Marseillaise and the hymn of the Girondins. Repeated shouts of "*Vive le gouvernement provisoire!*"—"*Vive Ledru Rollin!*"—"*Vive Louis Blanc!*" were mingled, but only rarely, with shouts of "*Vive Lamartine!*" This plainly indicated that among the motives which instigated the gathering, at least in the intention of its leaders, one was to protest indirectly against the proclamation to the people, attributed to Lamartine alone;—to avenge the

minority of the government for what was regarded as an humiliation;—and to prove to the majority, and especially to Lamartine, that the voice of the people was not so much with him as with those who were supposed to be his enemies.

Meanwhile the crowd were becoming weary of waiting for a result, of the nature of which they themselves could form no idea. They seemed by their impatience to authorize the delegates of the clubs to enter the Hôtel de Ville in the name of the people, and to convey to the government the expression of their adherence and the homage of their strength. Cabet alone entered, on an order from Lamartine, with whom he had an interview on the great staircase. In consequence of the assurance given by Cabet of the inoffensive intentions of the clubs, the government directed Colonel Rey to allow the delegates alone to enter; and, after having admitted them, to close the gates. This order was respected. About a hundred leaders of the clubs and self-styled delegates of the people, but who were in reality only the most furious of the clubbists, were admitted into the interior of the Hôtel de Ville; and the members of the government adjourned to one of the most spacious halls to receive them.

The president of the provisional government, Dupont de l'Eure, then eighty-three years of age, though bowed down by lassitude, was intrepid in heart, and serene in countenance. He was seated with his back against the wall of the grand hall. Arago, Albert, Ledru Rollin, and Louis Blanc stood on his right; on his left stood Lamartine, Marrast, Crémieux, Pagnerre, and Garnier Pagès—all alike resolved to maintain the dignity, the moral independence, and the integrity of the government, or to perish.

The clubs now appeared in the persons of their principal leaders. Most of them were unknown to the members of the government, though some few had already been received individually by Lamartine at the head of their clubs. The most remarkable of these men, who walked at the head of the delegates, were Blanqui, with Lacambre and Flotte (two of his satellites), Barbès, Sobrier, Cabet, Raspail, Lucien, Michelot, Longepied, Lebreton, Laugier, Danse, and about fifty other popular speakers and leaders of meetings, with whose names and countenances the members of the government were alike unacquainted. Several groups of delegates of the people,

who might be regarded as secondary actors in the drama, filled the halls and staircases behind the delegates of the clubs. These delegates ranged themselves in front of the members of the government, at the distance of a few paces from the chair of Dupont de l'Eure.

"Citizens, what do you ask?" said Dupont de l'Eure, addressing them in a firm tone of voice.

Blanqui then became spokesman in the name of all, and in an address, measured in terms, but imperative in meaning, he announced to the government the pretended *plebiscita* of the people, with which in reality the people had nothing whatever to do. Among the proposed measures were the adjournment of the elections, placing the future national assembly under suspicion, the removal at once and for ever of regular troops from Paris, implicit obedience to the dictatorial will of the multitude as expressed by the clubs,—in other words, the enslavement of the government, the outlawry of all persons throughout the nation, save only the populace of Paris, and an indefinite dictatorship imposed on the government, on condition that the government should submit, and itself ratify the dictatorship of sovereign demagoguism.

Whilst Blanqui spoke, an expression of indignation and sorrow overspread the countenances of the members of the government. The violent sections of the clubs manifested by looks, attitudes, and gestures, their approval of the most marked observations made by the speaker. Blanqui concluded his address by calling on the government, in the name of the people, to deliberate with all possible despatch on the substance of these resolutions, and to make known the result of the deliberation before the close of the sitting then being held.'

Lamartine was fully aware of the secret motive of this great popular movement, which there could be no doubt was specially directed against himself. The programme of the clubs had a tendency precisely the reverse of that of the proclamation to the French nation, which he had caused the government to sign on the preceding day. Shouts of "Down with Lamartine," and "Long live the minority of the government," sufficiently indicated the feelings of the leaders of the grand movement. But Lamartine could clearly perceive that this popular demonstration, which had been exaggerated and

changed in its character by the clubs, and especially by the Blanqui club, had gone far beyond the object proposed by its original projectors. Though he was evidently the person most interested in the programme of the clubs, and naturally most nearly connected with the speakers, yet he thought it right to observe silence, and to leave to those of his colleagues who were more popular than himself, and less suspected by the demagogue agitators, the task of answering the challenge, and either avenging the government or surrendering up its independence. To see the government avenged, would have satisfied him; but against the surrender of its independence he was prepared to protest, in the name of himself and his friends.

His colleagues did not leave him long in this perplexity. They avenged the government in terms alike eloquent and energetic.

Louis Blanc spoke like a man who identified himself completely with the spirit of his colleagues, who was roused in the name of their independence and his own, against the tyranny of having ideas forced upon him; ideas which he might, perhaps, voluntarily adopt, but which he would not submit to have dictated to him. His speech visibly disconcerted those to whom it was addressed.

Ledru Rollin spoke as a member of the government who would yield up none of his independence and moral liberty, even to the influence of his friendships. He defended the army, which, though, from motives of prudence, temporarily withdrawn from Paris, had been speedily reconciled with the nation, of which it bore within itself the rights and the strength. He made no concession on the subject of the elections and the sovereignty of the representation: and altogether he maintained his firmness with great ability. These two replies, coming from men in whom the agitators expected to find confederates, or, at least, supporters, rendered them for a moment motionless and silent. There was observed among them a sort of wavering, like that which pervades the ranks of a conquered army. The most prudent seemed disposed to induce them to retire; but a group of seven or eight men who surrounded Blanqui, and who, over the head of their leader, confronted the government, seemed determined to urge matters to the last extremity. These

were the friends of Blanqui. One of them was a young man, stated to be fanatically devoted to the opinions and to the person of his leader. His pale martial countenance bore the fixed expression of unalterable conviction. His tall, erect, and motionless figure was marked by rectangular lines. His right hand was thrust under his coat, which was buttoned closely up to his throat. The cold and inflexible resolution expressed in his looks, whilst his eye was fixed on one of the members of the government, resembled that of the statue of Brutus meditating the last conspiracy of liberty, his hand on the dagger concealed beneath his toga.

Though this young man appeared to be as timid in speech as he was resolute in bearing, yet when he observed the apparent wavering of the assembled delegates, he raised his voice, and advanced a few paces nearer the members of the government.

"All this sounds very well," said he, alluding to the speeches of Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin, "but these are mere words. We want acts, and we must have them upon this very spot. We will not withdraw until you have deliberated, here, immediately, and in our presence." These words were succeeded by a murmur of approbation from the persons immediately around the speaker; whilst expressions of indignation burst from the ranks of the government. Louis Blanc replied with considerable excitement, and Ledru Rollin manifested displeasure. Crémieux, Marie, Dupont de l'Eure, and all the members of the government boldly protested against these seditious injunctions of this group of men and their spokesman. It was admitted that the government was prepared to assent to some points of the programme, whilst dissenting from others; but that it was ready to deliberate on them all. It was, however, declared that the deliberation could not be held in the presence of the ringleaders of the seditious movement, but in a free and proper manner, at a convenient day and hour; that no pledges could be entered into, nor could the resolutions of the government be in any manner prejudiced; in short, that this declaration of the clubs could be considered in no other light than as a petition.

These representations were received with approval by the reasonable and moderate individuals among the delegates; but

the followers of Blanqui shook their heads in token of obstinate resistance. Sobrier, who was then friendly to Lamartine, and who had a horror of bloodshed, made useless endeavours to appease these violent men. The young man in the group of Blanqui's followers, who had first spoken, then said, "Well, well, citizens, these sentiments are not objectionable, but are they entertained by all of you? Are there not traitors among you? Is there not one man among you who has held language adverse to the wishes of the people? Lamartine, for example, is he not among you?"—"Let him explain himself! let him explain himself!" vociferated in a menacing tone the delegates of the principal clubs. "No, no," exclaimed Sobrier, Cabet, Raspail, and Barbès, "all the members of the government are united. Our mutual confidence is indissoluble." But as the first speaker and his friends by their looks and gestures still continued to call upon Lamartine, he then stepped forward a few paces and placed himself before them. Having by a sign signified his desire to speak, he looked steadfastly in the pale and menacing countenances of his interlocutors, and thus addressed them:—

"Citizens, I have heard my name called upon, and I answer the summons. I have nothing to add to that which has been said with so much dignity and propriety by our colleague Louis Blanc. You must be convinced as we are,—we in whom the people have placed their confidence, and appointed to represent them in the day of battle and victory,—that there can be no government, unless you have the good sense to confer a moral authority on that government. What is meant by this moral authority of the government, whether in reference to itself, to the public, to the departments, or to Europe, whose eyes are upon us? What does it mean but complete independence from the trammels of all external coercion or influence? Therein consists the independence of the government; therein is its dignity, therein lies its whole moral strength. Of that rest assured. Whom do you behold here before you? Here is our venerable president, bending beneath the weight and glory of eighty years of age, who at our head is anxious to exert the last efforts of his life in the re-establishment of the republic (cries of 'Bravo!'), but its re-establishment with independence, dignity, and liberty; for assuredly, with liberty and independence, every French citizen must

associate in his mind the honoured name of Dupont de l'Eure. Around him whom do you behold? A small group of men unarmed, without material support, without soldiers, and without guards; men who have no authority save that which is derived from the support and respect of the people,—men who desire no other authority, who are ready to replunge into the mass of the people from whence they issued, and who have taken this energetic and perilous part in the republic, only that they might be the guarantees of popular interests heretofore sacrificed by the monarchies, aristocracies, and oligarchies, now annihilated.

"But in order that these sentiments may have effect,—to enable these popular principles to be usefully applied for the happiness and the rights of the people, what is required? The tranquil and undisturbed continuance of the confidence you have placed in us. What can we oppose to you? One thing only—your own reason! That power of general reason which here stands alone between you and us; which inspires us, and which holds you in check before us! It is this power, invisible yet omnipotent, which renders us calm and independent, and makes us feel strong in conscious worth in sight of the mighty multitude which surrounds this palace of the people,—a palace defended by its own inviolability!" (Shouts of approbation from the moderate clubs.)

"This last barrier of our independence," resumed Lamartine, "as members of the government, and as men, we will defend with our lives, should popular violence attempt to break through it. Not for our own sakes only, but more especially for yours we will perish in its defence! What would the people be without government? and what would a degraded government be to the people? (Approbation.)

"I now come to the three questions you have proposed. First; you wish a delay of ten days longer for the elections of the national guards.

"In previous deliberations on the subject, we thought we had anticipated the legitimate popular wish as well as that you now express. It was represented to us that this imposing, compact, patriotic, republican mass of the population which constitutes the great popular element of Paris, had not, perhaps, had time to inscribe their names on the lists, and thereby to be placed on that vast patriotic register, on which we propose

henceforth to enrol the whole public force. We first determined on the adjournment of a week, and subsequently we determined to adjourn until the 25th of March. I cannot decide, individually, nor would I, at the present moment, pronounce an opinion respecting the results of the renewed deliberation which may take place on this subject; but you have fifteen days in all for inscribing your names.

"To the question regarding the troops, I have already replied in the answer I returned the day before yesterday to one of the patriotic associations of which you form a part. The question has no existence. There are no troops in Paris, excepting about fifteen hundred or two thousand men dispersed at the outer posts for the protection of the gates and railways; and it is untrue that the government entertains the intention of bringing them into the capital. Such a thought would be madness after what has taken place; after fallen royalty beheld eighty thousand troops give way before the unarmed people of Paris, what could be expected from a few scattered corps animated by the same spirit of republicanism, if required to obey commands contrary to your will and to your independence? We have not contemplated any such design; we do not, nor ever shall contemplate it. This is the truth! Tell it to the people. Their freedom is their own, for they have conquered it; it is their own, for they will know how to defend it against disorder! The republic, within itself, requires no other defenders than the armed people.

"But though this be true at the present time, and though we may honestly declare that we desire no other defenders than the armed people to protect our institutions, you must not thence conclude that we will ever consent to any degradation of the French soldiery. (Shouts of 'No, no!' and 'Bravo!') Do not imagine that we will cast suspicion on our brave army; or that we would refrain from calling it into the interior—even into Paris itself—if a state of war should render necessary any special disposal of our forces, for the external safety of the country.

"The soldier who was yesterday merely a soldier, to-day becomes a citizen like you and ourselves. (Cries of 'Yes, yes!') We have given him the right, by his vote as a citizen, to have a voice in the representation, and in the esta-

blishment of liberty, which he will defend as well as any other individual among the people.

"As to the third and principal question, that of proroguing to a distant period the convocation of the National Assembly, I will not consent to pledge the opinion of my colleagues, and certainly not my own, to a measure which appears to me most deeply to concern the interests of the whole country. Out of respect for our independence, I will not prejudge a decree tending to declare to the nation that Paris claimed the monopoly of liberty and of the republic. This decree would, in the name of the capital alone, and under the influence of a mass (well-intentioned, assuredly, but imperative, from its very numbers), make us assume the dictatorship of that liberty which has been won by the efforts of all—by the whole of France, and not by a few citizens only! Were you to command me to deliberate under coercion—to pronounce the outlawry of all that part of the nation which is not in Paris—to declare that during three months, six months, or any given interval of time, it shall be debarred from its representation and its constitution, I would reply as I did to another government a few days ago,—'You should not tear such a vote from me, even though my breast were pierced with bullets.' (Approbation.)

"No, rather a thousand times deprive us of our posts than wrest from us our free opinions, our dignity, and our inviolability—an inviolability, remember, which must be held sacred without as well as within; for a government cannot be respected unless it possess liberty in fact, as well as liberty in appearance. (Shouts of approbation.)

"Know, then, that your power is in ours, that your dignity is in ours, that your independence is in ours; and leave us, for the interests of the people at large, to reflect and deliberate calmly, to adopt or reject the propositions conveyed to us through you. We only promise,—I, for my part, only promise, to weigh these propositions conscientiously, without fear and without prejudice, and to decide, not according to what may appear to us the mere will of the people of Paris alone, but the right and the will of the whole republic!"

Here the deputation applauded, and several of its members shook hands with Lamartine.

"Rest assured," observed one of them, "that the people are assembled there only to support the provisional government."

"I am convinced of that," resumed Lamartine, "but the nation may not be so clearly convinced of the fact. Beware of assemblages of this nature, however grand they may appear. An *eighteenth Brumaire* of the people, may inadvertently lead to an eighteenth Brumaire of despotism; and neither you nor we wish to see that."

These words were succeeded by silence in the group of the violent clubs, and by expressions of applause among the more moderate group. Some individuals, more furious than the rest, recovered their boldness, and were evidently desirous of effecting the expulsion of Lamartine. "We have not confidence in all the members of the government," they exclaimed. "Yes, yes, in all of them, in all of them," replied Suau, Sobrier, and Barbès, and the words were re-echoed by a hundred voices among their friends. Then arose confused cries of "No, no;" "Yes, yes;" "They must be compelled;" "They must be respected." A thousand contradictory outcries emanated from the groups. Fury was in every voice and in every look. The members of the government stood perfectly firm. Barbès, who was then friendly to Lamartine, with Sobrier, Raspail, and Cabet, pressed into the space between the two parties. Blanqui stood motionless, and appeared more desirous of appeasing than supporting his partisans.

Cabet delivered an address which produced a salutary effect upon the assembly; Barbès, Raspail, and others expressed their approval of what fell from Cabet, and defended the independence of the government. Disorder pervaded the groups, and confusion of opinions seemed to prevail among them. Shouts of "Long live the provisional government!" now heard from the square, bore evidence of the good-feeling of the people without, and brought reflection to those men who were urging extreme measures. These shouts convinced them that, if they committed any violence against a government approved by the people, popular vengeance would speedily make them expiate their crime. Barbès, Sobrier, Suau, and Cabet profited by this interval of reaction to effect a retreat, and thereby to release the government from its painful position. The delegates retired from the halls and the staircases, and resumed their position in front of the railing of the Hôtel de Ville. The members of the government, who were now called upon by shouts from a

hundred thousand voices, preceded by their president, descended to the outer steps of the grand staircase. They were greeted by enthusiastic exclamations, amidst which the names of Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc were more loudly conspicuous than usual. Lamartine perceiving that to them was directed the favour of the nearest portion of the multitude, caused them to step forward to present themselves to the view of the people, who were thus eager to invest them with popularity. Lamartine fell back into the rank behind them, and received but few acclamations.

Louis Blanc harangued the people, thanking them for the irresistible array of force with which they had surrounded their dictators. The people, deceived by these expressions of gratitude, sincerely believed that they had performed an act of patriotic adherence, and struck a blow at faction; whilst they had, in reality, committed an act of seditious violence against the government, under the influence of a minority of the clubs and a minority of Paris.

The members of the majority of the government prudently feigned to take this demonstration for such as it had been intended by the greater number of those who assisted in it; but nevertheless they did not disguise from themselves its true import, and they began to feel distrustful of an influence which extended so widely, and could accomplish so much. They made a show of satisfaction and gratitude, whilst they were in reality deeply mortified at the boldness and success of a few conspirators. Paris itself was only partially deceived. From two o'clock in the afternoon till nine at night, there had been seen defiling along the boulevards and through the principal quarters of the capital a population, not armed with muskets, it is true, but armed by the strength of their own numbers, and resembling one of those migrations of ancient times, by which a whole nation sometimes moved from one bank of a river to another. This army of the populace, calm, silent, and well-disciplined, guided by secret watch-words implicitly obeyed, overawed the capital by its imposing aspect. Though it menaced no one, it filled every mind with dismay, and visibly denoted that Paris was thenceforth wholly at the mercy of the proletaries. But it was also evident that these same proletaries, so calm in their triumph, so generous and civilized in the use of their power,—who had

risen up against what they believed to be anarchy, and for the support of a government which they had been informed was in danger, were not the brutal populace of 1793, but the people of 1848, and the harbingers of a new era of civilization.

Lamartine departed from the Hôtel de Ville at nightfall, and alone. Mingling with the throng collected at the end of the rue Saint Honoré and on the Place Vendôme, he spent two hours in viewing the defile of the mighty procession.

The men, all decently dressed, walked at a military pace. Their countenances expressed tranquillity of feeling and self-consciousness of their own power. They evidently sought to avoid alarming the peaceful citizens or terrifying women. The overawing impression produced by their numbers was greatly modified by their tranquil demeanour. Paris shook beneath their footsteps. During the interval of twelve hours, occupied in the gathering and dispersion of this multitude, no seditious outcry was raised; no menace, insult, or violence was offered to any one; not even an accident occurred to excite regret.

Lamartine returned to the hotel of the minister for foreign affairs, uncertain as to the interpretation which public opinion would give to this event on the morrow, whilst he did not disguise from himself the designs of those who had instigated the demonstration. It was a signal defeat of the majority of the government, and an act of insolent overbearing on the part of certain men under the pretext of a great popular gathering and a homage to the republic; it was, in short, a review of the forces of the ultra-revolutionary minority of Paris, commanded by a few individuals who wished to rule the republic by intimidation, and who were desirous of ascertaining the amount of real patriotic enthusiasm entertained by the people towards the government.

He resolved to pretend to be deceived by these arts, and to affect to take as a support what he knew to be in reality a tyranny. This was the only way to prevent Paris and France from being struck with stupor, and regarding the restoration of public order as hopeless. But from that moment Lamartine felt that the government was animated by two spirits, nor easily reconcilable, and with whose conflicts he should have to struggle till the close of the dictatorship. The pro-

gramme of the clubs had for its object the perpetuation of the dictatorship, the adjournment of the elections, placing France without the pale of the law, and enabling one city, and one class of the population of that city, to rule paramount, through the agency of a few individuals. This scheme might find sympathy in the circle of the government. The clubbists, the delegates of the Luxembourg, and the emissaries of the *Club des Clubs* (a sort of official agency serving as a channel of communication between the minister of the interior and the public mind), all were imbued with the idea that France was not yet prepared to receive liberty in the sense in which they understood it. They seemed to be of opinion that the country could not be intrusted with its own government; that the republic was exclusively their own, by right of the priority of their efforts in establishing it, and of their democratic superiority; that it was necessary they themselves should rule in the name of the republic; and that to enforce obedience they must hold the language and maintain the attitude of the committee of public safety.

Lamartine, on the contrary, and the majority of the government, were convinced that the liberty monopolized by a few would entail the enslavement and degradation of all; that to adjourn the elections and to place the National Assembly without the pale of the law, would be to give the signal for the insurrection of the departments and for civil war; that the dictatorship of those republicans who laid claim to democratic supremacy would be the dictatorship of the populace, aggravated by violence and crime; that every succeeding week would witness the creation and destruction of one or another of these self-appointed dictators; that Paris would be plunged into bloodshed and anarchy, and that the name of the republic would a second time perish in the execration of contemporaries and the doubts of posterity. Lamartine resolved to oppose to the utmost, and by all lawful means, the plots of partisans of the dictatorship and of committees of public safety, and even to sacrifice himself, if it must be so, for the immediate and complete restoration of the sovereignty of the whole French people and government, and in defence of the national representation.

But before the coming of that day, an abyss of anarchy and eventual despotism must be traversed, which it then seemed impossible to pass through. Of the practicability of

passing it, even the wisest men and most experienced politicians entertained doubts. These persons declared their conviction that Lamartine was attempting a chimerical enterprise, which would lead him to destruction. They represented to him that the ultra-republican and conventionalist party had obtained a footing in the government, and possessed control over two hundred thousand men in Paris; that they held under their influence the commissaries and the clubs in the departments; that, ruling the industrial population everywhere, they were masters of the police, of the Luxembourg, and of the public streets, through the withdrawal of the army; that they controlled a portion of the national guard, through the arming of the faubourgs; and that the national workshops were under their sway by the help of money and turbulence. Was it then to be expected that the party would suffer their power to be wrested from their grasp by the elections without struggling for it, and imbruing it in blood, ere they surrendered it to the nation?

Lamartine was fully aware of all these difficulties and dangers. But he was sure of his colleagues, and he felt strong in the conviction of being in the right. He was disposed to judge favourably of men, it is true; and he judged quickly, and as it were instinctively. But he had no choice left. He saw that he must either triumph or perish gloriously and honourably in the enterprise. If death awaited him, he was resigned to his fate, feeling the assurance that his sacrifice, speedily avenged, would be the signal for the general rising of the country against the tyranny of demagoguic dictatorship. He therefore pursued his object without self-delusion, but not without hope, determined to negotiate or to fight, provided he triumphed in the two points of paramount importance,—namely, the question of war abroad, and the question of the convocation of the National Assembly at home.

The demonstration of the 17th of March, and the imperious programme of the clubs, sufficiently revealed the idea of dictatorship entertained by the leaders of the movement, secret as well as avowed. They had artfully prompted the voice of the people to proclaim this idea at the Hôtel de Ville on the day of the meeting. From that day, the writings of the revolutionary journalists, the resolutions passed

in the clubs, the harangues of itinerant orators to the street mobs, the furious speeches and circulars of certain commissioners in the provinces, words dropped in the warmth of conviction by men who were in the secrets of the clubs, declarations announced both verbally and by placards,—all assured Lamartine that the adjournment of the elections, and the indefinite prolongation of the dictatorship, were the watchwords of the secret ultra-republican committees. If this idea, which flattered the pride of the turbulent population of Paris, into whose hands it would throw supreme power, should have time to take root and propagate, so as to become the doctrine and creed of the masses of the people, there must be an end of the republic. This idea could then be extirpated only by fire and sword, and France would have to re-conquer her capital by fighting through torrents of blood. The reign of the turbulent and exclusive party of the population, supported by tribunes, at once sovereigns and slaves (like the dictator dreamed of by Marat), must inevitably be a reign of executioners destined speedily to become victims, to make way for other executioners doomed to be victims in their turn. Lamartine trembled for his country, and he determined, at all risks to himself, to spare no efforts to avert the threatened catastrophe.

Two courses were open to him:—force and negotiation. He resolved to avail himself of both, resorting to each alternately, and at any price, according to the nature of the men and circumstances he might have to cope with.

The brave General Négrier, who has since perished in the cause of his country,—an intrepid soldier, a leader adored by his troops, a citizen of antique mould,—at that time commanded the army of the north. This army of eighty thousand men was controlled by the general with a vigour and gentleness of command, which rendered it obedient to his authority by affection rather than by discipline. Négrier had occasionally been assailed in the council by the denunciations of demagogue commissioners, who reproached him for having served under princes, and who impugned his honour by throwing out suspicions of his fidelity to the republic. These suspicions were groundless: Négrier's heart might be grateful; but his duty was to his country. M. Arago, the minister of the war department, the constant and courageous defender of the officers

of the army, had always resolutely refused to take cognizance of the backbiting accusations brought forward by certain turbulent commissioners. Lamartine had likewise defended the generals, and especially Négrier, against the revolutionary omnipotence of the proconsuls. As minister for foreign affairs, he deemed it advisable to have in the direction of Belgium, a disposable army, free from the influence of faction. Belgium might, at any time, as in 1793, become the battle-field of European war; for that country is one of the great breaches of France. As a statesman, too, Lamartine saw the expediency of forming the nucleus of an army at Lille, so that in the event of an anarchical and sanguinary party becoming triumphant in Paris, the moderate republicans, conquered and expelled from the capital, might have a reserve in readiness in the department of the North. Such a reserve, commanded by Négrier, would, in that case, form a rallying-point for the national guards of the northern provinces, and the whole would compose a force capable of wresting Paris and the republic from the tyranny which daily menaced them.

Négrier, on his part, without personally knowing Lamartine, was convinced, from his speeches and his acts, that he had, in the minister for foreign affairs, a man after his own heart. A friend of the general, M. D. ——, commanding a battalion of the national guard of Paris, who had actively seconded Lamartine, in his efforts to preserve order and repress revolution, made several journeys to the army of the north, and proved an intelligent agent between Lamartine and Négrier. The latter held himself in readiness to receive the government at Lille, in the event of its compulsory retirement from Paris, or to march on Amiens or Abbeville, the moment the government might summon the northern departments to send succour to the capital. This reserve of the army of the north, under the command of a resolute, and faithful general, was the last resource of Lamartine. It afforded assurance, not to himself, but to the Parisians and to France; for he well knew that if the demagogues should triumph over the well-disposed part of the citizens, he himself would be their first victim; but he also well knew what would immediately ensue. Within ten days, the army of the north, recruited by the twenty thousand troops of the army of the Rhine, by five

hundred thousand national guards, from the departments of the north, east, and west, would deal destruction on the dictators and the committees of public safety, who might dream of renewing the tyrannies of 1793. This thought, even amidst the worst extremities to which the government was reduced, brought comfort to the mind of Lamartine; and the name of Négrier secretly sounded in his ear like a last hope, or at least like that of the avenger of subverted society. But he communicated this thought to no one, lest he should draw upon Négrier the suspicions and accusations of the demagogues.

Being satisfied on that head, he resolved to make efforts of another nature on the minds and on the patriotism of the principal party leaders, who influenced opinion in the clubs, and controlled the extreme journals: these men alone had at that time power sufficient to stir up excitement in Paris, whilst without their help, even the boldest conspirators could work no mischief among the people. If in his communications with these men he should fail to bring them to reason and moderation, and induce them to wait patiently the event of the general elections, he determined then, in concurrence with his friends in the government, to stand prepared for a desperate conflict between the two camps of the republic in Paris. If, on the other hand, he succeeded, he would gain a mastery over the most active elements of the revolution, and would have power to paralyze communism, terrorism, the supporters of dictatorship, and the partisans of war. He had faith in the good intentions of some even of the most fanatical among these men, and he was prepared to repose full confidence in the sincerity of their communications with him. This faith saved Paris and France from the worst disasters. Had not Lamartine opened his heart to adversaries who were prejudiced against him,—had he not penetrated into their minds and designs, these same men would have persevered in believing that he had taken part with the republic only to betray it; that he was plotting a counter-revolution, and preparing to play the hackneyed character of a popular Monk. The consequence would have been, that, uniting against him, the partisans of war and dictatorship, these violent men would infallibly have thrown France into the convulsions attendant on a conventionalist government.

With some of these leaders Lamartine was acquainted. To the others he made advances for drawing them into interviews with him.

One of the most distinguished of the political writers of the day was M. de Lamennais. He had formerly been the apostle of Catholicism; but having changed his faith and his mission, he had become the apostle of the proletaries. His heart was softened by their misery; and his style was hardened by resentment of their wrongs. For the space of twelve years his voice had proclaimed their grievances, and sometimes uttered the cry of vengeance. Lamennais had been suddenly, and as it were miraculously, appeased by the proclamation of the republic. That event produced on him the effect which victory creates in a generous heart. He immediately sided with society, threatened by terrorism, socialism, and demagoguism. He edited a journal, called *Le Peuple Constituant*, which displayed considerable talent, and exercised great influence over the public mind. Lamartine had hitherto known M. de Lamennais only as a writer; and he was astonished to find that he possessed the firmness, the moderation, and the sagacious views which might qualify him for a statesman. The journal he edited was opposed to war, as well as to ultra-democratic and anti-social doctrines; and had M. de Lamennais persevered in the course he was then pursuing, France might have possessed in him one statesman more. At the time here alluded to, Lamartine was in the frequent habit of meeting him in the house of a lady distinguished for her talent and her liberalism. De Lamennais drew up the plan of a constitution, which, however, had the fault of being wanting in a due centralization of popular power. Whilst he was on the side of moderation, the very name of De Lamennais held violence in check, and overthrew chimeras. When subsequently nominated to the Constituent Assembly, he too readily took alarm at reaction, and retracing his steps, entered once more into the path of visions. This was a serious loss to the practical republic. When genius deserts a cause it has supported, that cause must suffer, and has reason to deplore.

Raspail, a powerful man in the faubourgs of Paris, consented to have an interview with Lamartine. They had a long conversation, which was maintained without reserve on

both sides. Lamartine, who had heard Raspail defend his cause before the court of peers, had been forcibly struck with the picturesque flow of his eloquence, the tone of which was at once bold and subdued. Raspail's political views, which were mixed up with religious aspirations, were of a popular and levelling character, and they appeared to be felt rather than thoroughly digested in his mind. But a fit of impatience seized him; and in his journal, as well as in his club, he urged the people to demand that the elections should be adjourned, and the government consigned to a popular dictatorship. Lamartine pointed out to him the dangers so intolerable a usurpation would entail on the republic. He pictured to him the endless perspectives of progress and social charity, which republican institutions would secure in proportion to the development of reason and virtue in society. He convinced him of the impracticability of effecting violent changes in the bases of property, and conjured him to give time and confidence to the country, by refraining from any encroachment on the sovereignty that was the right of all. Raspail, who possessed more of philosophy than ambition, was touched by the reasoning and the ardour of Lamartine. He promised to retrace his course, to oppose the plotting of the partisans of dictatorship, to await the establishment of the national sovereignty, and to conspire only in speeches from the tribune. The almost superstitious influence which Raspail exercised over the minds of the masses, contributed greatly, during this period, to check plotting, and to restrain the people of the faubourgs within the limits of patience and order.

Cabet, though his mind was less imaginative than that of Raspail, had evidently fallen into dreams of ambition the most boundless, and accordingly he was not so readily accessible to reason. The phantom of communism, which he had conjured up, was ever floating between him and his interlocutor. Nevertheless, Lamartine, as a citizen, had every reason to congratulate himself on his relations with Cabet. That sectarian leader could not view with satisfaction efforts to establish a dictatorship, which would give supremacy to socialists or to tribunes who were his rivals in system and in popularity. He restrained the communists of his own party, and through them a large body of the people, by hold-

ing out the idea that Lamartine's intention was to impose a check on all parties.

A young man, who, at a former time, had evinced great talent in the Chamber of Peers, M. Alton Shee, was now gaining applause in popular meetings. He was an ardent and disinterested opponent of anarchical plans and extreme doctrines. Subsequently, his mind being directed to other pursuits, he was drawn out of the track of the republic, and Lamartine, who had hoped much from his activity, energy, and talent, lost sight of him.

Barbès still continued to visit Lamartine from time to time. His intentions were upright, but his ideas were confused. He was beginning unknowingly and unwillingly to get bewildered under the inspirations of his prison associates. Barbès was a man of action, and men of system were linking him to their schemes whilst he was not aware of their designs. He was a soldier fighting in the cause of impossibility; and it was evident that he must soon fall into the ranks of the desperadoes of democracy.

But Barbès, though capable of conspiracy, was incapable of treachery. His presence among the anarchists was more calculated to console than to alarm Lamartine, who, though aware of his ready excitability, was quite certain of his good faith.

A friend of Barbès, and one who had been the companion of his captivity, young Lamieussens, exercised a favourable influence over the extreme republicans of that camp of the revolution. Lamartine had noticed him and proposed to employ his talents. At that time he sent many young republicans to foreign countries, giving to some posts in the offices of the embassies, and appointing others to vice-consulates, and in several instances to consulates which depended on his department. These nominations, though they have since met with disapproval, were in fact highly politic. The government could not allow men who had suffered in its cause to become dissatisfied and corrupted amidst the factions of the capital; men, too, who had rendered good service to the republic by directing and moderating the people of Paris.

Sobrier continued to see Lamartine frequently. He had more enthusiasm than ambition, and he daily acquired in-

creasing ascendancy over the revolutionary youth of the central districts of Paris. At that time he employed his ascendancy in the service of order and moderate opinions. He counterbalanced by his journal and his club the influence of other journals and other societies under the control of the dictatorial and extreme party. He was desirous of maintaining the integrity of the government even by force of arms. His journal, *La Commune de Paris*, frequently promulgated hymns and doctrines of sinister tendency; yet, nevertheless, it recommended order, the fraternity of all classes of citizens, respect for property, inviolability of conscience, peace with foreign powers, and temporization until the day when the National Assembly should be empowered to represent all rights and to make laws. The doctrines of Sobrier had the more credit with the multitude, owing to a certain exaggerated fanaticism and extravagant hopes, in which no one surpassed him. His fanaticism was theoretical, his hopes were patient. He was endowed with personal courage. He was aware of the schemes daily projected in ultra-republican meetings for decimating the government, taking by surprise the departments of finance and foreign affairs, putting aside Lamartine, and substituting in his stead men of extreme opinions. Sobrier had, with perfectly honest intentions, enrolled in his service five or six hundred men, for whom he had obtained arms from Caussidière, and he had fixed the head-quarters of this sort of armed police in the rue de Rivoli. Lamartine, who was made acquainted with all these circumstances by Sobrier himself, was instrumental in procuring for him from the civil list the loan of the money required for paying the rent of these head-quarters, which were situated in front of the Tuileries. Whenever Lamartine received intimation of any contemplated movement of a nature to disturb the public peace,—whenever he was informed of a plot against the government or against himself, he made the matter known to Sobrier, who sent his men to watch the seditious meetings, and to defend those departments of the government which might happen to be threatened.

Paris was at this time entirely clear of regular troops, and undefended by the national guard. Parties mutually defied one another; and each had its own police and armed force. Sobrier was the Caussidière of the other half of Paris. Lamar-

tine had every reason to laud his disinterested zeal in maintaining the public peace until the approach of the elections. He then gave himself up to evil inspirations, mingling in the electoral plots of the most determined socialists, allowing the spirit of his journal to be perverted, and with puerile pertinacity surrounding himself with a parade of armed conspiracy, which was merely absurd, despite of its formidable aspect. Lamartine being informed of these proceedings by General Courtais, refused any longer to see Sobrier; but on two occasions he sent him a message, directing him to dismiss his satellites, to lay down arms, and to cease to act in violation of the law; otherwise he informed him the government would deal vigorously with him. Sobrier obeyed, but only partially. We shall encounter him again in the events of the 15th of May.

Lamartine maintained open communication with the most influential men and most popular speakers connected with the various active parties and democratic clubs of Paris and the faubourgs. He received them in his own house, and by reasoning endeavoured to bring right conviction to the minds of the principal leaders of the populous districts of the Bastille, the faubourg Saint Marceau, and the faubourg Saint Antoine. He frequently spent whole nights in unreserved conversation with these men relative to the situation of the republic abroad and at home, and in discussing those urgent questions of political economy which then furnished texts for popular discontent and excitement. He sometimes found these men rebellious, but more frequently accessible to reasoning and advice. He invariably succeeded in convincing them of the policy of not distracting the republic by civil dissensions, which would defeat all the plans of social progress they might have conceived for the future; and he persuaded them to oppose the dictatorship of parties, and to calm the people until they should be subjected to their own sovereignty in the National Assembly.

These men, moved by the sincere and frequently impassioned language of Lamartine, pursued with sincerity the line of conduct he recommended, retaining their own opinions on certain points under discussion, but concurring with him in all essential questions. From time to time they gave him information on the state of popular feeling in their respective districts. This open-hearted police, or rather these continuous and candid negotiations between one of the heads of the

government and the principal leaders of the clubs, prevented discontent, defeated plots, saved Paris, and paved the way for the advent of the National Assembly. This was a conspiracy of honest men against the conspiracies of the wrong-headed. Lamartine particularly attached himself to young men who were sincere even in their revolutionary extravagance. He did not allow himself to be repelled by certain names which then excited great prejudice and odium in Paris. He was well aware that a man's reputation frequently becomes a calumny, which is taken for granted by those who know him only by name. He was aware, too, that many shadows would be dispelled on a near approach to the light of the heart; besides, no feelings of personal repugnance are allowable in the man who desires to save his country.

Thus it was, that without lowering himself or degrading others, he became acquainted with and made use of the principal agitators of the demagoguic clubs of the Sorbonne, in whose meetings forty thousand proletaries listened to the voice of agitation. Among the speakers were delegates from the workmen of the Luxembourg, who were beginning to be weary of the industrial and economical sophisms of Louis Blanc. The other favourite speakers in the meetings of the Sorbonne, were a young mulatto, who by the fervid tropical character of his eloquence, attracted the people in crowds from club to club, and De Flotte, one of the most devoted disciples of Blanqui.

The young mulatto, whose name was Servien, was enthusiastic and persuasive as a public speaker, was timid and somewhat taciturn in private conversation. He avowed to Lamartine that he was influenced by passion rather than by ideas, when he delivered these harangues on social questions, which produced so powerful an effect on his hearers. Lamartine communicated to Servien the results of his own reflections, and represented to him that socialism of sentiment by which all classes of citizens might fraternize without injury to any one. Servien breathed the spirit of conciliation and peace to the masses who were charmed by his voice. Lamartine afterwards sent him among the negroes, his brethren, to prepare them for emancipation by concord with the colonists. He hoped that Servien's remarkable talent would secure his return from the colonies to the National Assembly.

De Flotte, who was an officer in the navy, was a young

man of good family, of studious habits, and honest principles; but he was too fanatical a disciple of the subverting innovations projected in the systems of the socialists. He followed Blanqui as the most radical of the revolutionists, but he exercised an influence over his leader by his superior intelligence. Lamartine, who thoroughly sounded his mind, was convinced that he was free from any thought of crime, vice, or prejudice, incompatible with the conservative and progressive social order which should be guaranteed by a well-directed republican government. He felt assured that this young man, who was misplaced among the factious parties, with which he was associated, might be rendered serviceable to the republic; and he resolved to think of him, when the right opportunity presented itself. He afterwards learned that De Flotte, though not implicated in the insurrection of the 15th of May, had been arrested under the prejudice created by his connection with Blanqui, and that he was languishing in prison. He interceded in his behalf. Through the medium of De Flotte, Lamartine intimated to Blanqui his readiness to see him, adding that he himself would receive him with no unfriendly feelings, and that their interview might perhaps prove of service to the republic.

Blanqui was at this time viewed with suspicion both by the government and the extreme parties. The clubs which he ruled by his violence and his talent envied him, and the partisans of dictatorship, who beheld in him a rival or an avenger, feared him. They all marked him out for public opinion as the only dangerous mover of faction, in order that they might be the better enabled to conceal their own factious movements under the shadow of his. Blanqui, on his part, detested these men, who, he knew, were attempting to stigmatize his honour. He kept aloof from them, and endeavoured to go beyond them in radicalism, that he might surpass them in popularity. He charged them with motives of selfish ambition, and alleged that they were merely attempting to dupe the people. Every evening the echo of his voice made them tremble; for they knew that Blanqui had among his followers several fanatics capable of avenging him by the poniard or the pistol. This sinister reputation of Blanqui was a phantom which incessantly hovered between them and their ambition; consequently the most alarming rumours rela-

tive to Blanqui and his party were incessantly circulated, though those who gave currency to these rumours put but little faith in their truth. Blanqui was, in short, a sort of imaginary Catiline. Now it was stated that he intended to lay siege to the government at the Luxembourg, and during the night to lodge it in Vincennes;—now that it was his intention to set fire to Paris, and, profiting by the tumult, to proclaim his own tyranny in the name of the people;—at another time, he and a party of his accomplices were to surprise the hotel of the minister for foreign affairs, and to assassinate Lamartine. The credulous populace whispered those rumours from mouth to mouth, but Lamartine put no faith in them. He regretted the shameful declarations in which that little faction indulged, but he was in no degree alarmed by the charges of treason and threats of death which were nightly echoed through the club. He well knew that the danger to which the government and France might be exposed was to be apprehended from factions held in less discredit than that in which Blanqui took the lead. He indeed felt some hope that the really powerless faction of that open-mouthed conspirator might have the effect of counteracting and intimidating other factions, in other clubs, and in other parties. Lamartine, whose colleagues were unable to comprehend his motives, had on several occasions opposed the suggestion that Caussidière should order the arrest of Blanqui; and yet this new tribune was launching his thunderbolts over all Paris, and the public mind was kept in a ferment by the fearful notoriety of Blanqui.

About six o'clock one morning about the end of March or the beginning of April, a man, presenting almost proletarian appearance, accompanied by two or three other strangers of suspicious aspect, entered the court of the hotel of foreign affairs. This man gave his name, and requested to see the minister. Lamartine had just risen, and the weather being warm, he had sat down to write in his chamber without having quite finished dressing. Blanqui's name was announced. He immediately ordered him to be admitted, and advancing to meet him with outstretched hand and uncovered breast, he said, with a smile, "Well, Monsieur Blanqui, have you come to stab me? The hour is propitious, and the opportunity favourable. Behold! I wear no cuirass."

Blanqui having, at Lamartine's request, taken a seat opposite to him, he thus continued, "Let us now speak seriously. I have much wished to see you, and you yourself have consented to converse with me. This perhaps betokens that our ideas on the subject of the republic are not so irreconcilable as appearances lead unthinking persons to imagine. Let us then discuss the matter fully. I will without reserve disclose to you all my ideas, as a man who wishes to conceal nothing even from his enemies. You will see whether my political horizon is sufficiently expansive and luminous to afford to all the friends of democracy free scope for their legitimate action and their legitimate views of progress. I beg you will interrupt me whenever objections may occur to your mind, and I will explain what may appear to you obscure."

Lamartine then unfolded to Blanqui his ideas of a republic, such as he conceived was fitted to a continental nation, long inured to the monarchical yoke, and in which socialist problems, arising out of industry, luxury, and poverty, had, during fifteen years, agitated the sub-strata of society. He pointed out the guarantee to be given to property, and the aid to be extended to institutions for the benefit of the proletaries. He went to the utmost extent of his conceptions, but not further than common sense and practicability warranted, and the result was a very strong government, responding to the will of the whole nation, and therefore irresistible. He proved the danger of war both as regarded the democratic principle and French nationality. He declared himself the inflexible enemy of every faction desirous of monopolizing the government by dictatorship, of desecrating it by bloodshed, or of distracting it by anarchy. He professed the absolute dogma of the sovereignty of the nation, in opposition to the tyranny of a single class, even though that class should usurp the name of the people. He declared his abhorrence of all ambitious corrupters of that people, and his pity for the sophists, who were lulling them in chimerical dreams, from which they would awaken to be plunged in despair.

Whilst all this was uttered, Blanqui listened without offering any interruption, and his ascetic and expressive countenance indicated profound attention. His deeply-set eye penetrated as it were the inmost soul of his interlocutor, and seemed to betray the design of persuading or deceiving. He was too keen

an observer not to perceive that the language, the looks, and manner of Lamartine all bespoke sincerity. He made no fundamental objection to the ideas which had just been developed. He even spoke in a tone of ironical disdain of the men who set themselves up to be the prophets of socialism and terrorism, observing that he admitted their theories only as theories and tendencies, and that any immediate and practical realization of them was impossible, without the guarantee of property and established rights.

Referring to the government, he readily admitted the necessity of resorting to measures of force for the repression of anarchy; and he candidly avowed that it was incumbent on Lamartine to discourage the ambitious and turbulent partisans of dictatorship, by insisting on the convocation of the National Assembly. Indeed, he did not hesitate to speak in the same tone to his club, and to recommend the retractation of the factious protests which had been put forth against the elections.

This political dialogue having fully answered the end desired, which was to gain concurrence for the convocation of the Assembly, and the promise of opposition to dictatorial attempts, Lamartine turned the conversation to familiar topics. Blanqui then seemed to pour into his discourse the feelings of a lacerated heart;—a heart which, having been hardened by persecution, now expanded, and overflowed in an intimacy of chance. He related to Lamartine the story of his life, which had been one long conspiracy against governments. He told him of his love for a woman whom captivity could not separate from him, but who had died of a broken heart, caused by his misfortunes. He described his long imprisonments, his solitary reflections, his aspirations to God; and he spoke of his anti-sanguinary instincts, whilst he admitted his almost uncontrollable passion for plotting. This passion, which was now identified with his nature, had been contracted in the conspiracies into which he had entered early in life. His manner was simple, natural, and dignified, and was sometimes even marked by a touch of gentleness. Lamartine recognized in this conspirator the sort of talent and tact which would peculiarly fit him for diplomatic negotiation, if he could prevail on himself to bend his independence to the yoke of a government. He inquired whe-

ther Blanqui would be willing to serve the republican government, at home or abroad, in a manner consistently with his own views; and he asked him whether the part of an eternal condemner and assailer of the institutions of his country was not at once onerous, ungracious, and useless in itself, as well as injurious to the republic? Blanqui admitted that it was; and he did not show himself very averse to the idea of serving abroad, a government whose views he could share, and whose ministers he could respect. After a conversation of several hours' duration, Blanqui and Lamartine separated, in appearance satisfied with each other, and ready to meet again, should circumstances suggest the expediency of their holding further interviews.

From that day forward Lamartine regularly kept up honest and sincere communication with the different parties who were contending for the government of the nation. He constantly influenced them in one direction only;—a direction tending to promote the convocation of the National Assembly, and its acceptance by the people of Paris. Having assured himself that the leaders of the various factions could co-operate with him in furtherance of that object, the only difficult task that remained for him and his colleagues was to keep a vigilant eye on any seditious manifestations, which might submerge the government, or take it by surprise.

There was, hourly, impending danger. The mobile guard as yet counted only a few battalions, and they were unprovided with uniforms. The delegates of the Luxembourg beheld with dissatisfaction the levying of that guard, and raised up a thousand obstacles to impede the equipment of the men. General Duvivier naturally became impatient at these delays; for he could maintain order and duty among his troops only by dint of encouragements and indulgences. The national guard, aided by the activity of their general, Guimard, had clothed, armed, and organized themselves into a corps amounting to one hundred and ninety thousand men; and they were preparing to appoint their officers. Still, however, this corps had no real or practical existence; for the government, very properly, would not call it into service until it should be furnished with uniforms, lest the contrast exhibited by the poverty of some, and the military splendour of others, might, here and there, give rise to aris-

tocratic divisions where it was desirable to create perfect unity of feeling as well as of action. The foreign refugees in Paris were increasing both in numbers and in boldness. They aimed at coercing the government, and taking the war of force into their own hands, and to carry it into their own countries, headed by the French flag. The Belgians, especially, besieged with their importunities the minister for foreign affairs and the minister of the interior. The government was firmly resolved to withhold all such concurrence, which was alike inconsistent with policy and good faith, but it could exercise only a moral authority in opposition to their enlistments and plans of invasion.

The minister for foreign affairs had several times defeated the plots of these Belgians, and had prevailed on the prince de Ligne to make them return to their country. Some hundreds of them had in consequence quitted Paris, but two or three thousand of them still remained, dispersed about the capital as well as in different parts of the département du Nord. It appeared that, wearied by importunities and reproaches, some individuals connected with the government, but acting without its cognizance or sanction, had allowed themselves to be worked upon by the refugees. These persons had furnished them with the means of proceeding to Belgium, by preparing ammunition-waggons for their use on the extreme frontier of France. On arriving at Lille, the Belgian column demanded arms from General Négrier, who, having been warned by Lamartine, refused to supply them.[1] Whilst this was passing in Lille, Lamartine, being informed of the plot, wrote officially to the minister of the interior, desiring that he would employ all his agents to oppose the refugees in their preparations for the invasion of Belgium. The minister of the interior obeyed, and transmitted orders to that effect to the frontier.

The government commissary at Lille, who at first probably supposed he was acting conformably with the views of the government by favouring the arming of the refugees, immediately desisted, and endeavoured to render the return of the Belgians to their native country inoffensive. The Belgians, finding that they had been joined by two or three pupils of the Polytechnic School, who had brought with them some waggons filled with muskets, believed the French government to be conniving at their plot. They crossed the Belgian

frontier with arms in their hands, and were received by a round of musketry by the king's troops, upon which they fled back into France, raising cries of treason. These cries found their way to Paris, where they excited the German and Polish refugees, and raised commotion in the clubs. This is what was called at the time the invasion of *Risquons-Tout*, from the name of the village at which the encounter took place. There was, however, no treason in the matter, though there was some intelligence between certain democrats and the Belgian refugees. Counter orders, promptly and firmly issued by the government, had revoked orders given by secret agents. The foreign powers reasonably complained; but their complaints were made in a tone of moderation, and they could not but acknowledge the good faith and even the energy of the repressive measures adopted by the minister for foreign affairs.

Similar attempts were made to muster hostile bands at Strasbourg and on the banks of the Rhine, in spite of the incessant resistance of the French government. At length an expedition of Savoyard volunteers departed from Lyons, crossed the Rhone, and, advancing on Chambery, took that place by surprise and made themselves masters of it. They were, however, expelled on the following day by a spontaneous rising of the mountaineers. M. Emanuel Arago, who was with difficulty holding in check the industrial anarchy of Lyons, wrote to Lamartine informing him of the band of conspirators he had to oppose, but whom he could not subdue without armed force. M. Ledru Rollin, acting on information he received from the minister for foreign affairs, despatched to Lyons commissioners with orders immediately to dissolve these musterings of armed men. Lamartine proposed the aid of the army of the Alps for the re-establishment of order at Chambery, and to defeat the attempts of the refugees and the French to violate Savoyan nationality. Her government was as much a stranger to that violation as the preceding government had been to the invasion of Savoy by the Italians. A proclamation was published, ordering all the refugees to withdraw from the frontiers. Lamartine and the minister of the interior made arrangements together for effecting the dissolution of these armed gatherings. Considerable sums were employed by M. Flocon for the purpose

of dispersing these multitudes of refugees, by giving them succour and the means of returning to their homes.

But the most active still remained in Paris. These were the Poles, a class of refugees who may be said to be the leaven of Europe, and who constitute the revolutionary army of the continent. The Poles are as brave on the field of battle as they are turbulent in civil discord. They find themselves at home in every country in which they can keep up agitation; and they agitated Paris, and menaced the government. Acclimated by national hospitality, supported by French committees, surrounded by indefatigable protectors, such as MM. de Montalembert and Vavin, ever ready to defend their rights in opposition to power, the Polish refugees presented not the least formidable of the many embarrassments which involved the position of the minister for foreign affairs. Polish brigades, paid by France, had been opened for their enrolment. This was going to the utmost verge of the law of nations. To declare war against Prussia, Austria, and Russia, on behalf of the Poles, would indeed have been entering on a crusade to win a sepulchre. By refusing to make this declaration of war, the provisional government exposed itself to unpopularity and to seditious plots in favour of the Poles. These refugees had a voice in every club, a shout in every disturbance, and a hand in every act of popular violence. They openly enlisted sympathy in the national workshops, and they boldly announced Polish manifestations for the purpose of intimidating the government. The more sensible portion of their countrymen sought to restrain them, but in vain; and French demagogues made use of the name of Poland for the purpose of stirring up excitement in France. Lamartine, who kept an attentive eye on their agitations, was annoyed to find that there was more difficulty in controlling these guests of France than in ruling France herself.

One evening, after he had returned home, worn out by the struggle which daily occurred at the Hôtel de Ville, and when he counted on snatching a few hours' sleep, a thing so rare to him at that time, he was informed that a numerous deputation of Poles desired to have an interview with him. These Poles were members of some democratic club or other, which claimed for itself the right of representing the whole Polish nation. This was the pretension of each one of the

five or six hostile parties into which the Polish refugees were divided; for even in a foreign land they were anarchical among themselves, and antipathetic one to another. The deputation was ushered into the cabinet of the minister for foreign affairs, and they ranged themselves before Lamartine in two separate groups. One of their orators addressed the minister in a speech in which there was nothing objectionable except that its tone was somewhat too imperious for a colony of foreigners. Lamartine was preparing to reply with the respect due to expatriation and misfortune, when he was stopped by exclamations from the other group, who protested against the moderation of the address.

Another speaker, who with furious gesticulations stepped forward from the ranks of the dissatisfied party, insolently apostrophized the minister, and, in his person, the French nation. He read a seditious speech, which concluded by informing Lamartine that the Poles possessed greater authority in Paris than he did; that they would call the government to account; that forty thousand men belonging to the national workshops had enrolled themselves to join them; that all were to march together on the Hôtel de Ville, and if the government refused to yield, they would be found sufficiently strong to overthrow it.

On hearing the government thus menaced, and the dignity of the nation insulted, Lamartine became irritated. He accepted the challenge offered to him, and contented himself with replying, that when France suffered her government to be overthrown by a handful of foreigners, who wished to dictate laws to her, then indeed France would be degraded even below the level of a nation who could not boast a country.

A warm altercation ensued, accompanied by angry words and gesticulations. The first group sought to prevail on the noisy speakers in the second group to listen to reason, but their efforts were unavailing. At length the rational and prudent members of the deputation, who were in the majority, interposed, appeased the factious orator who had first spoken, and at length drew from him some apologies. The deputation agreed to adjourn their proceedings until the following day, and then to assemble at the Hôtel de Ville. On their departure, Lamartine observed to them, that if the deputation should degenerate into a manifestation, and if they should

bring a single Frenchman in their train, they should no longer be treated as the guests, but as the disturbers of France.

Accordingly, on the following day, they made their appearance on the Place de Grève in a numerous body, but with a peaceful and decorous bearing. France and Europe anxiously awaited the reply which Lamartine would return to them, for on that reply rested the question of peace or war for the whole continent. The minister addressed them in the following speech, as reported by the short-hand writers of the *Moniteur* :—

"Poles,—the French republic receives as a happy augury the homage of your adhesion and of your gratitude for its hospitality. I need not tell you what are the sentiments cherished by the republic for the sons of Poland. The voice of France has given you assurance of those sentiments year after year, even though that voice was repressed by the monarchy. The republic has a voice still more free and sympathetic. It will repeat to you those fraternal sentiments, and will give you proofs of them in every way compatible with the policy of justice, moderation, and peace, which the republic has proclaimed to the world.

"Yes, since your last disasters, since the sword has effaced from the map of nations those last protestations of your existence, as the vestige or as the germ of a nation, Poland has not only been a reproach, she has been a living remorse in the midst of Europe.

"France will repay what she owes you; of that rest assured; for the hearts of thirty-six millions of Frenchmen are pledged to you. Only leave to France what belongs to her exclusively, viz., the time and the manner which Providence may determine as most proper for restoring you, without aggression and without the effusion of human blood, to the place which belongs to you under the light of the sun and in the catalogue of nations.

"You know the principles which the provisional government has invariably adopted in its foreign policy. If you do not know them, I will now explain them.

"The republic is republican doubtless; as such it has loudly proclaimed itself to the world. But the republic is not at war, either openly or secretly, with any existing nations or governments, whilst those nations and governments do not, on their

part, declare war against the republic. The provisional government will not therefore commit, nor willingly suffer to be committed, any act of aggression or violence against the Germanic nations. Those nations are themselves at the present time labouring to modify their internal system of confederation, and to create unity and establish justice among the nations who claim to be included in that system. It would be nothing short of madness or treason to the liberty of the world to disturb those efforts by warlike demonstration, or to transform into hostility, suspicion, or hatred, the liberative tendency which approximates them in feeling to us and to you.

"And what moment do you ask us to choose for this violation of policy and liberty? Is the treaty of Pilnitz militating against us? Is the coalition of absolute sovereigns drawn up in hostile array on our frontiers and on yours? Nothing of the sort! On the contrary, every courier brings us the victorious acclamations of nations who sanction our principles and who fortify our cause, precisely because we have declared that those principles bind us to respect the rights, the popular will, the forms of government, and the territorial possessions of all nations. Has then the policy of the provisional government been attended abroad by such unfavourable results that we should be forced to change it, and to present ourselves on the frontiers of neighbouring countries armed with bayonets, instead of offering assurances of liberty and peace?

"No; this policy, at once firm and pacific, has succeeded too well to cause the republic to change it until the time shall arrive when the foreign powers themselves may oblige her to alter it! Look at Belgium, at Switzerland, at Italy!—Look at the whole of Southern Germany!—Look at Vienna, at Berlin!—What would you wish more? The very possessors of your territories have opened for you the road to your country, and invite you to reconstruct its foundation peacefully. Be not unthankful to God! nor unjust to the republic or to us! The sympathetic nations of Germany, and the king of Prussia himself, are opening the gates of their citadels to your martyrs and your exiles,—Cracow is enfranchised,—the grand duchy of Posen once more annexed to Poland—these are the arms with which we have furnished you in one month's duration of our policy.

"Do not ask for others! The provisional government will not suffer the policy it is now pursuing to be changed by a foreign nation, however much that nation may command our sympathies. We love Poland; we love Italy; we love all oppressed nations; but we love France still more; and we have, at this moment, the responsibility of her destinies, and possibly those of Europe.

"This responsibility we will resign into no other hands than those of the nation itself! Put your trust, then, in France; put your trust in the future; put your trust in the thirty days just past, during which French democracy has gained more ground than could have been won by thirty pitched battles. Disturb not, either by armed hostility or agitation, which would recoil to the injury of our common cause, the work which Providence has accomplished, with no arms save human intelligence, for the regeneration of nations and the fraternity of mankind.

"As Poles, you have spoken well; and it is our duty to speak as Frenchmen. Both of us have our respective duties and feelings. As Poles, you may be justly impatient to fly to the land of your fathers, and to answer the appeal which that part of Poland already free has made to her generous sons. Those sentiments we cannot but applaud, and we will provide, as you desire, pacific means of aiding the Poles to return to their country, and to rejoice in the dawn of Polish independence at Posen.

"For our own parts, as Frenchmen, we have not merely to consider Poland; we have to consider the universality of European policy in every quarter in its connection with France, and with all the interests of liberty, of which the republic is the second, and we hope the most glorious and the last explosion in Europe. The serious importance of those interests, and of the resolutions they may call for, withholds the republic from resigning into the hands of any nation, or of any party in a nation, however sacred its cause, the responsibility and the liberty of adopting those resolutions.

"The policy in reference to Poland, which we were enjoined to follow under the monarchy, is not the policy which the republic requires us to pursue. The language which the republic has addressed to the world she will remain faithful to; she will not allow it to be said by any

power on earth, 'Your words here are at variance with your acts there!'

"The republic ought not, and will not, allow its acts to contradict its words; it wishes to have its promises respected, and therefore will not break them. What has the republic said in its manifesto to the powers? It said, turning a thought to Poland: 'Whenever it shall appear that Providence has marked the hour for the resurrection of a nationality unjustly obliterated from the map of nations, we will fly to its aid; but we justly reserve to France the privilege which belongs exclusively to her; viz. that of determining the time for rendering justice to the cause, and of choosing what she may deem the most proper means of interference.'

"These means we have already chosen; we have determined that they shall be pacific. France and Europe may now see whether these pacific measures have deceived us, and whether they deceive you.

"In the space of thirty-one days, the natural results of this system of peace and fraternity, declared to foreign nations and governments, have done more for the cause of France and liberty, and for the cause of Poland herself, than could have been gained by ten battles, accompanied by torrents of bloodshed.

"Think of the spontaneous popular explosions, and the constitutions in Vienna, Berlin, Italy, Milan, Genoa, Southern Germany, and Munich! Think of your own frontiers, at length opened to you amidst the acclamations of Germany, which is rising in new forms of life, fostered by the inviolability with which we have invested her governments and her territories! All this is the work of the republic; thanks to her system of respect for liberty and for human blood! Rest assured, that we shall not retrograde into any other system! The disinterested end at which we aim is more easily attainable by a straightforward course than by winding through the crooked paths of diplomacy. Seek not, therefore, to lead us out of that direct course. There is something which restrains, whilst at the same time it elevates, our love for Poland;—it is our reason! Let us listen to that monitor, in complete liberty of thought; and be assured, that in that thought there is no separation of the two nations, whose blood has so often intermingled on the field of battle.

"Our solicitude in your behalf, like our hospitality, will extend as far as our frontiers, and our eyes will follow you into your country. Thither carry with you our best wishes for the prosperity of the regeneration now dawning for you even in Prussia, in whose capital the banner of Poland waves. For the asylum which France has afforded you she seeks no other reward than the amelioration of your national destiny and the recollections of the French name which you will carry with you.

"Forget not that it is to the republic you are indebted for the first steps you are about to take in the direction of your country."

This address had at once the effect of satisfying Europe and checking the impetuosity of the Polish refugees.

England awaited with solicitude the reception which Lamartine might give to the Irish agitators, who had departed from Dublin to demand succour and arms from the French republic. The old standing national hatred between France and England favoured their cause. There were in France three parties, viz., the demagogues, the military, and the Catholic party, who united together to enforce the belief that the Irish insurrection was identical with the cause of liberty, of the church, and of France. Lamartine was fully aware of the clamour which these three parties would raise against him, should he venture to withhold the concurrence of the republic in a civil war against England. Nevertheless, he did venture to do so, relying on the good faith of the republic. He did not consider it right to employ all weapons against a rival but friendly power, between whom and liberated France he wished to strengthen the bonds of union. To the address of the Irish delegates, Lamartine replied:—

"Citizens of Ireland, if we required another proof of the pacific influence of the proclamation of the great democratic principle—that new Christianity, whose light, blazing forth at the opportune moment, divides mankind, as in time past, into pagans and Christians—we should find this proof of the all-powerful action of an idea in the visits which nations, or fractions of nations, are spontaneously making to republican France!

"We are not surprised to see here to-day a portion of the Irish nation. Ireland well knows how greatly her destinies,

her sufferings, and her successive progress in religious liberty, constitutional unity and equality, with the other portions of the United Kingdom, have at times excited the interest of Europe! We said this, only a few days ago, to another deputation of your fellow-citizens, and we will repeat it to all the children of the glorious isle of Erin, which by the genius of its inhabitants as well as by the vicissitudes of its history is at once the poetry and the heroism of the nations of the North.

"Be assured, then, that you will find in France, under the republic, a return of all the sentiments you bring hither. Tell your fellow-citizens that the name of Ireland and the name of liberty courageously defended against privilege are identical in the mind of every French citizen. Tell them that the reciprocity they invoke, the hospitality they remember, will ever be proudly extended by the republic to the Irish people. Tell them, above all things, that the French republic is not an aristocratic republic, in which liberty is the mere mask of privilege, but that it is a republic embracing the whole of the people in the same privileges and the same benefits.

"As to other encouragement, it would not be fitting in us to give it, or in you to receive it. I have already made the same observation in reference to Switzerland, to Germany, to Belgium, and to Italy. I repeat it in reference to every nation which has internal differences to settle with itself or with its government. When our blood does not flow in the veins of a people, we are not permitted to meddle in their internal affairs. We take no side in Ireland or elsewhere, save the side of justice, liberty, and national happiness. In time of peace we are not desirous of taking any share in the interests and passions of foreign nations. France wishes to keep herself free for the rights of all.

"We are at peace, and it is our wish to remain in sound relations of equality, not with this or that party in Great Britain, but with the whole of the British nation. We believe the peace now existing to be useful and honourable, not only to Great Britain and the French republic, but to the whole human race. We will not commit any act, we will not utter any word, we will not put forth any insinuation which may be at variance with those principles of the reciprocal inviolability of nations which we have proclaimed, and of which the continent is already reaping the fruits.

The deposed monarchy had treaties and diplomatists; we have nations for diplomatists, and sympathies for treaties. It would be madness to change this open and wide-spread diplomacy for secret and partial alliances with parties, even with parties the most legitimate, in neighbouring countries. We are not qualified to judge of those parties so as to enable us to determine our preference for one or another. To declare ourselves friends to this or that party, would be to avow ourselves enemies to others. We wish not to be the enemies of any of your countrymen; we wish, on the contrary, by the good faith of the republican word, to overcome the prejudices which have existed between our neighbours and ourselves.

"This course, however unsatisfactory it may be to you, is enjoined on us by the law of nations and by historical recollections.

"Do you know what it was that most irritated France, and most contributed to create animosity between France and England, during the last republic? It was the civil war, countenanced, instigated, and paid by Pitt, on a part of our territory. It was the encouragement, the arms supplied to Frenchmen, as heroic as yourselves, in La Vendée; but, nevertheless, Frenchmen fighting against Frenchmen. This was not honest warfare; it was royalist propagandism carried on against the republic by the shedding of French blood. In spite of all our efforts, this conduct is not yet quite obliterated from the memory of the nation: our imitation of that conduct shall not be the cause for renewing resentment between Great Britain and ourselves. We receive with gratitude the testimonials of amicable feeling offered by the different nations forming the great Britannic fascis. We pray that justice may bind still more closely the union of those nations, so that it may be more and more firmly based on equality. But whilst we proclaim with you and with all the sacred principle of fraternity, our conduct will be fraternal, like our principles and our sentiments."

The immense crowd which surrounded the Irish deputation received this address with shouts of "Vive la république!" "Vive Lamartine!" These shouts enabled the delegates sufficiently to understand that the minister's refusal of their request, and the reasons on which that refusal was grounded, were more popular than even their cause. Accordingly they

did not urge their suit, but feigned to be satisfied with the reply that had been addressed to them. On the following day the leaders of the deputation dined with the minister for foreign affairs, but merely as private individuals, and not a word was uttered in reference to the address or the answer to it.

BOOK XIII.

In the meantime the manifesto addressed by France to foreign governments and people was not without its effect upon the continent. The nations, now tranquillized as regarded the ambition of the republic, yielded themselves to the natural direction of their inclination to liberty. The reaction of the revolution of Paris, thus explained, shook the world in a greater degree than the cannons of Marengo or of Austerlitz.

The first, and the most unexpected effect, was experienced at Vienna, upon the 14th of March. Prince Metternich, whose government had for a long period been a mere system of complaisant flattery to the wishes of the nobility, and to the superstitious bigotry of three women who surrounded an emperor in a state of perpetual childhood, was taken quite by surprise by the event.

An unforeseen and irresistible insurrection carried away with it the priesthood, the court, the aristocracy, and the government.

The imperial family abandoned Vienna to revolution. The prince abandoned the monarchy itself, and took refuge in the Tyrol.

Upon the 18th of March, Berlin followed the example of Vienna. The king, at the head of his troops, on the first day, resisted and triumphed.

Astonished at his victory, and less embarrassed in conquering than in governing, he gave up his sword again to the people whom he had vanquished. The Poles, on issuing from the prisons of Berlin, found themselves, on the 20th of March, masters of the monarchy. They urged the people to a republic. The king, upon the advice of the sole minister who

had preserved his coolness of mind, anticipated this movement by a Machiavelian species of flattery to the German genius. Ambitious from necessity, that minister suddenly caused the monarch to adopt the colours of the German union, which was the ardent desire of the middle ranks of Germany. Frederick William thus regained popularity with the revolutionary mass of his people at the very moment when he ran the risk of losing his own crown.

A second movement, still more democratic than the first, agitated Vienna some days after. The Poles were in this instance also the parties who, conjointly with the students, accomplished it. The republic was the cry of this third revolution. It rent in twain the constitution granted by the emperor on the 15th of March, and appealed by universal suffrage to a constituent assembly. Hungary, a nation of twenty millions of men, weighed down by the yoke of Austria, profited by the revolution at Vienna to attempt her own emancipation, and form herself into an independent government. This effort at emancipation, complicated by a civil war of races between the Croats and Hungarians, aroused the armed populations. Sometimes beaten back, sometimes menacing Austria, this war holds, to the present moment, the fate of Hungarian independence and the Austrian revolution in suspense.

Beyond the Alps, Lombardy felt that the hour of her emancipation, which had been sounded at Paris, and repeated at Vienna the 14th of March, had arrived. Milan, her capital, rose in revolt upon the 20th of that month, and drove the Austrians far from her walls.

Venice imitated her; and, steeped in servitude, her people recovered the heroism which had been asleep in the lap of her ancient prosperity.

At the beginning of April, the duchies of Parma and Modena drove out their governments, which were little more than vice-royalties of Austria. These duchies proclaimed provisionally a republican form of government, until the lot of arms should decide upon the unity of northern Italy.

Tuscany, anticipated in her desires by a popular and liberal prince, bestowed a constitution on herself. Rome, initiated in liberty, and urged on to independence by a pope more rash than politic, boiling with impatient excitement, in turn was

agitated and held back by him. Naples had extorted a constitution from her king. The army remained stanch to him, and combated the republican attempts under his command. Sicily proclaimed her independence, and shed her blood to seal it.

Finally, the king of Sardinia, Charles Albert, imitating the king of Prussia, at the head of a hundred thousand men, raised the standard of the independence of Italy. The subsidized ally, and almost the vassal of the policy of Austria, he profited by the reverses of that empire to march upon Lombardy. Hurried along by his wonted ambition, urged on by his people, restrained by his anti-liberal principles, blamed by his court and clergy, applauded and menaced at the same time by the republicans, he threw himself, without foresight or proper consideration, into an abyss of inconsistencies, faults, and difficulties. He thought to escape by conquest the infliction of a republic, but found only exile for himself and ruin for his country. A good soldier, but a bad chief; as a man, inconsistent; as a prince, by turns revolutionary and persecuting, he was born to be the passive and unfortunate instrument of every ruling party. He atoned by personal heroism for the deficiencies of his understanding and character. History will, at once, lament and honour him.

The reports of each of the events, thus put together, arriving one by one at Paris, had one vast acclamation of joy for its echo. The greatest danger for the republic was the fear of a coalition against her. Fear is cruel. Raising the cry of treason, and preparing scaffolds, she paves the way for dictatorships, and hands over the government to extreme parties. Lamartine dreaded, above all, those panic terrors of coalitions which might seize upon France, and drive her to convulsions and blood. The successive violent agitations occurring in Europe, the dethronings, the emancipations of the people, which he had predicted to his colleagues and to the public, came, week after week, to fortify the system of peace which he had laid down. The horizon opened on every side. Democracy fraternized from the Danube to the Tiber. Public spirit at Paris breathed nought but serenity and security. Fear was banished from even the most suspicious minds. A pretext was wanting to the most ungovernable partisans of aggression connected with the govern-

ment. The very clubs loudly proclaimed the benefits of peace. The confidential agents, whom the minister of foreign affairs had sent to all the capitals of Europe, announced to him by every courier the popular success of his diplomacy, inoffensive to nations, irreproachable towards governments, but all-powerful in its results.

All discussion upon the subject of foreign affairs had ceased, even in the very centre of the government. The minister directed, alone and undisputed, the destinies of the policy of the country. Fortune justified his designs. He never entered the council-chamber of the ministers without bringing new and favourable prognostics, or new triumphs for the republic. His colleagues and he mutually congratulated one another. The melancholy forebodings felt with regard to the interior of the country were for a few moments dissipated by the encouraging perspective which met their eyes from abroad.

"Each time a courier reaches me," said he to the government, "and that I enter here to bring before you the subject of our foreign affairs, I present you with a fragment of Europe!" Europe, in fact, fell to pieces at the recoil of the republic established at Paris, for the very reason that the republic had been wise enough to offer her no violence.

The minister did not dissemble to himself that after this movement of decomposition, Europe would have one of violence for the re-establishment of the ancient monarchical order of things. He neither believed, nor desired, that the different nations should pass, ill-prepared, and at the first bound, into republicanism. It was sufficient for France that the spirit of the people by whom she was immediately surrounded should introduce itself by constitutional institutions into their own governments, as the element of fraternity, solidity, and peace with France. Such were his real thoughts. Thus, his agents abroad had all, without exception, formal instructions not to enter into any plot against the governments; not to involve themselves in any republican manœuvre, and not to excite any people to insurrection, nor any prince to hostilities. He did not desire to engage the republic, by any moral complicity whatever, in causes, or fortunes, which at a later period it would have to disavow. He pushed his scrupulousness on this score to the point of refusing to explain himself, by any sign

of blame or encouragement, at the period when King Charles Albert caused to be notified to him his declaration of war against Austria. It was impossible for the Marquis Brignole, the ambassador of that sovereign, whom Lamartine saw daily, to know whether this declaration was approved or disapproved by the French government. If it approved it, it would have been to have taken a tacit engagement to follow the course of events, and carry on an indirect war against Austria. If it blamed it, it would have been to discourage the attempt of Italy to achieve her own independence. He preserved silence, and limited himself to hastening the formation of the army of the Alps; for whether it failed or succeeded, the war carried on by Piedmont against Austria would cause the French army to pass the Alps, either to serve the purposes of action, or armed negotiation. This plan, in which was summed up the entire policy of Lamartine in Italy, was broken up after the events in June by the government which succeeded him. He is unacquainted with the necessities and motives of this the second government of the republic. He is not writing a criticism, but a history.

Upon the side of Germany the provisional government had but one plan,—a respectful neutrality accompanied with good wishes towards every German power; the friendship of Germany, recovered at any price by the renunciation of all conquest and all interference in her affairs; an army of two hundred thousand men, prepared in the space of six weeks, to hang upon the Rhine, and, if required, to pass it, in a disinterested spirit of assistance, upon the call of the German people, should Germany invite it against any effort of foreign oppression.

The whole policy, whether French, German, Hungarian, or Polish, turned on that point. Nothing has changed there. But, on the side of Italy, the opportunity of forming an Italian league has been lost. Mediation could only have effect upon the other side of the Alps. French democracy, moreover, has nobody to accuse but itself for the failures of the provisional government in regard to Italy. It is the demagogue and social risings of June which, doubtless, fettered the army of the Alps, under the command of General Cavaignac, and gave rise, as a necessary and fatal result, to the odious war engaged in by France against Rome. But France

and Italy will not allow themselves to be disunited by the misunderstandings of governments. Their treaty is written by the hand of nature herself.

Such, at the commencement of April, was the situation of France with respect to foreign states. England, recalled by the wise moderation of her government to sentiment, to a feeling of respect and admiration for a democracy which restrained anarchy and war at the same time, had no pretext either for irritability or hostilities, and the new French republic became popular at London.

One man alone, through all Great Britain, calumniated it in his words and writings. This was Lord Brougham, a man of an eminent but capricious and incongruous spirit. A universal but superficial writer, a vigorous orator, but devoid of genius, himself the offspring of democracy, Lord Brougham affected the posthumous part of Burke against a republic which had on its hands neither the blood of a queen, nor even that of a single citizen. His sarcasms recoiled upon himself, for Lord Brougham, in imitation of Anacharsis Klootz, had solicited the title of citizen of the French republic from the provisional government.

The parliament and Lord Palmerston showed themselves penetrated with the sentiment of the inviolability of nations in their internal changes. They, as well as the British ambassador at Paris, Lord Normanby, evinced less political susceptibility at certain acts and words of the republic than they would perhaps to a firmly-seated monarchical government. It was evident that they made allowances for the difficult circumstances against which the provisional government was struggling for the preservation of peace. In their forbearance they allowed time to French policy to establish itself, and to form its character, and in doing that, Lord Palmerston's government deserved well of humanity. Democracies are prone to take umbrage. It was a task of difficulty to Lamartine also to dispel the remains of long-standing anti-British prejudices. A display of impatience on the part of Lord Palmerston would have compromised everything. It was the period of his political life when he was most statesman-like, because most forbearing and philosophical.

The rising of Lombardy, and the first advantages gained by Charles Albert, the disturbances in Bohemia, the inde-

pendence of Hungary, the convocation of the diet of Frankfort to establish the metaphysical principle of German unity in a Germanic confederation, had so dismembered and embarrassed Austria, that it, un-encouraged, made to France and England the first overtures of concession in Italy of a nature to satisfy those two countries, as well as Sardinia, and all who aimed at the independence of the north of Italy.

A statesman, badly informed upon this point, M. Thiers, at a later period asserted at the tribune, when misinterpreting the foreign policy of the provisional government, that it had turned a deaf ear to these propositions. It is the reverse that is true. Lamartine was too much the friend of peace and Italy to disregard propositions which, to a considerable extent, insured both peace and independence. The Austrian envoys voluntarily made him the judge of the offers which the cabinet of the emperor was disposed to make to Sardinia. The questions in agitation were the abandonment of Lombardy and the duchies of Parma, the bestowal of a constitution upon Venice under the independent vice-royalty of a prince of the house of Austria. Lamartine did not hesitate to acknowledge that these propositions would contribute greatly to satisfy the legitimate ambition of Italy for enfranchisement, and he encouraged the Austrian cabinet to negotiate upon such bases. These overtures were twice made to him semi-officially, and twice he held the same language. He would have been neither statesman nor patriot if he had repulsed them. For the conclusion of such an arrangement permitted the republic to restore one of its frontiers, which had been mutilated, after the hundred days, by the second treaty of 1815; and his thoughts were directed, though at a distance, to this object.

Within, France was calmly meditating upon the approaching general elections. She canvassed the candidates without prejudice and without exclusion. The streets of Paris alone were agitated. A people, tranquil but indolent, amounting in number to two or three hundred thousand souls, awaited its lot from the National Assembly. They refused to believe the republic to be definitively settled, until it had been adopted by that representative body of the people. Those motive forces of labour, confidence, and credit, could

only revive under a settled government. Till then, all was an unknown void.

The tendencies of the dictatorial government were equivocal in the eyes of the population. Contradictory symptoms were perceived. It was believed that there were violent dissensions among its members. The immense majority of the nation was attached to the moderate men personified in a few names. The dreaded and turbulent minority of Paris, and of the clubs of the departments, were attached to others. The hotel of the ministry of foreign affairs, and that of the ministry of the interior, were, it was said, the head-quarters of two opinions, which would before long enter into armed combat. This notion had been to such a degree spread among the people, that several hundreds of armed citizens of the suburbs, and the interior of Paris, came, sometimes of their own accord and without the knowledge of Lamartine, to pass the nights under the court-yard gates, and on the foot-paths of the streets adjacent to his residence, to defend him from being surprised or carried off. The ministry of the interior, as was said, had also its adherents and its forces; the club of Barbès, the disciples of Louis Blanc and Albert, and the leaders of a species of meeting, called the Club or Clubs, which formed the centre of democratic agitation, assembled there. These men gave information to the minister of the interior of the movements which were in preparation in the subterranean regions of Paris; they negotiated between every party to acquire a preponderating influence over them all, and even over the government.

They generally employed this influence to appease the people; but they spoke in the name of the masses; they paraded their wants; they made their moral authority of more power than the truth. These members of the Club of Clubs came two or three times by deputation to the ministry of foreign affairs. Lamartine spoke to them with frankness, and encouraged them to put their trust in the National Assembly. He told them distinctly that he would listen to no proposal for prolonging the dictatorship; that he had on the 24th of February devoted himself to the preservation of his country from anarchy, and by the establishment of the republic to bestow a regular government upon France; but that when once the sovereignty of the people should be recovered

in the National Assembly, no seduction or violence should force him to take part in a government of insurrection. These men appeared ardent, but actuated by good intentions.

Some disorders of no importance, but which were, perhaps, capable of degenerating into scandals and collisions, were, at the commencement of spring, a source of annoyance to the peaceable citizens of Paris. Such disorders had only the idleness of the workmen of Paris for their cause, and the civil rejoicings for their pretext. These were the planting of trees of liberty in all the squares, and in front of all the monuments of Paris. Bands of vagabonds and children went about the neighbouring villages to buy young poplar-trees, and bringing them on their shoulders, planted them, at will, in different places; then firing off their muskets, they uttered loud cries, sometimes importuned the clergy to come and bestow a blessing on their trees, and levied some trifling and voluntary, but odious supplies, upon the neighbouring houses, for the purpose of sprinkling the roots with wine. M. Arago, the minister of war, by the display of an armed force, forbade these groups to assemble in the court of the ministry of marine. Caussidière did not venture to use violence towards such tumultuary assemblages, for fear of increasing by attempting to repress them. These demonstrations had, by the 16th of April, degenerated into a species of noisy mendicity which could no longer be tolerated.

The repressive force, however, was not yet sufficiently numerous to be engaged in contention with these seditious movements of indigence, this gaiety of a people devoid of bread.

The government, on two or three occasions, was distressed by other symptoms of seditious movement of a more harassing character.

On the occasion of a defeat experienced by Austria, a column of people, excited by some German refugees, assembled for the purpose of going to insult the ambassador of that power. Lamartine, being informed of the circumstance, and not having any repressive force at hand, trusted to the force of reason over the people alone. He went forth unattended, and for the space of two hours waited, like a sentinel, for the seditious gathering before the ambassador's door; and in the mean time some adroit and persuasive agents, who had

been commissioned by him, succeeded in deciding the chiefs of the rioters to renounce so shameful an attempt against the right of nations. They took another direction, proceeded to the Champ de Mars, and from thence to the ministry of the interior. The minister harangued them with eloquence and firmness. He aimed, principally, in his speech, at reinstating the army in the hearts of the people of Paris, and preparing the return of the troops to the capital.

To contrive this return, patiently and prudently, was the principal thought of M. Arago and the majority of the government. But it could only be founded upon the desire of the national guard itself. The army returning prematurely, before the susceptibilities of the people were extinguished, would have been the inevitable signal of a shock from which would issue a second civil war. The return of the army began, however, to be keenly desired. The party of the Socialists and demagogues alone instilled alarm and prepared sedition at each announcement of the return of the soldiers.

The nearer the elections, fixed at first for the beginning of April, approached, the more the parties, which dreaded removal from their dictatorship, trembled and threatened in Paris. The clubs, although influenced by the intelligence which Lamartine preserved with their principal directors, rebelled against their own chiefs, at the sole name of the sovereign assembly which was coming to close the mouths of all these volcanoes.

Violent motions, anticipated seditions, declared resolutions of continuing armed, to watch and constrain the representatives, oaths exacted from the candidates for the rank of officer of the national guard, to march against the representative assembly itself, should it disavow or betray the republic, attested the repugnance of the revolution to recognize any other sovereignty than that of Paris. It appeared evident that the capital would not yield without a shock the absolute and dictatorial power with which the revolution had invested it.

Even in the bosom of the government, opinions were divided, not upon the right of calling upon the definitive sovereignty of the nation, but with regard to the date to fix for the meeting of the Assembly at Paris. The majority wished to hasten the day of elections as much as possible, the

minority seemed to hesitate to fix it. Petitions from the workmen and delegates of the Luxembourg never ceased, under different pretexts, to demand the adjournment of the elections. Sometimes they were not sufficiently prepared for this new exercise of their rights as citizens; sometimes they had not the necessary time for the discussion of the merits of their candidates; sometimes their inexperience in electoral rights required the instruction afforded by their preparatory meetings. Such pretexts, as vain as they were diversified, revealed the real motives of the resistance which lay concealed under such sophistries of adjournment.

On another side the minister of the interior awaited complete reports from his commissioners in the departments, before deciding upon a definitive resolution in the government council. These reports arrived only one by one. Some of the commissioners sowed the seeds of alarm in their reports. They gave the name of reaction against the republic to the least liberty of opinion manifested in their provinces, and to the signs of independence or dissatisfaction, often very legitimate, against the omnipotence of their administration. The men who at Paris aspired to an indefinite prolongation of the dictatorship, armed themselves with these reports to raise the cry of treason against those who wished to restore to the nation a power, thus far prosperous and mild, but which might, if perpetuated, be changed into tyranny and anarchy. Upon both sides suspicions were awakened. The partisans of a deferred election suspected their adversaries of conspiring with the abettors of future restorations, and of preparing the shortest ways for the re-establishment of the governments and men of the old monarchies. The partisans of immediate election regarded those of the opposite party as ambitious men, and as the upstarts of liberty, trembling at being deprived of an unhoped-for power which fortune had lodged in their hands, and ready to declare themselves the sole guardians of the republic, in order to govern the country, and perhaps tear it to pieces, in its name. In fine, the leaders of the Socialist sects, and the chiefs of the industrial class, trembled to see their tribunes overthrown and their empire destroyed by the arrival of the representatives of the provinces at Paris. This common unwillingness for the installation of the national power seemed to draw Socialists and

Conventionalists closer together, two parties who were destined to unite at a later period, but who, up to that moment, felt a mutual hatred to each other. The deliberations of the government itself were affected by the influence of these parties from without, whose spirit laboured hard to penetrate to them. They became rare, suspicious, short, and often angry. The majority was decided to make this question the text of the union, or of the dismemberment of the government. A final day was fixed to take a last resolution on this point. The sitting was long, but devoid of extreme violence. M. Ledru Rollin read an extract of the reports of his commissioners. He proved, upon evidence, by the dates, and by the nature of the preparatory operations to be accomplished, that the actual time necessary for their completion demanded seven or eight days beyond the term fixed by the first decree. It was unanimously acknowledged that it was necessary for the safety of the National Assembly to wait until the national guard should be organized, clothed, and armed, in order that this civic force might be able to environ the representatives of France with security and respect. It required a certain number of days for this remodelled national guard to be under arms. Easter-day, the 27th of April, was appointed for the general elections, and the 4th of May for the opening of the National Assembly. This resolution, taken loyally and by common accord, dissipated many a doubt in mutually prejudiced minds, and calmed many a secret, lurking irritation in the hearts of men.

The majority of the government saw that the minority was confounded with it, and delivered itself up, although, perhaps, with less confidence, yet with the same sincerity, to the country. From that day, men who had kept apart drew closer to each other. The majority had obtained its desire, for the dictatorship was loyally abjured by all parties.

Some casual differences were still to be remarked in the discourses and acts relating to the elections. A circular of the minister of the interior became the subject of discussion. Agreeing upon its spirit, they came to an accommodation upon the terms of it. A more revolutionary measure was perseveringly demanded, not indeed by M. Ledru Rollin, but by the delegates of the Luxembourg and of the clubs of the

working men of Paris. This measure consisted in allowing these meetings to send two or three emissaries, chosen from the different classes of the workmen of the capital, into each department, to be paid from the funds of the ministry of the interior, under the title of supplies to the republic. These would amount to a sum of a hundred or a hundred and twenty thousand francs. M. Ledru Rollin refused to take upon his single responsibility the employment of so large a sum, unless protected by the formal consent of the council. The council authorized the measure and the expenditure. It recommended the minister to be scrupulously careful in the choice of his emissaries, to appoint only upright, honest, and moderate men, who should be examples and not agitators, and to limit their mission to the propagation of sound republican doctrines, and technical information upon the exercise of their electoral rights. All admixture, even confidential, of those agents, in the name of the government, in the choice of the candidates, was interdicted to them. On these conditions the measure was authorized. It was justified in the minds even of those opposed to it, and who foresaw its inconveniences, by the necessity of inducing the two hundred thousand workmen of Paris to accept voluntarily the term assigned to the elections. It was a concession to an emergency, a sacrifice to concord. An insurrection of two hundred thousand workmen of Paris in favour of the postponement of the date of the elections would have cost more gold and caused more bloodshed. Such was the spirit of this concession. It was a fault. The minister of foreign affairs felt it when he consented to it. Some of these men scandalized opinion and morality by acts and relations which were a stain upon their missions. But their mission, demanded by some, tolerated by others, recognized as necessary by all, had no other motive, no other object. Although unfortunate in its selection, this measure powerfully contributed to cause the elections to be accepted, as well as to hasten them.

At this epoch Lamartine, foreseeing the inevitable agitations and military necessities which would arise after the meeting of the National Assembly, employed himself earnestly and secretly with a more active organization of the army, with bringing it nearer to Paris, and bestowing the command of it upon a firm, popular, and republican chief. To restore

popularity to the army, it was necessary that the definitive chief to be assigned to it should be at once a member of the military profession, possessed of a character agreeable to the soldiery, and a politician above all suspicion of treason to the republic.

M. Arago, minister of war and minister of marine at the same time, was equal to the direction of these two great administrations, by the activity and extent of his intelligence. Thus far his name had served to extinguish the rivalries which might have arisen among the general officers, easily excited to jealousy by the preference given by the government to one over the rest. The name of a civilian neutralized the command of the army. M. Arago had been respected by the military more as in the place of the law than as a minister. His impartial energy had re-established and maintained discipline. The army was recruited and obeyed as well as at any other epoch of our history; but the assembly would soon open, and M. Arago would re-enter, perhaps, the ranks of the representatives. The assembly would have need of a force at and around Paris, and it would require a minister capable at the same time of organizing and of fighting.

Lamartine gave way to no illusion on the subject of the future. He knew from history that a government has at its birth assaults for several years to sustain, and that the cradle of this government, whether republic or monarchy, requires the shadowing protection of bayonets. Democracy especially aims at being strong, and so much the stronger as it is the nearer to demagoguism. All the crimes of anarchy proceed from weakness. Socialism and pauperism, dangers peculiar to a civilization too industrial in its character, rendered the necessity of arming the republic efficaciously the more evident to all eyes. For this purpose Lamartine had been for a long period busied in the preparation of three measures. The first was the possession of an army, powerfully organized, and disposed over the territory in three great bodies, serving as a support to one another, and enabled by rapid and extended evolutions, not only to repress in this or that direction any insurrection which might arise, but to manœuvre on a grand scale through the whole extent of the French territory, upon bases fixed beforehand, as in the great civil wars of Rome. Three generals were destined to command these three bodies of troops. One at Paris and its immediate radius, the other at

Bourges and the neighbouring provinces, and the third from Lyons to Marseilles.

The second idea was the formation of a reserve of three hundred battalions of the *garde mobile* of the departments, armed, disciplined, equipped, exercised, and organized, but remaining at their homes, and only emerging from them at the call of the council of the department, the prefect, or the government, in sudden cases of outbreaks or intestine war. It was the anti-social and anti-anarchical federation previously established, and made ready to be put in motion in the hands of the departments. In case of defeat at Paris, social order would acquire, independently of the army, three hundred thousand defenders, and could in eight days stifle a seditious movement under the walls of the capital. Instead of the revolutionary army of 1793, it was the republican army of 1848, everywhere protecting order, property, and the lives of the citizens, against terror and the dismemberment of the empire. In case of foreign war, these three hundred battalions would serve to form a second line upon our frontiers and strong places, and would leave the rest of the army at liberty.

Finally, his last idea was to give to the republic and the National Assembly, as minister of war, a soldier and a republican, who would cause the republic to be beloved by the army, and enable the army to be received without distrust by the republic.

The first of these projects was already half accomplished by M. Arago and the government. The army would soon be raised to the amount of five hundred thousand men. The creation of three hundred battalions of the *garde mobile* of the departments had already been repeatedly mentioned by Lamartine to the council, in anticipation of the event of a foreign war. Lamartine was not ignorant that this measure revealed in its true light would have given umbrage to the radical party, whose evident aim was to suppress the army, in Paris especially, and to substitute for it the omnipotence of the social organization of the clubs and workmen; an organization governed by the chiefs of the sects against the commercial classes, property, and the bourgeoisie.

He adjourned then, several times, the formal proposition of the measure; but he entered into the subject of it, sepa-

rately, with some of his colleagues. After impressing them well with the idea, he prepared them to propose it themselves to the government.

M. Flocon, who after a protracted illness had just returned to active life, and who possessed a quick perception of all which had reference to the power of the country, approving this measure, undertook to bring it forward in conjunction with the minister of foreign affairs, under the form of a formal and pressing proposition. The well-approved patriotism of this young member of the government, and the ascendancy of his energy over the radical party, disconcerted their objections. Lamartine supported him, as if this idea had been for him a sudden revelation of endangered patriotism. The decree was carried unanimously. Lamartine, on returning home, thus expressed himself to his friends:—"If my decree for raising these three hundred thousand men is put into execution, with activity, by the National Assembly, civil war is henceforth impossible, and society can receive no molestation for more than ten days." But a minister was requisite for the execution of this decree, and he believed that he had found one in the person of General Eugène Cavaignac.

General Cavaignac, the son of a man of revolutionary and conventionalist renown, was the brother of one of the young precursors of the republic, another Carrel, whose character, talent, and memory had caused him to be regarded as a saint by the party of the active democracy.

This name was so popular among those who survived him, that it even reflected a portion of this feeling of reverence upon his brother. The second Cavaignac was serving in Africa, and the provisional government had, at its first sitting at the Hôtel de Ville, nominated him governor-general. At a later period it had called him to Paris, and had offered him the post of minister of war. The general replied in somewhat arrogant terms to the government, and made such excessive conditions, that, wounded at this first offer, it had renounced his services at the capital.

Affairs were in this position, when Lamartine, always imbued with the thought of strengthening the National Assembly by giving a military chief to the army, accidentally opening a journal, read a clear, brief, and republican declaration of faith, bearing the signature of Cavaignac. This was

a letter from the young general to the electors of his department, who had offered to make him a candidate to represent them in the National Assembly.

This letter expressed with precision, and with remarkable honesty and boldness, all that republicanism, order, liberty, and morality which was according to Lamartine's own heart. It had a great effect upon his mind, and he resolved to make every attempt to win such a character, such opinions, and such a sword, to the service of the assembly and the government. He was not acquainted with the general, or his family; but learning that M. Flocon was on terms of intimacy with his mother, he requested his young colleague to introduce him to that lady, who, it was said, was as highly distinguished for her qualities of heart and mind as for her patriotism. He did not conceal from M. Flocon the object of the interview he solicited with Madame Cavaignac. M. Flocon participated in the desire of the minister of foreign affairs to give a military and republican chief to the army; but was apprehensive that Madame Cavaignac, being already in mourning for her eldest son, would be unwilling to contribute to compromise the life of the second, by recalling him, at so stormy a period and for such perilous employments, from a peaceful colony, and a climate necessary for the restoration of his health. Madame Cavaignac consented, notwithstanding, to receive the minister of foreign affairs. Lamartine found in a remote quarter, and in a modest apartment, furnished with all the signs of widowhood, retirement, and piety, a female in mourning, of an extremely thoughtful and expressive aspect, where sensibility and strength of mind contended in features of a grave and resigned character. He comprehended at the first glance how it was that the republicans had styled this woman the mother of the Gracchi. She had, in fact, in her elevation of character, in her simplicity, and in her accent, something of the antique, mingled with something Christian. Under such a look as hers, freemen might indeed be nurtured.

Her conversation did not belie her exterior. Lamartine had rarely met anything bearing analogy to it, unless in some celebrated women of the heroic stocks of Rome or Florence. The tenderness of a mother, the energy of a citizen, echoed

in the manly accents of her voice. He proceeded at once to the subject of the interview. He spoke to Madame Cavaignac of the republic, should it become feeble, or be impelled too far forward at its outset; of the necessity of surrounding it with a degree of honest and moderate force, to save it from the convulsions of feeble and spasmodic governments; of the sacrifice which the establishment of free and democratic order demanded of every one, even of mothers themselves; and of the extreme desire which he had to see the army approach Paris under that republican guarantee which the name of her son would confer. Madame Cavaignac resisted, but was softened, not upon her own account, but for that of liberty, and she allowed herself, at last, to be vanquished.

"You demand of me," said she, "the greatest of sacrifices; but you demand it in the name of the most absolute of duties. What you ask is granted. I consent to be the medium for communicating your desires to my son; I will immediately recount to him our conversation, and bring you his answer."

Some days after, the general himself replied to Lamartine. That answer was worthy the son of such a mother, and was without eagerness, as without weakness. It was agreed that the general should request leave of absence from the government, and come to France. From this day the three principal subjects of provident forecast on the part of Lamartine, viz. against foreign war, against civil war, and against anarchy at Paris, at the moment of the meeting of the National Assembly, appeared provided for; and he moved forward with more confidence towards the unknown future.

But this unknown future, for the space of several weeks, was yet full of problems and conspiracies.

The nearer the termination of the dictatorship approached, the more the extreme parties, who felt that their reign was vanishing, strove violently to dispute it with the nation. They shuddered at the sole name of the National Assembly. They loudly declared in their assemblies and clubs, sometimes that they would overthrow the majority of the government before the day of the elections; sometimes that they would not permit the National Assembly to enter Paris, but as a suspected representative body, held captive in the midst of a hedge of two hundred thousand destitute men, whose decrees

it would have to promulgate as those of the people, or else subject themselves to their violence.

Sinister and atrocious words escaped like the involuntary explosions of the feeling of revolt which was so deeply seated in the hearts of certain men. The discourses of the clubs and delegates of the Luxembourg became more bitter and significative. Secret reports revealed to the government the existence of nocturnal meetings, in which the chiefs of the principal factions opposed to the opening of the Assembly sought either to anticipate the day by a preconcerted movement, or to display such large armed revolutionary forces that the National Assembly would be a mere plaything of their own. The members of the majority of the government were pointed out to the suspicion and resentment of a part of the people. Journals were distributed, which opened their columns to accuse them. Placards, in which they were denounced to public indignation, were drawn up by German demagogues, and issued at night from suspected presses, to inflame the public spirit against the men who were determined to restore the republic to the country. Some of these placards, directed expressly against Lamartine, were posted up without the knowledge of his colleagues by emissaries who abused their names and protection. Witnesses and confidants, indignant at such dangerous proceedings, in which they believed they saw brooding conspiracies, came by night to Lamartine to reveal them, but he placed in them no belief. Convinced of the truth of his adversaries, he considered that their course would be one of open contest, not of treason.

There were, however, two distinct camps in the government, and around these were grouped different tendencies, opposite republican systems, and men unsympathizing, suspicious, and violent. Such were able to direct, although irregularly, the will of their chiefs, to stimulate one against the other, to sow distrust and afterwards snares among them, and make use of their standard to create factions and lead them afterwards into extremities.

The majority of the government were constantly besieged with alarming reports respecting the conspiracies which were said to be framing against their safety. The place of meeting of the council was frequently changed. Provision was made against surprises. So large a number as two or three hundred

armed men were sometimes assembled secretly in the neighbourhood of the ministry of finance, or of the Luxembourg, to prevent surprise. All parties suspected and watched one another.

Lamartine was informed by the voluntary communications of those whose position enabled them to know everything, and by his secret police for strangers, that half-formed designs were being debated in the minds of the principal chiefs of the factions and of the clubs against him. Some demagogue fanatics spoke loudly of getting rid of him. He received every day written menaces of assassination from Paris and the departments. Even the police of Caussidière transmitted notices to him to this effect, but he trusted to his destiny.

He had devoted himself on the 24th of February even to death itself to give its true sense to the revolution, to preserve it pure from crime and blood, and to cause it to pass through the interregnum which might swallow up his country, without internal catastrophe and foreign war. The shore was now in his sight. He was assured that his death would be the signal of insurrection to an immense majority of the people of Paris, and unanimously to the departments, and that it would assure the triumph of the National Assembly over the dictators. The certainty of this bestowed upon him happiness and serenity. He did not take any precaution, although aware that evil designs were prepared at his very door. He went out at every hour of the night and day, alone and on foot, without other arms than a pair of pistols under his coat. His popularity watched in his defence, without his being aware of it.

This had increased to such a degree throughout France and Europe, that he received to the number of *three hundred letters* a day, and was asked by all the departments if he was willing to represent them in the Assembly. The people, who must personify an instinct in a man, had then personified in him the instinct of threatened but preserved society. He was the man for the common safety. Many of his colleagues would have deserved it as much as himself; but popularity has its favourites, and he was the favourite of the multitude. He had too much experience in history to believe in the continuance of this fanaticism for his name. He sought to moderate rather than inflame it. He purposely kept himself in the background in the presence of the people and of his colleagues.

He foresaw the day approaching when this popularity would ask of him things which he believed contrary to the true interests of the republic. He did not desire that one man should be more popular than the whole body of the representatives of the nation. Resolved beforehand to abdicate the public favour, it was imprudent to carry it as far as delirium. He sometimes astonished his friends by the changes of public opinion which he predicted with regard to himself. Often on returning to his home, after days and nights of contention, and preceded or followed by acclamations which were raised at his steps and resounded from the boulevards as far as the interior of his apartments, he said to his wife and secretaries, "You see what efforts the National Assembly and the restitution of regular power to the nation have cost me? Ah! well, when the nation shall have again recovered its own empire, and the National Assembly shall be here, this people, though preserved, will draw back from me, and, perhaps, put me under accusation for conspiring against that Assembly which has been the sole object of my thoughts!"

Smiles of incredulity received these expressions, but Lamartine knew the unjust tendencies and ignorance of the people. If they were just and intelligent, there would be no virtue in serving them. Everything indicated at that time a final and desperate attempt of the parties opposed to the meeting of the Assembly.

The 14th of April was close at hand. The election was to take place on the 27th. The national guard of Paris, reorganized, but not reunited, was, as to the spirit which should animate it, still a problem.

From one day to another the government, which was still completely disarmed, might appeal to it. Would it arise at its voice? Would it divide itself into two armies, as the people had done into two classes? Would it be an element of intestine war, or an unanimous element of force and of pacification? No one could as yet know except from conjecture. All would depend upon the direction, more or less politic, more or less unanimous, which the government should have the tact to impress upon it. The extreme parties would attempt everything to prevent the calling out of the national guards, and to obtain possession of the government before Paris could rise up in the defence of the Assembly. These

parties felt it, and offered no obstacle to its being strongly foreseen by the government. For some days the internal discussions were bitter and animated. Energetic dissensions were manifested between the majority and minority. The minister of the interior, being occupied by the preparations for the elections, came more rarely to the council, and then his stay was but short. Louis Blanc and Albert, avowed patrons of the delegates of the Luxembourg, and of the thirty or forty thousand workmen who composed their army, spoke of menacing discontents, and promulgated imperious requisitions in the name of this section of the people. They did not justify them, but gave utterance to them under the form of cautions to the government.

They appeared to have been informed by these men, and by their personal relations with the clubs and other centres of action, of the contemplation of some grand popular movement of a nature to impose on the majority the extreme desires and final demand of the multitude.

At the sitting of the 14th of April, which was prolonged to a late hour of the night, the indications appeared more significative; and the two chiefs of the Luxembourg avowed with grief, mingled with reproaches, that an immense manifestation, similar to that of the 27th of March, but more decided to obtain the adjournment of the elections together with satisfaction for other grievances, would take place on the day after the morrow; viz. Sunday, the 16th of April.

The government was more indignant than astonished. Rumours in abundance, collected by the different members of the majority from all the quarters of the horizon, had for some days past announced an attempt of the ultra parties to purify the provisional government of the principal members of the majority, and to change the minority into a majority by the addition of a certain number of the chiefs of the clubs and factions. Mention was made of a committee of public safety, which would merge the dictatorship into the sovereignty, in this case, verging upon that of a mob, of a single portion of the people, which would tear the decree for the elections in pieces, concentrate the government in the capital, and exercise it for a certain time before divesting itself of it; and which, after purifying the elections, would convoke a convention.

Lamartine feigned to have learnt this project of a demon-

stration for the first time from the mouths of his two colleagues. He did not suspect them of being concerned in it, much less the minister of the interior; but he thought that Albert, Louis Blanc, and the men in the minority of the government, might possess over the organizers of this movement an influence, or an authority, which he himself had not over this section of the revolution.

In consequence he implored them with genuine grief, but with an energy of language that he designedly exaggerated, to employ all the power of their moral action upon that part of the people whom they were able to direct, to prevent so unseasonable a manifestation, and one so odious to the departments, so alarming to the peace of Paris, and so mortal to the acceptance of the republic. He traced before them in a rapid, but striking sketch, the consequences of a violent rupture of the unity of the government, hitherto preserved at the price of so many sacrifices. He drew for them a picture of the new dictators, appointed by right of popular purification; exposed to the selfsame process eight days after, and made the inevitable victims of the people after having been their instruments and accomplices. He affected more alarm and discouragement than he really experienced, in order to breathe it into themselves, and by their means to carry terror and repentance into the breasts of those who had devised the movement.

The colleagues alluded to appeared moved, and decided upon interposing should there yet be time, between the contrivers of the project of demonstration and the government.

Flocon, who, although more closely connected with the extreme parties than Lamartine thought, as he himself did, swore faithfully that he detested such projects, and would never betray, after uniting with them, that faith which the members of the government, although sometimes differing in views, owed to each other. These exhortations, which Lamartine addressed with solemnity more to those without than to those within, and this frank declaration of Flocon, closed the sitting.

The following day Lamartine learned, through Louis Blanc and Albert, that their endeavours to prevent the manifestation had been ineffectual, but that the subaltern leaders had promised them to exert their efforts in moderating the

movement, in disarming it, and in taking away from it all character of violence. Lamartine replied despairingly to his colleagues, that the violence consisted in the assemblage itself; that the weight of the mass and of the number was too potent an arm against a disarmed government; that the people would dishonour itself, and would soon lose what it had acquired, if it distressed, constrained, and scandalized the republic by a day similar to, and perhaps worse than, that of the 17th of March.

The watchword had, however, been given; the die was cast; and it was too late for any chiefs, whoever they might be, to countermand and dissolve the movement. Louis Blanc and Albert appeared deeply distressed at this themselves. Lamartine, and those colleagues with whom he was most intimately associated, resigned themselves to sustain the assault which was announced to them, and delivered the destiny of the morrow to God and the people.

Nevertheless the members of the government, although not armed, were warned, and neglected nothing individually, by means of the intelligence they kept up in the different parties of the factions, in the national workshops, and in the great suburbs of Paris, to deter the people from the attempt to which the subterranean plottings of the clubs, and Socialist and terrorist conventicles, were striving to drag them. Garnier Pagès, Duclerc, Pagnerre, at the ministry of the finances, Marie at the national workshops, Marrast at the Hôtel de Ville, kept on foot the means of observation, influence, and voluntary force of which they were able to dispose. Lamartine passed a part of the night in despatching emissaries through the faubourg Saint Antoine, in the quarter of the Pantheon, and in the precincts, to arouse and give the rallying-cry to the good citizens, the masters of workshops, the contractors, keepers of lodging-houses, and honest and influential persons in these different quarters. He also caused to be called the officers of national guards, who had been appointed, but were not yet known by their companies, of whom he felt sure; the young men belonging to the schools, who were devoted to the cause of order, and possessed influence over their comrades, and some pupils of the Polytechnic School, remarkable for their intelligence, activity, and bravery, who served as his aides-de-camp in critical circumstances,—such as MM. Jumel, Baude,

Maréchal, &c. He informed them of the projects for the morrow, and employed them during the whole night in warning, rallying, and arming the citizens, and keeping them in readiness to fly at the first report of cannon, or at the first sound of the tocsin, to the Hôtel de Ville.

The Hôtel de Ville was the position to conquer or to defend in all revolutions, the cradle or the tomb of governments, the sign of victory or defeat. Lamartine was resolved to shut himself up there, and there to sustain the siege of the great insurrection; prepared to perish or triumph, according as the people who had been warned should or should not rise up at the noise of the combat. MM. Marrast, Buchez, Recurt, Barthélemy, Saint Hilaire (a man as thoughtful as intrepid), Flottard, Colonel Rey, and the principal chiefs of the administration of the city of Paris, had notice given them. They made secret provision against the seditious movement of the morning. Their numerous friends in these quarters and the faubourgs were summoned, at their respective doors, by their care. Each of them was to bring a squad of resolute citizens for the common defence. The non-existence of the national guard, and the rancorous feelings which existed between the different parties, had not admitted of more general measures. Great mutual distrust, though wrongfully, prevailed, and no one could rely but upon himself and friends.

These measures being taken, Lamartine committed to the flames all the papers which contained proper names or government secrets at home or abroad, of a nature to serve as a pretext to the revengeful passions of the factions, should the day, as there was too much reason to dread, bestow the victory upon the advocates of proscription and blood. This done, he threw himself upon his bed to take a few moments of repose.

Scarcely had he fallen asleep than the devoted men whom he had in the clubs, escaped from those rendezvous of the night, forced his door, and awoke him to give him the latest accounts.

The directing clubs had at eleven o'clock at night formed themselves in permanent session. Armed, and provided with the munitions of war, they had resolved to assemble the people on the following morning at the Champ de Mars, to the number of a hundred thousand men, to adjourn there themselves at noon, to assume the direction, to march along the quays,

rousing the floating population of Paris, to the Hôtel de Ville, to obtain possession of it by force, to expel the provisional government, and to decimate those members of the majority who were most repugnant to them; such as Lamartine, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Marrast, and Dupont de l'Eure. They had already nominated, in the place of these, a committee of public safety, composed of Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, and Arago, whom they wrongly supposed favourable to the extreme party. They had joined to them the names of the principal chiefs of faction, or of the terrorist or Socialist sects, who represented the violent systems of government or the destruction of society. After having thus freed themselves of the majority of the government which restrained them, their purpose, strange to relate, was to march to the club of Blanqui, and disembarrass themselves in the same manner of this rival tribune, by whom they were intimidated.

This last circumstance by no means surprised Lamartine. He knew that Blanqui was the terror of the terrorists, less popular and less audacious than himself. It was not inconsequent for them to profit by a single insurrection to liberate themselves at once from their adversaries in the moderate party of the government, and from their enemy in the desperate party of demagoguism.

Blanqui, to all appearance, knew what awaited him; but did not less pretend to associate himself with the movement in preparation for the morrow against Lamartine and his friends. It is presumed that Blanqui did not wish to appear to remain with his party in the rear of those who wished to get the start of him in revolution. He thought, perhaps, that the movement, being once set a-going, he would be able to overtake his rivals, and that they would be overwhelmed by the popularity of a name collected among still lower portions of the people. He also then assembled his club, and established himself in armed and permanent session, like the rest of the conspirators.

At break of day, Lamartine observed successive groups of those who intended taking part in the demonstration advance, by small detachments of fifteen to twenty men, preceded by drums and flags, by the route of the boulevards. They proceeded, led by some chiefs better attired than them-

selves, the delegates of the clubs, to the place of meeting on the Champ de Mars. The greater part were in total ignorance of the real object of the assemblage. The pretext was some unknown preparatory ballot for the nomination of the candidates of the workmen.

From hour to hour, the emissaries appointed brought information to Lamartine from their posts relative to the state of the Champ de Mars, and the progress and appearance of the assemblage. It reached, towards eleven o'clock, to about thirty thousand men. They began to speak of marching at two upon the Hôtel de Ville. The clubs had not yet arrived, and the masses appeared wavering, and but little animated. The men employed in the national workshops, instigated by Marie, and the numerous emissaries of Lamartine, broke up these groups as they formed, and discouraged them from insurrection. Sobrier himself employed his friends in dissuading them from all excesses.

Affairs were in the condition described, and Lamartine was awaiting more precise information and a commencement of the execution of these projects before further action, when a visit of the minister of the interior was announced. Lamartine was, as has been said, aware that the name of M. Ledru Rollin was one of those of which the projected insurrection had constructed its committee of public safety. He knew, moreover, that the political chiefs of the Socialist sects, the partisans of the *coup d'état* of the people belonging to Barbès's club, and the Club of Clubs, were busily employed about the minister of the interior, that they sought to monopolize his influence and talent, and endeavoured to drag him into resolutions contrary to the unity of the government and the peace of the republic. Lamartine, without previous connection with his colleague, would have found it neither loyal to suspect him, nor becoming to inform him of the unjust rumours diffused on the subject of his relations with the conspirators. He had not long to wait before he found he was not deceived.

M. Ledru Rollin informed him of the information which he had himself received during the night,—the project of the armed demonstration; the purification of the provisional government; the institution of the committee of public safety, the usurpation of his own name, in spite of his efforts, by

the factious; his indignation at being believed capable of lending his name to plots against his colleagues, and his firm resolution to perish rather than associate himself with any act of treason. "In a few hours," said he, "we are to be attacked by upwards of a hundred thousand men. What part are we to take? I am come to concert measures with you, for I know you preserve your coolness in these rebellions of the streets, and that extreme perils do not trouble your heart."

"There are no two parts," replied Lamartine, rising and extending his hand to his colleague,—"there is but one; we must combat, or deliver the country to anarchy, the republic to adventurers, and the government to disgrace. You are minister of the interior; you are loyal and resolute; your powers of office give you the right to cause the *générale* to be beaten in Paris, and to call the national guard to arms. Let us not lose a minute. Go at this moment and give the order to raise the legions. For my part, I will cause the battalions of the mobile guards, who may be in a condition to fight, to be raised. I will shut myself up in the Hôtel de Ville with these two or three battalions. There I will sustain the assault of the insurrection. Of two things, one will come to pass. Either the national guard, as yet invisible, will not answer to this appeal, and then the Hôtel de Ville will be carried, and I shall perish at my post; or, if not so, the call to arms and the noise of the musketry will cause the national guard to fly to the succour of the government, attacked in my person at the Hôtel de Ville, and the insurrection, taken between two fires, will be quenched in its blood; the government will be delivered, and an invincible organized force will at last be found for the service of the republic! I am ready for either eventuality."

That which was said was done. The minister of the interior, as resolved as Lamartine to try the chances of resistance and combat, went to give his orders for the beating of the *rappel*.

Lamartine did not see his colleague more during the day. He confided his wife to some friends, who were to provide for her safety in case of his fall. He went out, accompanied by a young pupil of the school of Saint Cyr, the son of the brave General de Verdières, and the staff-colonel Callier, a

man of cool intelligence and impassible bravery, whom he had known in the East, and had attached to the ministry of foreign affairs.

He proceeded first to General Duvivier, at the quarters of the staff of the *garde mobile*. He went up stairs alone. The general was absent. The chief of his staff and his secretary, informed by Lamartine of the movement which was in preparation, supplied the place of the general, and selected in conjunction with him the four battalions who were the best exercised, and whose quarters were nearest to the Hôtel de Ville. They transmitted to them the order to proceed instantly to the Place de Grève.

At the moment when Lamartine descended the staircase to go there himself, he met General Duvivier coming up. He reascended with him.

General Duvivier was one of those men whom no extremity surprises, no danger troubles, because they believe religiously in the law of duty, and because their faith reposes in God, whilst their courage acts upon earth; a kind of pious fatalists whose destiny is Providence. The general coolly corrected some orders given in his absence; ordered his horse to be saddled, and promised to be found at the head of his young soldiers, whom he loved as children, and led along with him like heroes. He had not, however, a supply of cartridges, and Lamartine hastened to procure them at the office of the staff of the national guard in the court of the Tuileries.

General Courtais was absent. A slight altercation arose on the subject of the call to arms between Lamartine and the chief of the staff, who refused to believe in the movement, and was alarmed at the effect which would be produced in Paris by the beating of the *rappel*, and by the conflict which would be the result. Lamartine was irritated at the delay. The return of General Courtais put an end to this hesitation, as he declared that the minister of the interior had given him the order to beat the *rappel*, and that it should be executed.

Lamartine departed, followed by a supply of cartridges, and proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville.

The assemblage at the Champ de Mars was increasing, and began to form itself into five columns and move off.

During these forced delays, General Changarnier, whom Lamartine had named ambassador at Berlin, had presented himself at the hotel of the ministry of foreign affairs, to enter into the subject of some details connected with his instructions with the minister. Madame Lamartine had received the general. She had informed him of what had passed; and suggested that the presence and concurrence of a brave and most distinguished officer would probably be of great utility at that moment to her husband at the Hôtel de Ville, and of a powerful effect upon the moral courage of the young soldiers.

The general, eager for danger and for the opportunity of evincing his zeal, arrived at the Hôtel de Ville at the moment when Lamartine himself entered, accompanied by Colonel Callier and Payer, the chief of his cabinet, and subsequently a representative of the people, to whom danger was ever an attraction.

M. Marrast, firm and impassible, awaited the coming insurrection. Lamartine acquainted him with the details which have just been read, the order to call the national guard to arms, given by the minister of the interior, and the speedy arrival of the four battalions. General Changarnier, Marrast, and Lamartine concerted measures together for the best possible disposition of this feeble body of troops. It was agreed, that instead of leaving these battalions, which scarcely amounted to four hundred bayonets each, upon the square, where they would be overwhelmed in the thousands of assailants, they should cause them to enter into the courts and interior gardens of the hotel, protected by the iron gates. The general, taking the chief direction of the forces thus enclosed in the walls, was a subject for admiration for his presence of mind, his ardour, activity, and confidence. "If you answer for our being able to hold out three hours," said Lamartine to him, "I answer to you for the rising of the good citizens and of the definitive success of the day."

"I answer for seven hours," replied General Changarnier.

Marrast had the calm and patient courage of men who have extensively read and practised in the history of revolutions. His friends, Buchez, Flottard, Recurt, and Colonel Rey, had collected about the hotel or its neighbourhood a

battalion of volunteers of the revolution called the *Lyonnais*, and a certain number of those of the neighbouring quarters. Lamartine caused them successively to enter, harangued them, and inflamed them with the fire of the passion which animated himself for the integrity and purity of the republic. General Changarnier distributed them at all the posts. Lamartine had engaged him to provide for the possibility of a sally to be made at the back of the palace, for the purpose of taking the insurgents in the rear by the quay, at the moment when the national guard should attack them by the bridge of Saint Michel. The battalions of mobile guards arrived one by one. They saluted Lamartine with acclamations. It was he that had formed them. These youths loved him as a vision seen and heard during the first days of the revolution, as the man who had enrolled them, and had, when in the government, continued to be their patron.

In the mean time, the numerous messages sent by Lamartine to the schools, the suburbs, the workmen of the quarries of Belleville, and to the Pantheon, hurried the arrival of the well-disposed citizens. Other messages coming from the Champ de Mars brought intelligence that the army of the insurgents was already defiling in an immense column upon the Quai de Chaillot. Nowhere was the *rappel* heard. Lamartine, rendered anxious by the hesitation of which he had been witness at the quarters of the staff, communicated his uneasiness to General Changarnier and M. Marrast. All three agreed to give fresh orders through the mayor of Paris. These orders were written by M. Marrast, and, being sent, were everywhere most fully executed. It was said that counter-orders had been given after the departure of Lamartine from the Tuileries. Hence the slowness with which the *rappel* had been beaten in different quarters, and the necessity of the new orders sent by M. Marrast from the Hôtel de Ville. However this may have been, the citizens flew to arms from all quarters.

Lamartine, henceforth certain that the minister of the interior himself had given this order, and engaged his responsibility in the cause of the unity and integrity of the government, adopted, from motives of policy, the words "unity of government," as the watchword of the day for the troops, the deputations, and the armed people who filled the square.

The government, if torn into two pieces, eleven days after the elections, would, appeared to him, lacerate not only the unity of election, but that of the republic itself. He stifled his resentments and suspicions, in order that no cry should be heard but that of the concord, real or apparent, between all parties of republican opinions. The brave Château-Renaud, having entered the Hôtel de Ville at the head of a column of armed volunteers, who called with loud cries for Lamartine to pass them in review in the court, he descended, followed by Payer, and addressed them.

"Citizens," said he to them, "they had announced to-day to the provisional government a day of danger to the republic; we were assured beforehand that it would be one of triumph for the country and for order. I know, from recent experience, and I can recognize in the countenances of many among you, in the energy at once intrepid and moderate, which is so deeply seated in the hearts of the armed citizens of the capital, that we may count upon them. France, which for the moment is comprised in the government, has need of no other guard, no other army than this voluntary, spontaneous army, which forms of its own accord, not indeed at the first sound of the drum, for you were in arms before its call, but at the first rumour of danger to the country and to public order.

"Citizens, 'the provisional government to a man, ought this day to be the watchword of the armed and disarmed population of Paris; for it is against the integrity, against the indivisibility of the provisional government, that the movement against which you have come forth to form for us a rampart of your breasts had, it has been said, been conceived.

"It was hoped, by means of these divisions which have been aroused among us, to divide the country as well as the government. No possible division exists among its members. If some differences of opinion, as are naturally to be found in the superior councils of a country, may be met in the details of administration, the unity exists in the same love of the republic, in the same devotion which animates them towards Paris and towards France.

"This union is the symbol of that of all the citizens!

"Permit me to offer to you, not in my own name, but in the name of the unanimity of my colleagues, the most profound

thanks, not of the provisional government, but of the whole of France, for whom this day would have been one of calamity and civil war, if the government had been divided in itself, and which, thanks to your energy, will be for you that of the definitive and peaceful triumph of the new institutions we wish to remit, inviolable and entire, to the National Assembly, itself the supreme unity of the country. Long live the republic.

"At the epoch of the first republic, there was a fatal word which lost all, and led the best citizens to tear one another in pieces by misunderstanding one another. That word was distrust. And yet that word was then explained by the situation of the country, menaced by a coalition abroad, and by the enemies she had within her own bosom.

"To-day, and when the single proclamation of our democratic principles of fraternity and of respect for nationality has opened the horizon of France over all Europe, and has made the people aim at our friendship, instead of dipping themselves in our blood; to-day, when the republic has been accepted everywhere without opposition in the interior, and promises to all, property, security, and liberty, there is but one word which answers to our situation, and that word is confidence. Inscribe it upon your banners and in your hearts! Let it be the watchword between all the citizens and between all the parts of the empire, and the republic is saved.

"The provisional government gives you the example of this, in the deserved confidence which each of us feels towards his colleagues and receives from them in turn! It gives to-day proof of it, by refusing, at any price, to disunite and separate itself from any of the members who conjointly form the force of its union. The indivisibility of the provisional government must thus be the civic conquest of the day. Paris and the departments, reassured as to the strength of the government and the attachment which you feel for it, will unite together as you do, and as we do, for the safety of the republic, and will restore intact to the National Assembly that deposit, viz. the country, which the people of the 24th of February have remitted to your hands. This confidence which I recommend to you, citizens, is the cry, is the sentiment, which I have heard go forth every day of combat, even here, on this staircase, in these courts, from the lips of

the wounded, during that struggle between the throne and the people, from which anarchy might have arisen for the latter! Yes, I have heard it issue from the lips of those who here gave up their lives for the republic, and who thus, in this last recommendation, seemed to bequeath to us the word which was to be the preserver of the new republic and of the country."

These words caused an unanimous cry of devotion to burst from all the steps of the staircases, from all the courts, and from all the galleries of the Hôtel de Ville. Victory was in that cry. For two hours Lamartine heard it issue from the lips of all the groups of citizen volunteers, workmen, mobile guards, and pupils of the schools, whom he harangued thirty or forty times successively at these most critical moments. He affected always to comprehend the whole provisional government in his addresses, and thus to destroy, beforehand, all germs of division which might spring from it. He did it to take away all pretext for civil war, and for the recriminations which could lead to it. The enthusiasm for him was, on that day, so ardent and unanimous among the battalions, the people, and the corps of volunteers, who hastened to the palace and square, that if he had denounced a conspiracy and himself demanded vengeance, proscription, or a dictatorship, they would have been guided entirely by his wishes. But by avowing divisions and delivering up his colleagues to the suspicions of the people, he did not conceal from himself that he would have betrayed the public and torn his country to pieces. In the meantime, from a window of the Hôtel de Ville, he looked upon the square, without yet knowing which would arrive first and in greatest numbers, the battalions of the national guard or the insurgents from the Champ de Mars.

A column of about twenty-five or thirty thousand heads, led by the most furious clubbists, and by some Socialist chiefs, had just issued forth by the Pont Royal and clashed with a numerous column of national guards, whom General Courtais had drawn up in battle array under the walls of the Louvre. They had not proceeded to blows, but the meeting had been a confused tumultuous one; hostile looks, cries, and gestures had been exchanged. The national guard had allowed the insurgents to pass, and contented itself with cutting them off and following them in their procession towards the Hôtel de Ville.

It was as it were two armies marching upon the same line in silence, and for the purpose of mutual observation. Already the first groups of this column of the Champ de Mars, preceded by flags and men wearing red caps, began to emerge slowly from the quay upon the Place de Grève. At this moment a forest of bayonets glistened on the other side of the Seine at the extremity of the bridge of Saint Michel. This was a body of thirty or forty thousand national guards of the left bank of the river, running at full speed at the call of Lamartine and Marrast. The breadth of the bridge was not sufficient to allow them to pass freely. They rushed in a compact column into the square to the cries of "The republic for ever!" "The government for ever!" They blocked up the quay against twenty or thirty thousand insurgents. These remained immoveable, undecided, and in consternation, at the angle of the Place de Grève, being unable either to advance, retire, or receive in their rear their reinforcements from the Champ de Mars, intercepted by the legions under arms from the Champs Elysées to the extremity of the quay Lepelletier. The legions of the left bank drew up in order of battle on the square. The legions of the precincts, of Belleville, Bercy, the faubourg of the Temple, the faubourg Saint Antoine, and all the streets on the right bank, arrived at the same moment by all the quays, and all the outlets of the great arteries of Paris, at their very utmost speed, amid cries of enthusiasm. These legions inundated with torrents of bayonets all the streets and squares from the Arsenal to the Louvre. In three hours Paris was in arms and on foot. Not only was victory impossible to the conspirators, but even for them to attack was folly. Lamartine thanked General Changarnier, whose services were henceforth unnecessary. He entreated him to go and inform his wife of the triumph of the good citizens, and the re-establishment of the public armed force, hitherto a problem, but now brought to a state of certainty.

General Duvivier was on horseback in the square, in the midst of all his battalions of the *garde mobile* whom he had brought up. Two hours were thus passed in an imposing silence, as if it was sufficient for the national guards to show their two hundred thousand bayonets to the sun to confound every thought of conspiracy and anarchy!

Lamartine, until four o'clock, the only member of government present with Marrast, received the deputations of all these corps, and harangued them, sometimes from the windows, sometimes in the courts, and on the steps of the staircases. The twenty thousand insurgents of the Champ de Mars, after experiencing much obstruction at the extremity of the quays, defiled sorrowfully in the midst of the hootings of the people, between the ranks of the national guards as they went in great dejection to hide themselves at their clubs.

Two hundred thousand bayonets afterwards passed in review before the Hôtel de Ville, with cries of "Long live Lamartine!" "Down with the Communists!"

A deputation of workmen from the Champ de Mars was, after the review, introduced into the interior, under the pretext of doing homage by their contribution of patriotism. M. Buchez and his colleagues addressed them in severe language. Lamartine did not speak to them: he was occupied at this moment in the hall of the council in writing some orders to the national guards of the outposts, for the security of the night. He saw his two colleagues, Louis Blanc and Albert, enter. He continued to write, without saluting them. He heard them murmur against such an assumption of omnipotence on the part of those who had, without concerted deliberation, and upon their sole authority, caused the rappel to be beaten, repulsed a manifestation of the people, called out the national guard, and addressed harsh and severe language to a deputation of the people. Lamartine, experiencing a feeling of irritation, could not conceal from himself against whom these murmurs were directed. He turned round, threw down his pen, and, approaching his two colleagues, replied to them for the first time with pride and ill-restrained anger. The two members of the minority retired, and went to carry their complaints to MM. Buchez and Recurt in another hall. Lamartine, after having provided for the safety of the night by his orders to the legions, went out by a secret door from the Hôtel de Ville, to escape an ovation from the national guard and people. With his face muffled in his cloak, he plunged into the little narrow winding streets which lie behind the palace. A hired carriage was brought to him. He got into it without being recognized, and gave the coachman orders to

convey him to the Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, where his wife awaited the issue of the day.

Five times on the way the carriage in which he was concealed was stopped at the openings of the Rue Saint Antoine, the Rue du Temple, the Rue Saint Dénis, the Rue Saint Martin, and the Rue Montmartre, by columns of ten to twenty thousand men of the national guard, some in uniform, others in the dress of workmen, all armed, who in their measured tread shook the pavement of the streets. These columns passed either in majestic silence, or uttering cries at regular intervals of "Long live the republic!" "Long live Lamartine!" "Down with the Communists!" These bodies of troops, issuing from every threshold, re-assured the citizens, women, and children, who pressed about the doors and windows. They were far from believing that the man whose name they thus raised to the skies as a national war-cry, heard these shouts as he lay hidden at the bottom of the closed carriage, the passage of which they were intercepting.

Lamartine could not rejoin his wife till towards evening. This day was the happiest of his political life. The factions were more than vanquished; they were discouraged. The people had pronounced its decision, and this was the presage of that which the nation was about to repeat at the elections. Paris had risen in arms, without distinction of rank or fortune, and these arms had been completely united for the protection of the republic, moderate government, order, property, and civilization. Society was re-established.

The members of the majority of the government had passed this great day in permanent session at the hotel of the finances, in order to provide for events, and to avoid being carried off by the same party stroke. They met, for the purpose of refreshment, at ten o'clock, at the residence of the minister of justice, M. Crémieux. They embraced like shipwrecked mariners who had regained the shore.

During the repast, deputations from the national guards, belonging to those legions for whom there had not been sufficient light to defile before the Hôtel de Ville, came to ask permission to do so, by torchlight, at the Place de Grève. They consented, and proceeded thither.

Lamartine alone, overcome with fatigue, and hoarse with haranguing, was not present.

The legions, of which some did not consist of less than twenty-five or thirty thousand men under arms, traversed Paris during a part of the night, shouting "Long live Lamartine!" "Down with the Communists!" No disorder shed a gloom over this awaking of the true people. With that cry security entered into the abodes and the minds of the citizens.

The clubs of Communists and demagogues were in dismay, deserted, and silent. Some groups of children, ever the corrupt echo of the popular voice, went to vociferate cries of "Long live Lamartine! down with Cabet!" under the windows of this sectarian chief. Upon receiving information of this, Lamartine immediately sent to disperse these mischievous groups, and wrote to offer Cabet an asylum for himself and family in his own house.

Such was the day of the 16th of April—the first great *coup d'état* of the people itself against the conspirators, demagogues, dictators, and barbarians of civilization. Paris breathed, and France felt the consciousness of her safety.

But the 16th of April was only an accidental symptom. The majority of the government wished to know if this symptom would be revived, in a spirit of order, at their voice, and if the spontaneous fusion of all the elements forming the national guard would present a solid and fixed point of opinion and force to the republic. The good citizens had need of being reassured, the factions of being taught a lesson, and Europe of intimidation, by a grand and vital action of the new republic. The public voice demanded a general review of all the bayonets voluntarily devoted for the protection of the country and society. The people of Paris began to desire the return of the troops within its walls. A large majority of the government were pained by the absence of the army. They desired to effect its insensible return into the national framework of society, from which fatality and prudence had for a moment removed it. They wished that it should be recalled by enthusiasm, and not imposed by constraint. An occasion was sought for to re-accustom the eye of the people to the presence, to the dazzling pomp, and to a renewal of kindly feelings to the troops. The government, on that day unanimous in opinion, appointed a general review of all the national guards from Paris, the precincts, and even the nearest towns; of the guard mobile, and of the regiments of artillery, infantry, and cavalry within reach of the capital. This

review took place on the 21st of April, under the name of the review of fraternity.

The members of the provisional government and the ministers, placed themselves at daybreak on the first seats of a platform erected at the back of the triumphal *Arc de l'Etoile*. The vernal sun illumined the immense avenue which extends from this arch of Napoleon to the palace of the Tuileries. It was reflected upon the cannons, helmets, cuirasses, and bayonets of the national guards and troops, formed by batteries, squadrons, and battalions, upon the causeway of the Champs Elysées and the Place de la Concorde. Dividing there, the two columns of the armed people extended without interruption, one by the quays as far as Bercy, and the other by the boulevards, to the Bastille. It was an entire capital and its neighbouring provinces, which had exchanged their fire-sides for a camp. One vast and joyous murmur, mingled with the clashing of arms and the neighing of horses, arose from this multitude. Every face bore the impress of the enthusiasm and happiness of restored social order. The people had become the army; the army had become the people. No sign of impatience or weariness was manifested in this assemblage, unexampled since the times of the great migrations of races.

Upon the call of the government, at eight o'clock in the morning, these masses put themselves in motion. They defiled by battalions, to the sound of drums and military bands, before the platform in which the members of the government, standing, saluted by turns the legions and regiments, and distributed to them the new colours of the republic.

These legions, of which some did not number less than thirty thousand men under arms, were followed, as in the marches of caravans, by an immense multitude of unarmed people, old men, women, and children, the residue of the human family, attached to the steps of their armed fathers and sons.

The trees and gardens of the environs of Paris had been stripped of boughs and lilacs to decorate the muskets and cannon. The bayonets were entwined with flowers. Nature threw her veil over these weapons. An immense inexhaustible river of steel and foliage floating at the ends of muskets, wound over the whole horizon of the Champs Elysées. On approaching the platform, in front of which this human stream

divided itself into two branches to flow with more facility, women, children, and soldiers tore these decorations from the musket-barrels, and cast them, like a rain of flowers, upon the heads of the members of the government. A mighty cry of "The republic for ever!" "The provisional government for ever!" "The army for ever!" was raised, without interruption, from the compact masses of the battalions and people. The cries of "Lamartine for ever!" constantly predominated in these voices, and were mingled with those of "Down with the Communists!" The popularity of his name, instead of becoming exhausted among the people by such a time of anguish and misery, seemed to be strengthened and made universal in the public mind. The people from the country and the departments pointed out Lamartine, and saluted him with the most enthusiastic acclamations. The 16th of April had made of him, in their eyes, a sort of personification of defended and restored society.

Behind these compact battalions marched legions of poor old men and women, carrying their little children in their arms. Rustic carts contained even the indigent and the infirm of the villages.

It was from the bosom of these ragged groups that the most impassioned cries of "War to disorder!" of "Hatred to Communists!" of "Long live Lamartine!" "Long live the republic!" were raised.

The feeling of society is so divine, so instinctive in man, that it interests in the re-establishment of social order, property, and family ties, even those who seem the least interested in its cause, and the least blest with its benefits. Tears streamed from the eyes of these people; the eyes of the spectators were also moistened with them. The shouts redoubled at the appearance of those fine regiments of the line who lowered their swords before the government, and thus seemed to have reconquered their place in the great reconciled family.

Night set in before this armed people, although moving in double-quick time, and thirty to forty abreast, could pass the triumphal arch. The review continued by torch-light until eleven at night. Fourteen hours were not sufficient to exhaust this river of human beings, steel, flowers, and torches, which flowed among the trees of the Champs Elysées. Two legions, forming together fifty thousand

bayonets or sabres, had defiled during these two days before the eyes of the government. Paris returned to its home, with the feeling of the revival of the nation and of society.

On the second day, two legions from the central quarters of Paris, which had not been passed in review, from want of time, murmured and demanded leave to perform their act of adhesion to the provisional government, by defiling before it upon the Place Vendôme.

The members of the government, after assembling at the office of the minister of justice, appeared at the balcony. Their presence was saluted by an unanimous shout of "Long live the government!" over which, on this day above all, predominated the cry of "Long live Lamartine!" His own colleagues showed him by the hand to the legions who defiled with this cry.

He descended, and passed with them into the ranks of this army, which covered the square. Although he affected to walk among the last of the members of the government and the ministers, his presence was at every step a triumph. His name was almost the sole cry of this armed centre of Paris, comprised of the eighth and ninth legions. A thrill agitated the legions at his approach, and when he had passed, enthusiasm pursued his steps. Hands, glowing with love, touched his own and his garments. He heard whispers in his ears urging him to the dictatorship, and enticing him to that which, though a truly popular one, would still be a royalty.

Having re-entered the office of the minister of justice, and taken his station at the balcony to witness the continuation of this review of an armed people, the same cries ascended without interruption to his ears. He withdrew embarrassed at a fanaticism for which he was indebted only to the caprice of the multitude, and humiliated by a predilection as much due to his colleagues as to himself. But popular instinct makes no selection; it hurries along, and not seldom loses its way. Upon this day, Lamartine began to be troubled at an excess of public favour which he was resolved should not be monopolized by one man; but which should be restored in its integrity to the representative body of the people and to the republic. He felt that in a few days it would be more difficult for him to abdicate this uncertain power than to usurp it.

BOOK XIV.

From the date of the 16th of April all became easy to the government. The factious and ambitious had been convinced of their impotency. The surprise prepared by the clubs to bear away the dictatorship, and to perpetuate and corrupt the revolutionary government, had been baffled. The parties were not resigned, but trembled with apprehension. They gained in irritability that which they had lost in hope. The clubs became conspirators; the journals added venom to the rare but embittered discussions of government. An insurrection of workmen, inflamed by the desperate partisans at Paris, attempted at Rouen what had failed in the capital. Energetically put down by the national guard and the army, this insurrection, and the measures taken for its repression, became the subject of violent recriminations. M. Arago indignantly and courageously defended the general officers inculpated by the petitions of the demagogues.

But the hour of the National Assembly approached. The majority of the government temporized. Lamartine, his eyes exclusively fixed upon the day of the elections, neglected from that moment all dissensions respecting details, and even principles, which might arise between the majority and minority of the government. He dreaded more than ever any violent disturbance which might compromise the only real object of his efforts, and those of the majority; viz. the convocation of a National Assembly without civil war. "I have endeavoured," said he, "to be the minister of the resistance of true democracy to the odious demagogue spirit in the government; and I would be now the oil to soften all dissensions between opinions, and to prevent all ruptures."

One day, during his absence, the minister of the interior having come to a disagreement with his colleagues, and having withdrawn with the resolution of giving in his resignation, Lamartine offered himself as mediator. He went himself to the house of that minister. He represented to him, for the common interest of the country, the danger of a disruption which would open the way to anarchy; he was enabled to pacify their minds.

The elections were at hand; the government had for a long time been deliberating whether it should present itself before the National Assembly with the plan of a constitution completely prepared, or whether it should content itself with its own abdication, and should abstain from every initiatory proceeding which could bear a resemblance to a continued dictatorship, or a usurpation of the national sovereignty. Dupont de l'Eure, a man who had the foresight of experience itself, did not cease to conjure Lamartine to employ himself with this plan of a constitution. The ideas of Lamartine were in conformity with those of Dupont de l'Eure. He thought that the debates upon the subject of a constitution would be long and tumultuous for an assembly; that they would waste time which might be better employed in providing for the dangers and numerous emergencies attending the inauguration of a democratic government; that a constitution, that is to say, the two or three principles on which a government was to be founded, ought to be written in a few lines as the engraved summary of a revolution, and a grand act of civilization; and that then, the organic laws of this constitution ought to be flexible, consecutive, capable of being modified, and written at leisure, according to the emergency and the time, without that character of immutability which belonged to the constitution itself.

He had, consequently, reduced the basis of a constitution to five or six axioms. He desired that this might be voted by acclamation in two or three sittings, and that the government should emanate immediately from the constitution voted.

Lamartine was convinced that the unity of the executive power, constituted in a presidency, a dictator, or a council, was the definitive form that the republic would adopt after the period of its creation. But being destined for the first time to accustom the country to a republican form, and to bind together in an interest of community and concord the principal forces of opinion, he was inclined to admit for two or three years a threefold executive power, in which three men, chosen by the National Assembly, should represent the three elements of which all public opinion is composed—progress, resistance, and moderation.

These three forces combining together in a consulate of

three years, and each corresponding to one of the three parties in the nation, the progressive, the conservative, and the moderate, appeared to him, doubtless, a possible cause of divergencies and languor in the executive power; but his principal fear for the republic, at its origin, was civil war. This mixed dictatorship, giving security and pledges to opposite opinions, was of a nature to prevent it. He occupied himself with this idea; he entered into the subject of it with some of his colleagues; he undertook to sound the dispositions of the members of the National Assembly at their arrival in Paris, and to determine upon the course which appeared to him the most universally adopted by the majority of minds. A secret conference took place between him and some members of different opinions on this subject. They endeavoured to come to an understanding, but after adjourning everything, they could decide on nothing. All, in respect to this, depended upon unknown elements—the mind, the dispositions, the majorities and minorities, among the members of the National Assembly.

As regarded the plan of constitution to present, it was renounced entirely in the last sittings which preceded the 27th of April.

The three parties, which by turns were opposed to, or in harmony with, the government, were too much divided, and sometimes too irritated, to come to an understanding upon a common plan for a constitution. The Socialist party, the Conventionalist party, and the Republican and Constitutional party, could not give origin to the same idea. They felt this; they avowed it, and they referred it to the National Assembly, which was destined to draw the line of demarcation between these parties.

The two last might, by making some efforts, come to an agreement.

The first was incompatible with the National Assembly, for that was destined to proceed from the soil, from the time, and from traditions. The Socialist party would proceed upon an absolute theory; and an absolute theory is violence, and violence can only result in tyranny.

At last the dawn of safety arose for France with the day of the general elections. This was on Easter-day, the 27th of April, an epoch of pious solemnity selected by the pro-

visional government, in order that the labours of the people might not cause any diversion or pretence of withdrawing from the accomplishment of their duty as a people; and also, that the religious feeling which hovers over the human mind, during these days consecrated to the commemoration of a grand sacred act, would penetrate into the thoughts of the public, and give to liberty the sanctity of religion.

It was the boldest problem ever presented before a nation organized in revolutionary times, and was solved by this experiment for the safety and the glory of the nation.

At sunrise the people, collected and moved by patriotism, formed into columns at the entrances of the religious edifices, under the direction of the mayors, curates, instructors, justices of peace, and influential citizens, and proceeded by villages and hamlets to the principal places of the districts, and deposited in the urns, without any other impulse than their own conscience, without violence, and almost without preliminary steps, the names of the men whose probity, attainments, virtue, talent, and, above all, moderation, inspired them with the most confidence for the common safety and future interests of the republic.

In the towns it was the same. The citizens, rich as well as poor, soldiers or workmen, proprietors or those possessed of nothing, were seen to issue one by one from the thresholds of their abodes, with composure and serenity on their faces, to carry their written suffrages to the ballot, and pausing sometimes to modify them under a new idea or sudden feeling of repentance in the conscience, to deposit them in the urn, and return with satisfaction depicted on their countenances as from a pious ceremonial. Never were public conscience and the general good sense revealed in a people with more scrupulousness, religion, and dignity. It was one of those days when a nation has its eyes upon heaven, or heaven its eyes upon a nation. After three months the government had this day of repose. It felt that God and the people were working for it.

The churches were filled with crowds, who, on their knees, invoked the divine inspiration and the spirit of peace for the guidance of the electors. They felt that their prayers were heard before they had even offered them. The calmness with which the electoral operations were accomplished was a

presentiment of the choice which emanated from the heart of this people. Anarchy could not spring from so unanimous an inspiration of good.

At the decline of day, Lamartine wandered alone with a heart charged with gratitude in a populous quarter of Paris. He saw the crowd descend and ascend the steps of a church; the court in front of which seemed overflowing with worshippers, men, women, children, old men, and young ones, all with eyes beaming with the future, their carriage firm, and their countenances in repose. The sounds of the organ penetrated even to the street, when the doors opened to give emission to the tones of the instrument and the echoes of the psalms.

He entered. He glided, unknown in the darkness, among the crowds by which the church was filled. He sank on his knees under the shadow of a column, and returned thanks to the Almighty. His work was accomplished. Great personal dangers might yet menace him, before the day when the National Assembly should enter Paris, and take possession of its sovereignty. There were still to be encountered desperate resistance and guilty hopes, conspiracies for adjournment, *coups d'état* aimed by demagogues, and menaces of purification and assassination against himself and his colleagues. Not a few men of eminence, to the last hour incredulous, wrote to him, or told him, that the national representatives would never take their seats without marching through waves of blood to the conquest of Paris. He received daily from the departments sinister informations respecting real or imaginary plots framed against his life. They spoke to him of fanatics who had departed from such or such a town to poniard him, and cause the revolutionary government to be proclaimed over his corpse. "I may, in fact, fall yet myself," said he, in the secret belief of his heart; "but at the hour at which France has arrived, she can no longer sink; her chosen are in the urn, and to-morrow they will issue from it. Her sovereignty exists; her legal representatives are named. If the government is to be overthrown by conspiracy, these chosen candidates of France will meet in every department. They will arrive at the gates of Paris escorted by two millions of armed citizens. They will submerge the dictators or the committees of public safety. They will recover France

from the hands of the factious! What matter if I die? France is saved!"

France, in fact, could henceforth breathe. The National Assembly was, in almost all its names, an act of public safety. The name of Lamartine had issued ten times from the electoral urn without his knowing even a single one of his constituencies. If he had uttered a word, insinuated a wish, or given a sign, he would have been nominated in eighty departments.

His popularity was without bounds at Paris, in France, Germany, Italy, and America. For Germany, his name was peace. For France, it was a safeguard from terror. For Italy, it was hope. For America, it was the republic. He held really at this moment the sovereignty of the European conscience. He could not move a step without exciting acclamations. They followed him even to his residence, and interrupted his sleep. Twice recognized at the opera, although hidden in the inmost recesses of a box; the pit and the spectators rose, suspended the representation, and for five minutes hailed him with one continued shout of applause. In him France personified her joy at the restoration of her government.

The country had chosen with reflection, impartiality, and wisdom, all the men of worth whose opinions, at once liberal, republican, honest, moderate, and courageous, could adapt themselves without impatience or repugnance to the new order of things, made requisite by the revolution. France had shown her genius for the transition, and her sovereign tact in adapting herself to circumstances. She had put out of the pale only the names made too conspicuous by the favour or faults of the last government. She had not by any means proscribed them, but had only deferred them. She had feared resentments and recriminations. This assembly of nine hundred members was the honesty and patriotism of France resumed in her sovereignty. History ought to engrave upon tables of stone, for posterity, the names of these citizens. With the exception of a small number of demagogues, superannuated imitators of 1793, and five or six chimerical fanatics, the names of all these citizens, collected together, signified the safety of France, and the foundation of the constitutional republic.

The following are their names:—

AIN.—Bodin (Alex.-Marcel-Melchior). Bochard. Cha-

rassin. Francisque Bouvet (François-Joseph). Guigue de Champvans. Maissiat (Jacques). Quinet (Edgar). Regembal (Antoine). Tendret.

AISNE.—Barrot (Odilon). Bauchart (Quentin). Baudelot. De Brotonne. Desabes. Dufour (Théophile). Lemaire (Maxime). Leproux (Jules). Lherbette. Nachet. Plocq (Toussaint). Quinette. De Tillancourt (Edmond). Vivien.

ALLIER.—Bureaux de Puzy. De Courtais. Fargin Fayolle. Laussedat (Louis). Madet (Charles). Mathé (Félix). Terrier (Barthélemy). Tourret (Charles-Gilbert).

BASSES-ALPES.—Chais (Auguste). Duchaffault. Fortoul. Laidet.

HAUTES-ALPES.—Allier. Bellegarde. Faure (Pascal-Joseph).

ARDÈCHE.—Champanhet. Chazallon. Dautheville (François). Laurent. Mathieu. Rouveure. Royol (Jean). Sibour. Valladier.

ARDENNES. — Blanchard. Drappier. Payer. Robert (Léon). Talon. Ternaux-Mortimer. Toupet-Desvignes. Tranchart.

ARRIÈGE.—Anglade (Clément). Arnaud. Casse. Darnaud. Galy-Cazalat. Vignes (Th.). Xavier-Durrieu.

AUBE.—Blavoyer. Delaporte. Gayot (Amédée). Gerdy (Pierre-Nicolas). Lignier. Millard (Jean-Auguste). Stourm.

AUDE. — Anduze-Faris. Barbès (Armand). Joly, fils (Edmond). Raynal (Théodore). Sarrans (Jean). Solier (Marc). Trinchant.

AVEYRON.—Abbal (Basile-Joseph). Affre (Louis-Henri). Dalbis du Salze. Dubruel (Édouard). Grandet. Médal. Pradié. Rodat. Vernhette. Vésin.

BOUCHES-DU-RHÔNE. — Astouin. Barthélemy. Berryer (Pierre-Antoine). Laboulie (Gustave). Ollivier (Démosthènes). Pascal (Félix). Poujoulat. Rey (Alexandre). Reybaud (Louis). Sauvaire-Barthélemy.

CALVADOS.—Bellencontre (Joseph-Pierre-François). Besnard (Jean-Charles). Demortreux (Pierre-Thomas-Frédéric). Desclais (Jacques-Alexandre). Deslongrais (Armand-Rocherullé). Douesnel-Dubosq (Robert-Alexandre). Hervieu (Pierre-Sosthène). Lebarillier (Louis-Constant). Lemonnier (Jean-Nicolas). Marie (Auguste-Alphonse). Person (Félix). Thomine-Desmasures.

CANTAL.—Daude. Delzons (Jean-François-Amédée).

Durieu-Paulin. Murat-Sistrières. Parieu (Félix-Esquiron de). Richard. Teilhard-Latérisse.

CHARENTE.—Babaud-Laribière. Garnier-Laboissière. Girardin (Ernest de). Hennessy (Auguste). Lavallée. Mathieu-Bodet. Pougeard. Rateau.

CHARENTE-INFÉRIEURE.—Audry de Puyraveau (Pierre-François). Baroche. Brard (Pierre-Lucien). Bugeaud. Debain (Léon). Dufaure. Dupont de Bussac. Gaudin (Pierre-Théodore). Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély. Renou de Ballon. Target.

CHER.—Bidault. Bouzique (Étienne-Ursin). Duplan (Paul). Duvergier de Hauranne. Poisle-Desgranges (Jacques-Damien). Pyat (Félix). Vogué (Léonce de).

CORRÉZE.—Bourzat. Ceyras. Du Bousquet Laborderie. Favart. Latrade. Lebraly. Madesclaire. Penières.

CORSE.—Bonaparte (Napoléon). Bonaparte (Pierre-Napoléon). Casabianca (Xavier). Conti (Étienne). Pietri (Pierre-Marie).

CÔTE-D'OR.—Bouguéret (Edouard). Godard-Poussignol. James-Demontry. Joigneaux. Magnin-Philippon. Maire (Neveu). Maréchal. Mauguin. Monnet. Perrenet (Pierre).

CÔTES-DU-NORD.—Carré (Félix). Denis. Depasse (Émile-Toussaint-Marcel). Glais-Bizoin. Houvenagle. Ledru. Legorrec. Loyer. Marie. Michel. Morrhéry. Perret. Racinet. Simon (Jules). Tassel (Yves). Tréveneuc (Henri-Louis-Marie de).

CREUSE.—Desèincthorent. Fayolle (Edmond). Guisard. Lassarre. Lecler (Félix). Leyraud. Sallandrouze-Lamornais.

DORDOGNE.—Auguste Mie. Barailler (Eugène). Chavoix (Jean-Baptiste). Delbetz. Dezeimeris. Ducluzeau. Dupont (Auguste). Dussolier. Goubie. Grolhier-Desbrousses. Lacrouzille (Amédée). Savy. Taillefer (Timoléon).

DOUBS.—Baraguay d'Hilliers. Bixio. Convers. Demesmay. Mauvais. Montalembert. Tanchard.

DRÔME.—Bajard. Balin. Bonjean. Curnier. Mathieu (Philippe). Morin. Rey. Sautayra.

EURE.—Alcan (Michel). Canel. Davy. Demante (Antoine-Marie). Dumont. Dupont. Langlois. Legendre. Montreuil (de). Picard (Jean-Jacques-François). Sevaistre (Paul).

EURE-ET-LOIR.—Barthélemy. Isambert. Lebreton (Eugène-Casimir). Marescal. Raimbault-Courtin. Subervie. Trousseau (Armand).

FINISTÈRE.—Brunel (Alexis). Decouvrant (André-Marie-Adolphe). Fauveau (Joseph). Fournas (Balthazar de). Graveran Kéranflech (Yves-Michel-Gilart de). Kersauson (Joseph-Marc-Marie). Lacrosse. Le Breton (Charles-Louis). Le Flo. Mège (James). Riverieulx (Armand-Marie-Émile). Rossel (Victor). Soubigou (François-Louis). Tassel.

GARD.—Béchard (Ferdinand). Bousquet. Chapot. Demians (Auguste). Favend (Étienne-Édouard-Charles-Eugène). Labruguière-Carme. Larcy (de). Reboul (Jean). Roux-Carbonnel. Teulon.

HAUTE-GARONNE.—Azerm (Louis). Calès (Godefroi). Dabeaux. Espinasse (Ernest de l'). Gatien-Arnoult (Adolphe-Félix). Joly (Henri). Malbois (Jean-François). Marrast (Armand). Mulé (Bernard). Pagès de l'Ariège (Jean-Baptiste). Pegot-Ogier (Jean-Baptiste). Rémusat (Charles de).

GERS.—Alem-Rousseau. Aylies. Boubée (Théodore). Carbonneau. David (Irénée). Gavarret. Gounon. Panat (de).

GIRONDE.—Billaudel (Jean-Baptiste-Basilide). Denjoy. Desèze (Aurélien). Ducos (Théodore). Feuilhade-Chauvin. Hovyn-Tranchère. Hubert-Delisle. Lagarde. Larrieu. Molé. Richier. Servière. Simiot. Thomas (Clément).

HÉRAULT.—André (Jules). Bertrand (Jean-Pierre-Louis-Toussaint). Brives. Carion-Nisas (André). Cazelles (Brutus). Charamaule (Hippolyte). Laissac. Reboul-Coste (Aristide). Renouvier (Jules). Vidal.

ILLE-ET-VILAINE.—Andigné de la Chasse (d'). Bertin. Bidard. Fresneau (Armand). Garnier-Kéruault. Jouin (Pierre). Kerdrel (Vincent-Audren de). Legeard de la Diriays. Legraverend. Marion (Jean-Louis). Méaule (Charles). Paul Rabuan. Roux-Lavergne (Pierre-Célestin). Trédern (de).

INDRE.—Bertrand (Henri). Charlemagne (Edouard). Delavau (François-Charles). Fleury. Grillon (Eugène-Victor-Adrien). Rollinat.

INDRE-ET-LOIRE.—Crémieux (Isaac-Adolphe). Foucque-

teau. Gouin (Alexandre). Julien. Jullien (Amable). Luminais. Taschereau (Jules). M. Bacot.

ISÈRE.—Bertholon. Blanc (Alphonse). Brillier. Cholat. Clément (Auguste). Crépu. Durand-Savoyat. Farconnet. Froussard. Marion de Faverges (André). Renaud. Repellin. Ronjat. Saint-Romme. Tranchand.

JURA.—Chevassu. Cordier (Joseph). Gréa. Grévy (Jules). Huot (Césaire). Jobez (Alphonse). Tamisier. Valette.

LANDES.—Bastiat (Frédéric). Dampierre (Élie de). Duclerc (Eugène). Duprat (Pascal). Lefranc (Victor). Marrast (François). Turpin (Numa).

LOIR-ET-CHER.—Ducoux. Durand de Romorantin. Gérard. Normant (Antoine). Salvat. Sarrut (Germain).

LOIRE.—Alcock. Baune. Callet (Pierre-Auguste). Chavassieu. Devillaine. Favre (Jules). Fourneyron (Benoist). Levet (Henri). Martin-Bernard. Point. Verpilleux.

HAUTE-LOIRE.—Avond (Auguste). Badon. Breymand. Grellet (Félix). Lafayette (Edmond). Lagrevol (Alexandre). Laurent (Aimé). Rullière.

LOIRE-INFÉRIEURE.—Bedeau (Marie-Alphonse). Billaut. Braheix, Camus de la Guibourgère (Alexandre-Prosper). Desmars. Favre (Ferdinand). Favreau (Louis-Jacques). Fournier (Félix). Granville (Aristide de). Lanjuinais. Rochette (Ernest de la). Sesmaisons (Olivier de). Waldeck-Rousseau.

LOIRET.—Abbatucci. Arbey. Considérant (Victor). Martin (Alexandre). Michot. Péan (Émile). Roger. Rondeau.

LOT.—Ambert. Carla. Cavaignac (le général Eugène) Labrousse (Émile). Murat (Lucien). Rolland. Saint-Priest (de).

LOT-ET-GARONNE.—Baze. Bérard. Boissié. Dubruel (Gaspard). Luppé (Irène de). Mispoulet. Radoult-Lafosse Tartas (Emile). Vergnes (Paul).

LOZÈRE.—Comandré (Edouard). Desmolles. Renouard (Fortuné). M. l'abbé Fayet.

MAINE-ET-LOIRE.—Bineau. Cesbron-Lavau (Charles). David d'Angers. Dutier. Falloux (de). Farran. Freslon (Alexandre). Cullier de la Tousche. Jouneaulx. Lefrançois Louvet (Ch.). Oudinot. Tessié de la Motte.

MANCHE.—Abraham-Dubois. Boulatignier. Delouche.

Demésange. Diguet. Dudouyt. Essars (des). Gaslonde. Havin. Laumondais. Lempereur. Perrée (Louis). Tocqueville (Henry-Alexis de). Vieillard (Narcisse). M. Reibell.

MARNE.—Aubertin. Bailly. Bertrand (Jean). Dérodé (L.-Émile). Faucher (Léon). Ferrand. Leblond. Pérignon. Soullié.

HAUTE-MARNE.—Chauchard. Couvreux. Delarbre. Milhoux. Montrol. Toupot-de-Besvaux. Walferdin.

MAYENNE.—Bigot. Boudet. Chambolle. Chenais. Dubois. Fresney (Joseph). Dutriel. Goyet-Dubigon. Jamet (Émile). Roussel (Jules).

MEURTHE.—Adelswaerd (d'). Charron, fils. Deludre. Ferry. Laflize. Leclerc. Liouville. Marchal. Saint-Ouen. Viox. Vogin.

MEUSE.—Buvignier (Isidore). Chadenet. Étienne. Gillon (Paulin). Launois. Morcau. Salmon. M. Dessaux.

MORBIHAN.—Beslay. Crespel de la Tousche. Dahirel. Daniélo. Dubodan. Fournas (de). Harscouet de Saint-Georges. Leblanc. Parisis. Perrien (Arthur de). Piogeh (de). Rochejaquelein (de la).

MOSELLE.—Antoine. Bardin. Deshayes. Espagne (d'). Jean-Renaud. Labbé. Poncelet. Rolland (Gustave). Totain. Valette. Woirhaye.

NIÉVRE. — Archambault. Dupin. Gambon. Girerd. Grangier de la Marinière. Lafontaine. Manuel. Martin (Émile).

NORD.—Antony-Thouret. Aubry. Bonte-Pollet. Boulanger. Choque. Corne. Delespaul. Descat. Desmoutiers. Desurmont. Dollez. Dufont. Duquesne. Farez. Giraudon. Hannoye. Heddebault. Huré. Lemaire (André). Lenglet. Loiset. Malo. Mouton. Négrier. Pureur. Regnard. Serlooten. Vendois.

OISE.—Barillon. Désormes. Flye. Gérard. Lagache. Leroux (Émile). Marquis (Donatien). Morfay (Jules de). Sainte-Beuve. Tondu-du-Metz.

ORNE.—Charencey (de). Corcelles (de). Curial. Druet-Desvaux. Gigon-Labertrie. Guérin. Hamard. Piquet. Tracy (Destut de). Simphor-Vaudoré. Ballot.

PAS-DE-CALAIS.—Bellart-Dambricourt. Cary. Cornille. Degeorge. Denissel. Emmery. Fourmetin. Fréchon.

Hérembault (d'). Lantoine-Harduin. Leblen. Olivier. Petit (de Bryas). Piéron. Pierret. Saint-Amour. Lenglet.

PUY-DE-DÔME.—Altaroche. Astaix. Baudet-Lafarge. Bravard (Toussaint). Bravard-Veyrières. Charras. Combarel-de-Leyval. Girot-Pouzol. Gouttai. Jouvet. Jusserand. Lasteyras. Lavigne. Rouher. Trélat.

BASSES-PYRÉNÉES.—Barthe (Marcel). Boutoey. Condou. Dariste. Etcheverry. Laussat (de). Leremboure. Lestapis. Nogué. Renaud. Saint-Gaudens.

HAUTES-PYRÉNÉES.—Cenac. Deville. Dubarry. Lacaze (Bernard). Recurt. Vignerte.

PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES.—Arago (Emmanuel). Arago (Étienne). Guiter. Lefranc. Picas.

BAS-RHIN.—Boussingault. Brucknert. Champy. Chauffour. Dorlan. Engelhardt. Foy. Gloxin. Kling. Lauth. Liechtemberger. Martin (de Strasbourg). Schlosser. Westercamp. Culmann.

HAUT-RHIN.—Hardy. Dollfus. De Heeckeren. Heuchel. Kestner. Kœnig. Prudhomme. Rudler. Stoecklé. Struch. Yves. Chauffour.

RHÔNE.—Auberthier. Benoit. Chanay. Doutre. Ferrouillat. Gourd. Greppo. Lacroix (J.). Laforest. De Mortemart. Mouraud. Pauliat. Pelletier. Rivet.

HAUTE-SAONE.—Angar. Dufournel. Grammont (de). Guerrin. Lélut. Millotte. Minal. Noirot. Signard.

SAONE-ET-LOIRE.—Bourdon. Bruys. Darjott. Jeandeau. Lacroix (A.). Martin-Rey. Mathey. Mathieu. Menand. Petit-Jean. Pézerat. Reverchon. Rolland. Thiard (de).

SARTHE.—Beaumont (Gustave de). Chevé. Degousée. Gasselin (de Chantenay). Gasselin (de Fresnay). Hauréau. Lamoricière. Langlais. Lebreton. Lorette. Saint-Albin (Hortensius de). Trouvé-Chauvel.

SEINE.—Albert. Arago (François). Berger. Blanc (Louis). Boissel. Buchez. Carnot. Caussidière. Changarnier. Coquerel. Corbon. Cormenin (de). Flocon. Fould (Achille). Garnier Pagès. Garnon. Goudchaux. Guinard. Hugo (Victor). Lagrange. Lamartine (Alphonse de). Lamennais (de). Lasteyrie (Ferdinand de). Ledru Rollin. Leroux (Pierre). Marie. Moreau. Perdiguier (Agricol). Peupin. Proudhon. Raspail. Vavin. Wolowski. Bonaparte (L.-N.).

SEINE-INFÉRIEURE.—Bautier. Cécille. Dargent. Déma-

rest. Desjobert. Dupin (Charles). Germonière. Girard. Grandin (Victor). Lebreton (Th.). Lefort-Gonsolin. Levavasseur. Loyer. Morlot. Osmont. Randoing. Sénard. Thiers.

Seine-et-Marne.—Aubergé. Bastide (J.). Bavoux. Chappon. Drouyn de Lhuis. Lafayette (G.). Lafayette (Oscar). Lasteyrie (J. de). Portalis (A.).

Seine-et-Oise.—Albert de Luynes (d'). Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire. Berville. Bezanson. Durand. Flandin. Landrin. Lécuyer. Lefebvre. Paguerre. Pigeon. Rémilly.

Deux-Sèvres.—Baugier. Blot. Boussi. Charles (aîné). Chevallon. Domarçay. Maichain. Richard (J.).

Somme.—Allart. Beaumont (de). Creton. Defourment. Delatre. Dubois (Am.). Gaultier de Rumilly. Labordère. Magniez. Morel-Cornet. Blin de Bourdon.

Tarn.—Boyer. Garayon-Latour. Marliave (de). Mouton. Puységur (de). Rey. Saint-Victor (de). Voisins (de).

Tarn-et-Garonne.—Cazalès (de). Delbrel. Detours. Faure-Dère. (Maleville (de). Rous.

Var.—Alleman. André (Marius). Arène. Arnaud (Ch.). Baune (Edm.). Cazy. Guigues (Luc.). Maurel (Marcell.). Philibert.

Vaucluse.—Bourbousson. Gent. La Boissière (de). Pin (Elz.). Raspail (Eug.). Reynaud-Lagardete.

Vendée.—Bouhier de l'Écluse. Defontaine (Guy). Grelier Dufougeroux. Lespinay (de). Luneau. Mareau. Parenteau. Rouillé. Tingry (de).

Vienne.—Barthélemy. Bérenger. Bonnin. Bourbeau. Junyen. Pleignard. Drault. Jeudy.

Haute-Vienne. Allègre. Bac (Théodore). Brunet. Coralli. Dumas. Frichon. Maurat-Ballange. Tixier.

Vosges.—Braux. Buffet. Doublat. Falatieu. Forel. Hingray. Honel. Huot. Najean. Turck. Boulay (de la Meurthe).

Yonne.—Carreau. Charton. Guichard. Larabit. Rampont. Rathier. Raudot. Robert (L.). Vaulabelle.

Algérie.—Barrot (Ferdinand). Didier. Prébois (de). Rancé (de).

Martinique.—Mazulimé. Pory-Papy. Schœlcher.

Guadeloupe.—Dain (Charles). Louisy-Mathieu. Périnon.

Senegal.—Durand-Valentin.

The National Assembly was opened on the 4th of May. Never had the sovereignty of a great nation been installed by a solemnity more majestic in its simplicity. The national guard, the people, and some brilliant deputations from the army, called to Paris, to be present at the re-establishment of the supreme power, had been in motion since the morning.

The members of the government, after having assembled at the office of the minister of justice, advanced on foot along the boulevards between a double rank of two hundred thousand men, and preceded by the general of the national guard and his staff, who opened the crowd before the dictators on their way to resign their offices. The windows and roofs in the quarters traversed by the procession rang with shouts of applause. Never was a government making its entry into a capital, and preceded by the enthusiastic hopes of an entire people, welcomed with more acclamations than this, which in an hour would be no more, received at the close of its career. Its weakness, its faults, and its failures, as well as the legitimacy of its origin, were forgotten. Its efforts were appreciated. Its disinterestedness was received with gratitude. Its members made no claims to distinction. They were but simple citizens, humbly attired, having had the authority, but not the pomp of power. They were pointed out to public attention,—Dupont de l'Eure on the right, Lamartine on the left; then Louis Blanc and Arago, who everywhere experienced that noble species of respect which is always claimed by science and political eminence; Garnier Pagès, distinguished for a simplicity and probity which recalled that of the ancients; Crémieux, Marie, and Marrast, who bore names respected for the services they had performed; Flocon, Ledru Rollin, and Albert, whose names were dearer to the republicans of ancient date, and with whom were associated more recollections and hopes; Carnot and Bethmont, who, though simple ministers, had shared the labours, dangers, and responsibilities of the government. Each of these names received its share of gratitude, or esteem. The bearers of them were on their way to abdicate, and though they were no longer feared, they were still hailed with acclamations.

The members of the government being introduced into the hall, were received by the nine hundred representatives standing. An immense cry of "The republic for ever!'

revealed to France that this government, provisionally voted on the 25th of February, by the general anticipations of Paris, was unanimously adopted and ratified by acclamation, at the deliberate choice of the country.

The president of the provisional government, Dupont de l'Eure, ascended the tribune, and was received with the respect which is attached to a long succession of days devoted to patriotic service. In him was to be seen one of those old men by whom institutions are bequeathed to the great human family, and whose lives seemed to have been prolonged by Providence that they may serve as a point of transition between two distinct epochs.

"Citizens," said he, in a voice the gravity of which detracted nothing from the energy, "the provisional government of the republic is come to do homage to the nation, and to reverence the sovereign power with which you are invested.

"At last, the moment is arrived for the government to deposit in your hands the unlimited power with which the revolution arrayed it. You know whether our dictatorship has been aught else than a moral power exercised in the midst of the difficult circumstances through which the nation has just passed. Long live the republic!"

This cry, after issuing from the lips of the old man, rang in repeated echoes from three hundred thousand voices, until it reached the Place de la Concorde, where it was saluted by the cannon of the Hôtel des Invalides. Dupont de l'Eure descended from the tribune, and fell into the arms of Béranger, who, like his friend, had been the wise and patient harbinger of the republican era, the Tyrtæus of the glory of the French arms in his youth, and when his hair had become blanched by age, a representative of the people and a moderator of his country.

The Assembly employed three days in the verification of its powers, and chose M. Buchez for its president, as a mark of gratitude for the services he had rendered and the courage he had displayed during the three months of administration at the Hôtel de Ville.

Upon the 7th Lamartine ascended the tribune, in the place and in the name of the president of the provisional government, and rendered an account of the acts of the revolution, in the following terms:—

"Citizen representatives of the people! At the moment

when you enter on the exercise of your sovereignty,—at the moment in which we resign into your hands those special powers which the revolution provisionally confided to us, we are in duty bound, first, to give you an account of the situation in which we found, and in which you yourselves find, the country.

"A revolution broke out on the 24th of February. The people overthrew the throne, and swore upon its ruins to reign henceforth alone and altogether by themselves. They charged us to provide provisionally for the dangers and necessities of the interregnum which they had to pass before arriving regularly and without anarchy to their unanimous and definitive sovereignty. Our first thought has been to shorten this interregnum by the immediate convocation of the national representative body, in which alone right and force reside. Simple citizens, summoned without any other call than the public danger, and without any other title than our own devotion, after having trembled to accept, but now eager to give up, the deposit of the destinies of the country, we have been influenced by but one ambition, that of abdicating the dictatorship in the bosom of the sovereignty of the people.

"The throne overturned, the dynasty falling to pieces of itself, we did not proclaim the republic: it proclaimed itself by the mouth of an entire people, and we did but record the cry of the nation.

"Our first consideration, as it was the first want of the country, after the proclamation of the republic, was the re-establishment of order and security in Paris. In this work, which would have been more difficult and meritorious at another period and in another country, we were aided by the general concurrence of the citizens. While it yet held with one hand the musket with which it had blasted royalty, this magnanimous people raised with the other the vanquished and bleeding victims of the opposite party. It protected the lives and properties of the inhabitants. It preserved the public monuments. Each citizen of Paris was at once the soldier of liberty and the voluntary magistrate of order. History has registered the innumerable acts of heroism, probity, and disinterestedness which characterized these opening days of the republic. Up till that time the people had sometimes

been flattered by allusions to its virtues, but posterity, which is no flatterer, will find all these expressions too lukewarm for the dignity of the people of Paris at this crisis.

"They it was who inspired us with the first decree destined to give its true signification to the victory, the decree for the abolition of capital punishment in political cases. They suggested, adopted, and proclaimed it, by the condensed cry of two hundred thousand voices, on the square and quay of the Hôtel de Ville. No single exclamation of anger protested against it. France and Europe understood that it was God by whom the crowd was inspired, and that a revolution inaugurated by greatness of soul would be pure as an idea, magnanimous as a sentiment, and holy as a virtue.

"The red flag, brought forward for a moment, not as a symbol of menace or of disorder, but as the momentary banner of victory, was thrust aside by the combatants themselves, to throw over the republic the shield of that tricolored flag which had overshadowed its cradle, and borne aloft the glory of our armies over every continent and over every sea.

"After having established the authority of the government in Paris, it was necessary to effect the recognition of the republic in the departments, the colonies, in Algeria, and the army. For this, telegraphic messages and couriers were sufficient. France, her colonies and armies, recognized their own idea in that of the republic. There was not offered the resistance of a single hand or voice, nor of a single free heart in France, to the installation of the new government.

"Our next thought had reference to foreign states. Europe, as yet undecided, waited for the first word spoken by France. This was the abolition, in fact and right, of the treaties of 1815; the restoration of liberty to our foreign policy; a declaration that territorial possessions should be undisturbed; that sympathy should be felt for nations; and justice, loyalty, and moderation be observed to governments. France, in the manifesto she issued, though she disarmed herself of her ambition, did not disarm herself of her ideas. She allowed the principle on which she acted to be evident. All her measures of hostility consisted in this. The special report of the minister of foreign affairs will acquaint you with what this system of open and undisguised diplomacy has produced, and ought naturally to produce, of all that is legitimate and great for the general influence of France.

"Such a policy required from the minister of war measures of harmony in accordance with the system of armed negotiation. He re-established with energy that discipline which had, though but in a slight degree, been shaken. He recalled, with honour to Paris, the army which had for a moment been removed from its walls, to allow the people to arm themselves; and the people, henceforth invincible, did not long delay to demand again in the loudest manner their brethren of the army, not only as a source of protection, but as an ornament to the capital. The army was henceforth in Paris, only an honorary garrison, destined to prove to our brave soldiers that the capital of the country pertains to all its children.

"We decreed, in addition, the formation of four armies of observation—the army of the Alps, that of the Rhine, that of the North, and that of the Pyrenees.

"Our marine, confided to the hands of the same minister, as the second armed force of France, was brought under its chiefs to a discipline commanded by its consciousness of the necessity of vigilance. The Toulon fleet proceeded to display our colours to the people friendly to France on the shores of the Mediterranean. The army of Algiers had not a moment nor a thought of hesitation. In its eyes the republic and the country were united in the sentiment of a common duty. A chief, whose republican name, sentiments, and talents were at once pledges to the army and the revolution,—General Cavaignac,—received the command in Algeria.

"The corruption which had penetrated the most sacred institutions, compelled the minister of justice to those purifications which the public call demanded. It was necessary promptly to separate the political part of the administration from that of the judicial. The minister was not deterred from the execution of this measure, however painful.

"In proclaiming the republic, the cry of France had not only proclaimed a form of government, but a republican principle; and this was practical democracy, equality in rights, and fraternity in institutions. The revolution, accomplished by the people, required, in our opinion, to be organized to the profit of the people by a series of fraternal and sheltering institutions, adapted to bestow, regularly upon all, the conditions of individual dignity, instruction, information,

morality, the elements of labour, compensation, ease, succour, and the acquisition of property, which would suppress the servile name of proletary to elevate the workman to the possession of rights, duties, and well-doing, those first consequences of property; to elevate and enrich the one without abasing and degrading the rest; to preserve property, and render it more productive and sacred, by multiplying and dividing it into the hands of a greater number, distributing the tax in such a way as to cause it to fall most heavily upon the strongest; by alleviating and succouring the wants of the feeble; establish, by order of the state, employment when it should accidentally fail through intimidation to capital, in order that there might not be a labourer in France whose bread should fail with the failure of his wages; finally, to study with the workmen themselves the true and practical phenomenon of association, and the, as yet, problematical systems for the purpose of seeking conscientiously their applications and ascertaining their errors.

"Such was the idea of the provisional government in all the decrees of which it conferred the execution or the preparation to the minister of the finances, the minister of public works, to the commission of the Luxembourg in fine; forming as it were a laboratory of ideas, the preparatory and statistical congress of labour and industrial pursuits, enlightened by studious and intelligent delegates from all the laborious professions, and presided over by two members of the government itself.

"The sudden fall of the monarchy; the disorder of the finances; the sudden disorganization of an immense mass of manufacturers; the shocks which these unoccupied masses might have caused to society if their reason, patience, and practical resignation had not been a miracle of popular reason and a subject of admiration to the world; the debt which might at any time be demanded, of nearly a thousand millions, which the government had incurred in the two first months of the republic; the industrial and commercial crisis, universal on the continent and in England, coinciding with the political crisis in Paris; the enormous accumulation of railway shares, and other fictitious property, seized at once in the hands of the bearers and bankers, through the panic which had fallen on capital; finally, the imagination of the country, always excited beyond the truth at epochs of political convulsion and

social terror, had drained the sources of the capital locked up in labour, caused coin to disappear, and suspended free and voluntary labour, the only one sufficient for thirty-five millions of men. It was necessary to provide for this, or to be false to all the principles, all the counsels of prudence, and all the necessities of succouring by the beneficent medium of the republic. The minister of finance will tell you how provision was made for these disappearances of labour and credit, by waiting for the moment, at last arrived, when confidence, being restored to the minds of men, will bring back capital to the hands of the master manufacturers, and wages to workmen; and when your wisdom and national power will triumph over every difficulty.

"The ministry of public instruction and worship, deposited in the same hands, served for the government as a manifestation of its purpose, and for the country as a presage of the new situation which the republic could and ought to take, when placed in the twofold necessity of affording national instruction, and more real independence to the creeds which were free before conscience and before the law.

"The ministry of agriculture and commerce, a ministry by its nature foreign to political affairs, could not but prepare with zeal and sketch with sagacity the new institutions called upon to give vigour to the first of the useful arts. It extended the hand of the state over those suffering interests of commerce which you alone are able to raise up by giving to them security.

"Such were our different but incessant sources of solicitude. Thanks to Providence, which has never more evidently manifested its intervention in the cause of nations and of the human mind; thanks to the people themselves, who have never better manifested the treasures of reason, good citizenship, generosity, patience, morality, and the true civilization which fifty years of imperfect liberty have wrought in their souls, we have been able to accomplish, very imperfectly doubtless, but nevertheless not unhappily, a portion of the immense and perilous task with which events have loaded us.

"We have founded the republic, that government declared impossible in France upon other conditions than foreign and civil war, anarchy, prisons, and the scaffold. We have exhibited the republic, happily compatible with peace throughout Europe, with internal security, voluntary order, indi-

vidual liberty, and combined with the gentleness and calmness of manners in a nation to which hatred is a punishment, and harmony a national instinct.

"We have promulgated the great principles of equality, fraternity, and unity, which must in their daily development in our laws, made by ourselves, and for ourselves, accomplish the unity of the people by the unity of representation.

"We have made the right of the citizen universal by making the right of election universal, and the votes of all have been given to us in reply.

"We have armed the entire people in the ranks of the national guards, and the entire people have answered us by devoting the weapons we have confided to them to the unanimous defence of the country, of order, and of the laws.

"We have passed through the interregnum without other executive force than the moral authority, entirely devoid of arms, of which the nation was willing to confer the right upon us; and this people has consented to allow itself to be governed by the mere force of language, by our counsels, and its own special and generous inspirations.

"We have gone through more than two months of crisis, accompanied by the cessation of labour, by misery, the elements of political agitation, social anxieties, passions accumulated in innumerable masses in a capital of a million and a half of inhabitants, without any violation of property, without a single life having been menaced by anger, without a single act of repression or proscription, without an act of political imprisonment, or a drop of blood in Paris to afflict the government. We have now the power to descend from the elevation conferred on us by this protracted dictatorship into the public square and mingle with the people without any man being enabled to say to us:—'What has been the fate of my fellow-citizen?'

"Before summoning the National Assembly to the capital, we have insured its complete security and independence by arming and organizing the national guard, and giving you a whole people in arms to be your guards. Faction is no longer possible in a republic where no more division exists between citizens in the enjoyments of political rights and those who do not possess them, and between armed and unarmed citizens. All have their rights. All have their army.

In such a state insurrection is no longer the extreme privilege of resistance to oppression;—it would be a crime. He who separates himself from the people belongs no more to the people!

"Behold the unanimous act which we have performed; perpetuate it, for in it consists the safety of all.

"Citizen representatives! our work is accomplished, yours is commencing. The presentation even of a plan of government, or a proposal for a constitution, would have been on our part a rash prolongation of power, or an encroachment on your sovereignty. We disappear from the stage at the moment when you rise to receive the republic from the hands of the people. We will only allow ourselves a single word of counsel, and a single wish, and that in our titles of citizens, and not of members of the provisional government. This wish, citizens, France emits in conjunction with us; it is the voice of circumcumstances. Lose not the time, that principal element of human crises. After having absorbed the sovereignty in yourselves, let not a new interregnum enfeeble the mainsprings of the country. Let a commission of government, issuing from your own bosom, prevent power from hovering for a single moment, in a precarious and provisional form, over a nation which has need of power and security. Let a committee for framing a constitution, emanating from your suffrages, bring without delay to your deliberations and votes the simple, brief, and democratic mechanism of the constitution, the organic and secondary enactments of which will afterwards be the subject of your deliberations.

"In the meantime, we, as members of the government, return its powers into your hands.

"We submit also, and with confidence, all our acts to your judgment. We pray you, only to glance back to the times, and to bear in mind the difficulties. Our consciences reproach us with no intentional offences. Our efforts have been favoured by Providence. Cancel our involuntary dictatorship. We ask only to return into the ranks of honest citizens.

"May history only inscribe with indulgence below, and at the most humble distance from, the great actions performed by France, the recital of these three months passed in the void between a falling monarchy and a republic

in course of formation;—and may it, in the place of the obscure and forgotten names of men who have devoted themselves to the common safety, inscribe in its pages two names only—the name of the people who have saved everything, and the name of God, who has blessed everything in the foundations of the republic."

These last words were drowned with almost unanimous indications of applause from the representatives and from the galleries.

Lamartine, on his return to his seat, was obliged to rise three times to bow to the Assembly, which had itself risen up as he moved across. There was every sign that the popularity which had attached to his name in Paris, and been evinced by two million three hundred thousand suffrages in the departments, would still encompass him in the National Assembly, unless he should himself lay it aside.

Each minister brought up and read successively at the tribune the special report of the acts of his department. All received the sanction of the applause of the Assembly. Lamartine developed, at greater length than his colleagues, the picture of the situation of the new republic with regard to Europe. France impatiently awaited this outline as she had done the manifesto to Europe. She knew that her internal destiny depended on her attitude with reference to foreign powers. She burned with the desire to receive this report, that she might judge what might be her future destiny. The following is the speech of the minister. It was his manifesto put in action, and verified by three months of proofs:—

"Citizens," said he, "there are two species of revolutions to be found in history—revolutions of territory, and revolutions of ideas. The first are resumed in conquests, and in the subversions of nationalities and empires; the second, in institutions. To the first, war is necessary; to the second, peace, that mother of the institutions of labour and of liberty, is precious and dear. Yet sometimes the changes of institutions which a nation effects within its own limits, become an occasion of uneasiness and aggression against it on the part of other people and other governments; or they become a crisis of convulsion and irritation among the neighbouring nations.

"A law of nature requires that truths should be contagious, and ideas tend to find their level, as well as water. In this latter case revolutions participate, as it were, in the two kinds of movement which we have pointed out. They are pacific, like the revolutions of ideas; they may be forced to recur to arms as well as the revolutions of territory. Their exterior attitude ought to correspond with these two necessities of their situation. They are inoffensive; but they are ready for action. Their system of policy may be characterized in two words—armed diplomacy.

"These considerations, citizens, have, from the first hour of the republic, determined the acts and words of the provisional government in the whole grasp, and in the details of the direction of our foreign affairs. It has wished, and it has declared that it wished, three things—the establishment of the republic in France; the natural progress of the liberal and democratic principle, avowed, recognized, and defended in its existence and in its rights, and at its own time; and, finally, peace, if peace should be possible, honourable and sure, on these conditions.

"We now proceed to show you what have been, since the day of the foundation of the republic until to-day, the practical results of this attitude of disinterested devotion to the democratical principle in Europe, combined with the respect for the actual inviolability of territories, nationalities, and governments. It is the first time in history that a disarmed and purely spiritual principle is presented to Europe, which is organized, armed, and actuated in her alliances by another principle, and that the political world convulses and modifies itself, before the power, not of a nation, but of an idea. To measure the power of this idea in all its extent, let us go back to 1815.

"The year 1815 is a date which it costs some effort to France to recall. After the attack of the armies of the coalition against the republic; after the prodigies of the Convention, and the explosive burst of France in arms to repel the league of the powers inimical to the revolution; after the expiation of the conquests obtained by the empire, of which France wishes to claim the glory alone,—the reaction of violated nationalities and humiliated sovereigns against us took place. The name of France had no longer limits. The

territorial limits of geographical France were again narrowed by the treaties of 1814 and 1815. They appeared disproportioned to the name, the security, and the moral power of a nation which had so much increased in influence, renown, and liberty. The base on which the glories of the French people rested appeared so much the more confined as the people itself had become greater.

"The treaty of 1814, which put the finishing stroke to our glory and our woes, had, in colonies, swept away from us Tobago, St. Lucia, the Mauritius and its dependencies, the Seychelles, French India, reduced to purely nominal proportions, St. Domingo in fine, from which we had been in fact dispossessed, and which it was necessary either to repurchase or reconquer.

"In annexation of territory to the national soil, the treaty of 1814 adjoined as a compensation to France, on the north, some frontier districts, consisting of about ten cantons annexed to the departments of the Moselle and Ardennes; on the east, a precinct comprised in some districts about Landau; on the south, the principal part of Savoy, consisting of the divisions of Chambery and Annecy; and finally the county of Montbéliard, Mulhausen, and the Germau limitation districts enclosed in the line of our frontiers.

"The treaties of 1815, the compensations for our hundred days of glory and reverses, despoiled us almost immediately of these feeble indemnities for the war of the coalition. They restored French Savoy almost entirely to Sardinia; and thus made of Lyons the commercial capital of France, a fortified but exposed military post. The Low Countries retook, from what had been once our own soil, *Philippeville, Marienburg*, and the duchy of Bouillon, where we had formerly the right of occupation and garrison; Prussia took from us Sarburg, of which the heart alone remained French; Bavaria, some districts; Switzerland, that strip of the territory of Gex, which gave us a port on the Lake of Geneva at Versoix. We had also to undergo the demolition of the fortifications of Huninguen, and the absolute interdiction from fortifying our frontier at less than three leagues of Basle. Finally, we were compelled to renounce, in favour of the king of Sardinia, the right of protection, and of placing garrisons, which we possessed before the revolution, in the

principality of Monaco. An humiliating occupation of our fortresses, and an indemnity of near a thousand millions, as a fine for our former triumphs, still more decimated the exterior as well as the reproductive power of the nation. The restored dynasty accepted the throne on these conditions. It was its fault and its destruction. The peace and the charter itself, that foundation-stone of liberty, was no adequate compensation for it. No dynasty can aggrandize itself with impunity while it enfeebles its country. Nevertheless, if we consider only the interior interests of the nation, the holy alliance was an anti-popular system, but not essentially an anti-French one.

"The dynasty of the elder branch of the Bourbons, in uniting itself to this system, might find there a supporting point for its legitimate influence, or for acquisitions of territory around it. If by Italy, over which Austria was obstinately determined to rule alone, the French cabinet was forbidden all solid and sympathetical alliance with that empire, the Russian alliance was opened for France. This alliance, favourable to the aggrandizement of Russia in the east, her inclination leading her in that direction, could give to the continental equilibrium, of which Germany would have been the axis, two equal and preponderating weights, viz. St. Petersburg and Paris. The restored dynasty did sometimes form a confused sketch of these ideas. It dared avow it to friends and enemies; and it felt itself sustained by the continental spirit against the jealousies of Great Britain. With this secret support, it perseveringly contested the supremacy of Austria in Italy, engaged in an unpopular but not anti-French war in Spain, and conquered Algiers. Its diplomacy was less anti-national than its policy.

"The revolution of July, a revolution which had burst forth before its time, established a revolutionary monarchy and a republican royalty. France did not feel enough courage to give full sway to her ideas. The character, both incomplete and contradictory, of this revolution, gave to the government which sprang from the three days the inconveniences of the dynasty, without any of the advantages of legitimate royalty. It was still the holy alliance, but without the dogma, and without the king. It was a monarchy tainted in the eyes of kings, with an elective and republican prin-

ciple, and a republic suspected of monarchy and treason to the democratic principle in the eyes of the people.

"The external and interior policy of this mixed government was destined to be, within and without, a perpetual struggle between the contrary principles which it represented. The dynastic interest commanded it to return at any price into the family of the settled and regular dynasties. It was necessary to purchase this tolerance of thrones by incessant acts of complaisance. It was necessary to conquer at home the right of being weak abroad. Hence the system of the government of July—a France debased to the rank of a second-rate power in Europe, an oligarchy purchased by dint of favours and seductions within. The one involves the other; and, moreover, the spirit of family, a domestic virtue, may, in the head of a nation, become a political vice, for nepotism is destruction to patriotism.

"The monarchy of July oppressed our foreign policy with the weight of the thrones and family alliances which it prepared for its princes. One only of the ideas which it engendered was a true one, because it corresponded with a grand want of humanity—peace. This is the one thought upon which it lived during eighteen years. But the peace which is proper for France is not a subordinate one, purchasing a short and precarious existence by its own humiliation, and by the adjournment of its influences,—by throwing a veil over its principles, by contracting the power of its name, and by shortening the arms of France.

"Such a peace humiliates while it enfeebles a people.

"In order that peace should be worthy of it, the republic ought to become great by peace. Now, to become great in Europe, there was wanting to the monarchy of July the banner of a principle. Was it her monarchical banner? That was stained by usurpation. Her democratic banner? She every day concealed and discoloured it.

"Her foreign policy was compelled to be as devoid of bias as her principle. It was a policy of negation. It avoided dangers, but could aspire to no greatness.

"This was her reign in relation to foreign nations.

"The kingdom of the Netherlands broke of itself into two pieces, at the reaction of the days of July. One half formed that neuter and intermediate power which became, usefully

for France, the kingdom of Belgium. No other modification in the territorial limitations of Europe took place for the advantage of France during these eighteen years.

"Russia testified to her a constant and personal aversion, which was not addressed to France herself, but was reflected from the dynasty upon the nation. In vain the most pressing interests of Russia drew her forcibly towards an alliance with France, the antipathy of the sovereigns interposed itself between the sympathies of the people. That court was occupied, throughout the eighteen years of the monarchy of July, in the violent assimilation of Poland to itself, and in patiently seeking a route to India by the Caucasus.

"Austria offered alternately caresses and injuries. France, thus fondled and repulsed by the skilful but superannuated hand of Prince Metternich, sacrificed the whole of Italy and the independence of the confederate German states to the smiles of the court of Vienna. In 1831, the insurrection in Italy which was repressed in concert with it; in 1846, the city of Cracow, effaced from the map, measured the ever-descending scale of these displays of obsequiousness, on the part of the cabinet of the Tuileries, to the policy of Austria.

"Prussia, whose security and greatness are involved in the alliance of France, entered into a desperate and unnatural league with Russia. She thus made herself the advanced guard of the Russian power, of which she is the outpost. By such conduct she lost that Germanic popularity which Frederic the Great had bequeathed her.

"The states of the confederation of the Rhine, thus neglected by Prussia, intimidated by Austria, and agitated by Russia, floated from the Prussian to the Austrian alliance, according to time and circumstances, repulsed from the French alliance by the recollections of 1813, and by the connivance of the cabinet of the Tuileries, which had abandoned them to Austrian omnipotence. But during these oscillations of the secondary states of the Germanic confederation, a third estate, that germ of democracy, was formed in Germany. It only waited for its development, an opportunity of emancipation for the secondary powers, and a return of the thoughts of France to true principles of alliance and friendship with the German Rhenish states.

"The Low Countries, irritated at the violent separation of

Belgium, continued to feel prejudices against France. They united themselves to Russia on the continent, and to England on the ocean, and thus was France doubly excluded from their system of alliance.

"What were our relations with England? Her policy, which was, before the French revolution, altogether maritime, became, from the war of 1808 in Spain and the general one in 1813, at once maritime and continental. Feeling no repugnance to the dynasty of July, England had lent that royalty a useful concurrence in the conferences at London in 1830 and 1831. By the species of continental mediation which she had exercised between France, Germany, and Russia, England had maintained the equilibrium of the continent. This equilibrium was peace. M. de Talleyrand had converted this peace into a draught of alliance on liberal constitutional principles. This is what has been called the quadruple alliance between France, England, Spain, and Portugal. If this germ had not been stifled in its origin,—if it had been energetically developed by being extended to Italy, Switzerland, and the German Rhenish provinces,—it might have changed itself into a liberal system of progress for the people of the South and East, and created a family of democratic nations and governments invulnerable to the absolute powers. But for that object France required a government which could dare to avow its principle. The court of the Tuileries laboured only to efface or cause the oblivion of its own. Ambitious, but purely dynastic objects, often formed and discovered by the French government in relation to Spain, were destined at no long distance of time to ruin, to the detriment of France and free nations, that English alliance, which, after having been sought by so many manœuvres, was so selfishly betrayed.

"The Eastern question, on which the policy of the whole world turned from 1838 to 1841, was the first occasion of a coolness, soon to be followed by diplomatic conflicts and irritation, between the two governments. You are acquainted with that negotiation, which gave such a shock to peace, set Europe in arms, and finished by the shame and sequestration of France.

"The Ottoman empire was in progress of decomposition. The pacha of Egypt, profiting by its weakness, invaded the half of its territories, substituting Arab tyranny for Turkish

despotism. The void effected in the East by the disappearance of Turkey was on the point of being inevitably filled up by Islamism, under another name, that of Ibrahim; or by Russian or British omnipotence. France had three methods of facing and resolving the Eastern question—either by frankly supporting the Ottoman empire against the revolted pacha and the whole world; or by allying itself with Russia, and assisting in her inclination towards Constantinople, and obtaining at this price a Russian alliance and territorial compensations on the Rhine; or by uniting herself with England by yielding her precedence in Egypt, her necessary route to India, and at this price drawing close the English alliance, and receiving continental advantages and important French protectorates in Syria in exchange.

"The cabinet of the Tuileries did not know how to be frank, and did not dare to be ambitious. It abandoned Turkey to her aggressor, and then abandoned the aggressor himself to Russia, England, and Austria. It at once estranged from itself the Ottoman empire, Russia, England, Prussia, and Austria. It reconstructed, by its own folly, the moral coalition of the world against it. The whole ended by the exclusion of the French cabinet from Europe, and the note of the 8th of October, the avowal of weakness after acts of defiance, the acceptance of isolation in the midst of Europe bound together in one single sheaf of resentments against us. The treaty of reconciliation of the 30th of July, 1841, palliated this situation to no purpose. The marriage of a prince of the French dynasty with an eventual heiress of the crown of Spain was thenceforth the only thought of the dynastic policy to which France was made subordinate. The accomplishment of this wish was destined soon to tear asunder the last ties of friendship between England and France. Possessed of too little ambition for the nation, the cabinet of the Tuileries desired two thrones to be filled by the same family at once. The posthumous policy of the house of Bourbon was rashly substituted for the policy of liberty and peace upon the continent. From this marriage France only reaped the permanent enmity of the British cabinet, the jealousy of the courts, the suspicions of Spain, and the certainty of a second war of succession. From this first insane act of royalty it was not difficult for statesmen to divine the approach of others, and to foresee its fall.

"Fresh symptoms were not long in confirming these conjectures. Suspected by Spain, odious to Russia, dishonoured in Turkey, indifferent to Prussia, menacing to England, the dynastic policy of the French cabinet turned most unnaturally to Austria. This act of stupidity cost it not only its greatness and security, but its honour. To obtain from Austria the pardon of the house of Bourbon in Spain, it was necessary to lower the banner of revolution everywhere before that empire, and sacrifice to it at once Italy, Switzerland, the Rhine, and the independence and the rights of nations. It was necessary to form a league of absolutism with Austria, by stifling, to her profit and our shame, the germs of independence, liberalism, and national strength which showed themselves from the straits of Sicily to the very heart of the Alps. The French cabinet ventured to practise this servile policy, and to defend it before a French chamber. The revolutionary soul of France rose with indignation in her bosom. The dynastic ministry purchased the vote of a majority to sell the national and democratic principles with impunity, in the negotiations of Switzerland and Italy. A few days later it dragged into the abyss that royalty which had itself debased it in its personality.

"Thus, after a reign of eighteen years, and a system of diplomacy which was believed a skilful because an interested one, the dynasty restored France to the republic more hemmed in, more shackled by treaties and limits, more incapable of movement, more destitute of external influences and negotiations, and more surrounded by snares and impossibilities than it was at any epoch of the monarchy. Imprisoned within the letter so often violated against her of the treaties of 1815; excluded from the whole of the East; the accomplice of Austria in Italy and Switzerland; cringing to England at Lisbon; compromised, without deriving any advantage, at Madrid; obsequious at Vienna, timid at Berlin, hated at St. Petersburg, discredited through want of faith at London, deserted by the people for her abandonment of the democratic principle in the face of a moral coalition framed everywhere against France, and which left her only the choice of a war of finality against all, or the acceptance of the subaltern part of a secondary power closely watched by the whole European world, condemned to languish and humble itself for a century under the weight of a dynasty to obtain

the pardon of kings, and of a revolutionary principle for obtaining an amnesty or betraying the people.

"The republic, finding France in these conditions of isolation and subservience, had two parts to take:—to make an explosion against all the thrones and all the territories of the continent; to tear the map of Europe in pieces; declare war, and launch the armed democratic principle everywhere, without knowing whether it would fall on a soil prepared for it to germinate, or an improper one where it would be choked in blood—or to declare republican peace and French fraternity to all nations; publish respect for governments, laws, characters, manners, inclinations, territories, and nations; to raise aloft, but with a friendly hand, its principles of independence and democracy over the world, and address itself to the people without either restraining or hurrying events.

"We do not, like barbarians, arm the new idea with iron or with fire. We arm it only with its own gentle light. We do not impose on any one forms or imitations, premature or incompatible, perhaps, with nature; but if the liberty of any part of Europe is kindled at our own,—if enthralled nationalities, trampled rights, and legitimate and oppressed independencies should rise, consolidate themselves, enter into the democratic family of nations, and appeal, through us, to the defence of their rights, and the conformity of their institutions,—France is there at hand. Republican France is not only the country, but she is also the soldier of the democratic principle of the future.

"It is this last policy, citizens, which the provisional government has unanimously thought right to adopt, while waiting until the nation, comprised in yourselves, should assume the control of its own destinies.

"What, during seventy-two days, have been the results of this policy of armed diplomacy over the continent? You know them! And Europe regards them with an astonishment, which savours less of fear than of admiration.

"Italy, already stimulated in its patriotism by the Italian and democratic heart of Pius IX., is shaken successively, but through its whole extent, at the re-echo of the triumphs of the people of Paris. Encouraged on the subject of every ambitious feeling of France, so loudly and frankly disavowed by us, it embraces passionately our principles, and abandons

itself with confidence to a future of independence and liberty, in which the French principle will be her ally. Sicily arose against the domination of Naples, and claimed, in the first place, her constitution. Irritated at refusal, she is heroically reconquering her soil and her citadels; tardy concessions appease her no longer, but she is completely separating herself, convoking her own parliament, and proclaiming herself the sole mistress of her destinies. She is revenging herself for her long subjection to the house of Bourbon, by declaring that the princes of the line of Naples shall be excluded for ever from the constitutional throne of Sicily.

"At Naples, even, the constitution promulgated by the king, on the eve of the formation of the French republic, appeared on the next day illusory; the monarchy, besieged by the demonstrations of the people, yielded concession after concession until it reached the level of a democratic royalty of the year 1791.

"Pius IX., accepting the part of an Italian patriot, retains only the rule of a pontiff, and makes Rome the federative centre of a real republic, of which he is already showing himself less the sovereign than the first citizen. He avails himself of the force of the movement which is bearing him along, instead of combating it; and this movement is accelerating its pace.

"The example is followed by Tuscany. Palermo, Piacenza, Modena, attempt vainly to find support in Austria in their struggle with the spirit of life in Italy. Their princes are yielding, and nationality triumphs. The Lucchese dynasty is swept away; Venice proclaims her own republic, as yet undecided whether to isolate herself within her lagunes, or join the republican or constitutional union of the north of Italy.

"The king of Sardinia, long the hope of national unity in the Peninsula, at the very time when his government was the terror of the liberal spirit at Turin, causes, by the contact with the French revolution, this contradiction, so fatal to his greatness, to come to an end. He gives a popular constitution as a pledge to Italian liberalism. Lombardy understands, by this token, that the hour of her independence has sounded. Milan, disarmed, triumphs in an unequal contest over the army of occupation by which she is enchained. Lombardy

rises in mass against the house of Austria. She proclaims, as yet, only her enfranchisement, in order not to mingle a question of institutions with one of war. The cry of Italy forces the king of Sardinia to unfetter himself, like the pope and Tuscany, from the old anti-national treaties with Austria. He marches upon Lombardy; contingents pour from all parts upon this field of battle. The campaign of Italian independence is carried on slowly by Italy alone, but in presence of Switzerland and France, in arms, and ready to act if the interest of their principle or the security of their frontiers should appear to be compromised.

"Pass the Alps,—the results of the policy of the unarmed principle of France are developed not less systematically in the events, and rapidly in their consequences. They burst forth from the very focus of the contrary principle.

"From the date of the 14th of March the revolution breaks out at Vienna. The troops are vanquished, the palace of the emperor is laid bare by the people, that the old system may be expelled, in the person of its most inflexible statesman—Prince Metternich. The assembly of the notables of the monarchy is convoked; all the privileges of liberty, those arms of democracy, are accorded; Hungary becomes national, and isolates itself by an almost complete separation from the empire; it abolishes feudal rights, gives up ecclesiastical property to sale, nominates a minister of its own, and, in token of its entire separation, even bestows on itself a ministry of foreign affairs.

"Bohemia, on her side, secures to herself a separate federal constitution. By these three different enfranchisements of Hungary, Bohemia, and Italy, Austria, revolutionized within and restrained without, only reigns over twelve compact millions of men.

"Three days after the events of Vienna, on the 18th of March, the people combat and triumph in the streets of Berlin. The king of Prussia, whose enlightened spirit and popular heart seemed to be in intelligence even with those who fought against his soldiers, hastens to make every concession. An entirely democratic law of election is promulgated even before the constituent assembly is met. Prussian Poland reclaims its distinct nationality at Posen. The king gives his consent, and commences thus to sketch the first basis of a

Polish nationality, which events will have to enlarge and strengthen in another quarter. In the kingdom of Wurtemburg the king, on the 3rd of March, abolishes the censorship, and concedes the liberty of the press, and grants permission to the people to arm. On the 4th of March the grand duke of Baden, too near a neighbour to France not to permit ideas which cross the Rhine to find their level, accords liberty to the journals, the right of arming themselves to the people, the abolition of feudal privileges, and, finally, the promise of concurring in the establishment of a united German parliament, that congress of German democracy, out of which the new order of things is perhaps destined to arise.

"On the 5th of March the king of Bavaria abdicates, and, after scenes of street conflicts, gives up the throne to the prince at Munich, who unites his own to the popular cause.

"From the 6th to the 11th of March, a similar abdication takes place on the part of the sovereign of Hesse-Darmstadt, —the arming of the people, the right of association, the liberty of the press, the jury, the French code at Mayence, are all accorded. The elector of Hesse-Cassel, whose resistance to the introduction of the democratic principle was notorious in Germany, has granted to his people, who had likewise taken up arms, the same pledges; adding, moreover, the concession of the principle of a German parliament.

"Insurrection has extorted from the duke of Nassau the suppression of tithes, political organization, the arming of the people, and the German parliament.

"On the 15th of March Leipsic rose, and obtained from the king of Saxony, already a constitutional prince, his accession to the principle of the German parliament. Upon the same day, an imperious popular demonstration compelled the prince of Oldenburg to convoke a representative body.

"A few days after, the people of Mecklenburg took up arms, and named a preparatory assembly to elect members for the German parliament.

"Hamburg has reformed, in a more democratic spirit, her already republican constitution. Bremen has remodelled her senate, and acceded to the German parliament. Lubeck, after violent commotions, has conquered the same principle.

"Finally, on the 18th of March, the king of the Netherlands abolished the institutions restrictive of liberty in

the grand duchy of Luxemburg, where the tricoloured flag floats of itself as a spontaneous demonstration of the French principle.

"All these decompositions of the old system, all these elements of federal unity, are at this moment combined at Frankfort.

"Up to this date the diet of Frankfort had been the obedient instrument of the omnipotence of the two great Germanic powers, Vienna and Berlin, over their feeble allies of the confederation. The idea of a permanent parliament sitting in the heart of Germany, rises to a contact with our own ideas. This parliament of nations, henceforth representing people instead of courts, becomes the foundation of a new Germanic confederation, emancipating the weak, and forming the nucleus of a diversified but single democracy. Liberty, becoming more and more democratic in Germany, will necessarily fix its support upon a democratic power also, without other ambition than the alliance of principles and the safety of territorial possessions; and that power is France.

"I will not pursue into the other states of Europe the more or less rapid march of the national and liberal principle, accelerated by the revolution of February.

"The invasions of ideas penetrate everywhere deeply amongst them, and these ideas bear your name. Everywhere you will only have to choose between a certain and honourable peace, or a partial war with nations for your allies.

"Thus, by the sole fact of a double principle, the democratic and the sympathetic, France, resting one extended hand on the right of nations, and the other on the inaggressive, but imposing, union of four armies of observation, takes its part in the agitation of the continent without ambition as without weakness, ready to negotiate or combat, to restrain or aggrandize herself, according to her right and honour, and the security of her frontiers.

"Her frontiers! I am employing a word which has lost a part of its signification under the republic; it is principle which becomes the true frontier of France. It is not her soil which enlarges; it is her influence, her sphere of radiation and attraction over the continent; it is the number of her natural allies, the disinterested and intellectual patronage which she is destined to exercise over nations; it is the French

system, in fine, substituted in three days and three months, for the system of the holy alliance.

"The republic has comprehended at the first word the new policy which the philosophy, humanity, and reason of the age were at length destined to introduce among nations by the ministration of our country. I would wish no other proof that democracy has been the divine inspiration, and that it will triumph in Europe as rapidly and gloriously as it has triumphed at Paris. France will have changed the character of her glory, and that is all.

"If a few minds, as yet backward in the understanding of true force and true grandeur, or impatient to press forward the fortune of France, should reproach the republic with not having done violence to nations, by offering them, at the point of the bayonet, a liberty which would have resembled conquest, we will say to them: See what a royalty of eighteen years' duration did for France; see what the republic has done in less than three months! Compare the France of the 23rd of July with the France of the 6th of May, and regard even patience as glory; give time to the principle which labours, which combats, which transforms and assimilates the world for you!

"France, externally, was imprisoned by limits which she could break through only by a general war. Europe, people and governments, formed one sole undivided system against us; we had five great powers compact and united by a common anti-revolutionary interest against France. Spain was placed as the stake between those powers and us. Switzerland was betrayed, Italy sold, Germany menaced, and excited to a feeling of hostility. France was obliged to veil her popular nature and to humble herself, for fear of agitating a people or disturbing a king. She sank under a peace maintained for the interests of a dynasty, and disappeared from the rank of the primary national individualities—a rank which geography, nature, and, above all, her genius, commanded her to preserve.

"This weight being removed, behold what a different destiny that peace which the republic gives creates for her! The great powers look, first with anxiety, then, at a brief interval, with security, upon the least of her movements. No one of them protests against the eventual and legitimate revision of

the treaties of 1815, which a word from us has as completely effaced as the steps of a hundred thousand men. England need no longer suspect us of ambition in Spain. Russia has time to reflect on the disinterested question which is arising between that great empire and ourselves, the constitutional reconstruction of the independence of Poland. We can encounter no conflicting shock in the North, except in defending, as devoted auxiliaries, the rights and safety of the Sclavonic and Germanic people. The Austrian empire treats no more except in respect to the ransom of Italy. Prussia renounces aggrandizement otherwise than by liberty. The whole of Germany is escaping the perpetual interference of those powers, and is forming a natural alliance with us. A coalition is at hand, of nations resting from necessity upon France, without one being turned against us, as of yore, by the policy of the courts. Switzerland is strengthening herself by concentration. The whole of Italy is stirring, and is almost in the possession of freedom. A cry of distress would call France thither, not to conquer but to protect. The sole victory we desire beyond the Rhine and the Alps is the friendship of the liberated populations.

"In one word, we were thirty-six millions of men isolated on the continent. No European thought was permitted us; no collective action was possible for us. Our system was compression; our horizon limited. Space as well as dignity was wanting to our policy. Our present system is one of democratic truth, which will enlarge itself to the proportions of a universal social faith. Our horizon is the future of civilized nations, our vital air the breath of liberty in the free breasts of the entire universe. Three months have not elapsed, and of democracy, like Protestantism, is to have a war of thirty years' duration, instead of marching at the head of thirty-six millions of men, France, reckoning in her system of alliance, Switzerland, Italy, and the emancipated people of Germany, will march, leading eighty-eight millions of confederates and friends. What victory gained by the republic could have been equivalent to such a confederation, conquered without the cost of a single life, and cemented by the conviction of our own disinterestedness? France, by the fall of royalty, has risen from her abasement, as a vessel loaded with an extra weight rises the instant she has been relieved from it.

"Such is, citizens, the exact picture of our actual exterior situation. The happiness or glory of this position belongs wholly to the republic. We accept only its responsibility, and shall always congratulate ourselves on having appeared before the representatives of the country, restoring to it peace, insuring its grandeur, with our hands full of alliances, and pure of human blood."

Long-continued applause followed this discourse. Its publication was called for, as well as its transmission to all the departments, and to foreign powers.

The Assembly proceeded to vote that the provisional government had deserved well of the country.

While Paris was in a state of intoxication from the security and joy which were excited in it by the restoration of the national sovereignty, and by harmony between the representatives and dictators, a great question was agitated in the public mind, and, above all, in the breast of Lamartine.

There was an interval to pass between the accession of the National Assembly and the vote on the constitution. Who was to decree the form of the new executive power? What should be the nature of this intermediate power? Should the dictators continue to exercise it, in the presence and under the sanction of the Assembly? Should the Assembly exercise it directly, and through the medium of committees of government, subject to constant renewal? Finally, should the Assembly delegate it? And, in this case, should it delegate it to one only, or to many? Such were the three hypotheses into which minds were divided.

Should the first plan be adopted? That was still the dictatorship.

The second? That would be anarchy and the confusion of power.

The third alone was practicable. The necessity of delegating the powers by the Assembly was almost unanimously agreed upon. But after that, there was a division of opinion. Some—and these were men recently arrived in Paris, the least informed of the state of affairs, and the most impatient for a return to ancient forms—wished that the Assembly should nominate a single temporary dictator, to be, at the same time, prime minister, who should appoint the other ministers, and govern by means of the Assembly itself.

The smaller number wished the Assembly to choose, by

ballot, a council, or executive commission of government, as an intermediate and fixed power between the Assembly and the administration. This commission should have the power of nominating and dismissing ministers. It should be, while waiting for the constitution, no longer the dictatorship, but the collective presidency of the republic.

This question was one of particular interest to Lamartine; and it was to him alone that it in reality pertained to resolve it. France, Paris, the Assembly, and Europe had their eyes at this moment upon him. His resolution was expected. By some, to applaud him and encourage him to the dictatorship; by others, to accuse and curse him, if he should refuse the part which the immense majority had decreed him.

He could not dissemble to himself that his popularity at Paris had increased so much as even to become a passion, instead of having been exhausted by three months of a government, prosperous, in the midst of such repeated tempests; that the ten elections which had just invested him with a species of title by choosing him as a universal representative; that the seven or eight millions of votes which were offered him, in case of need, throughout the republic; and, finally, the favour of six or seven hundred out of nine hundred representatives, designated him, and, as it were, imposed him, on the choice of the Assembly, as the man of the emergency, and the only predestined possessor of power.

He knew better than others, after the experience of a divided and stormy government, the advantages of the union of the intermediate power in a single hand. He felt that he himself possessed the strength, and believed that he had the prudence necessary to manage this power, mildly, but firmly, to the satisfaction of the Assembly. He alone held the clue of Europe. He flattered himself he could give the republic an immense ascendancy without kindling war, by a single energetic movement, seasonably prepared, and accomplished, beyond the Alps. The popularity, originating in every good sentiment, which attached to him, touched more than it elated him. He blushed at the appearance of ingratitude to his country, which he would exhibit by coldly refusing its invitation. The glory, after having called it forth, of installing the National Assembly, and of being the first legal, after having been the first revolutionary, power of his country, was a temptation to him.

The renown of being the founder and protector of the infant constitution, appeared clothed with attractiveness and light in the future of history.

So far then as he was himself concerned, he felt every inclination for the part. But in him good sense and honesty were not to be stifled by glory and ambition. Before all things his thoughts were devoted to the republic and to his country.

The following are the reasonings he used to himself, and embodied as answers to his colleagues during the three or four sleepless nights in which he held, as it were, council with himself in the presence of his conscience and of futurity.

"The republican sentiment is weak in France. This feeling is ill represented in Paris and the departments by men to whom the republic is repulsive, and who hold it up to the horror and dread of the people. The republic which so suddenly came upon us has been converted into a miracle, by the wisdom of the people of Paris, and by the character of mildness, unanimity, and concord which we have impressed upon it. But impressions are fickle and brief with the people, especially in France. No sooner will the majority of the population, which rushed, impelled by the enthusiasm of fear, into the bosom of this republic of moderation, have recovered its spirits, than it will heap accusations upon him who has preserved it, and will turn against the republicans. Should there then be none of ancient date in the government, or should these, who are already few, be divided in the face of their common enemies, what will become of the republic? And if that, the only existing refuge of society, sink before any precarious or factitious restoration of an antiquated monarchy, what will become of France? It is therefore necessary that the republicans should not, at any price, be divided at the first origin of their institutions. We must continue to restrain them, to moderate them, and keep them together as long as possible, until the republic shall have taken root enough, both in facts and ideas, to employ, indifferently, republicans of all dates as well as republicans of the present time.

"Now, if I take the power, alone, from the hands of a non-republican Assembly, or one but slightly tinged with republicanism, what will come to pass? One or other of these alternatives—either I shall expel my principal colleagues from

power, and then this power, after undergoing the process of purification, will become suspicious and odious to all the republicans of yesterday; or I shall summon these colleagues to it, and be myself suspicious and hateful to the National Assembly.

"I cannot dissemble that the Assembly appoints me only on the tacit condition of excluding them. Thus, on one side, I ruin the republic by too early an application of the pruning-knife, or I declare war against the national representatives, by imposing on them men whom they distrust and dread — an alternative which a politician cannot accept, except he wish to destroy the republic, or oppress the national representation of his country.

"Besides, this alternative even is not admissible. For who are those of my colleagues of the provisional government, my equals yesterday, who will consent to be my subordinates to-morrow, and to engage their names, their honour, and their responsibility in my acts? None. I shall be immediately deserted by them, and forced to take my ministers from among unknown men, or from the proved adversaries of the republic.

"But supposing," added Lamartine, "that I accept this fatal alternative, and that I take the undivided power decreed to me by the hands of the Assembly, what will happen to-morrow?

"All my rivals in the minority of the provisional government—all my friends even in the majority—all the republicans, socialists, terrorists, or moderates—all the representatives, to the number of three or four hundred, who have been elected under the auspices of these more democratic opinions, will be formed into a powerful opposition in the Assembly, in the press, in the Luxembourg, in the clubs, in public opinion, and in the national workshops.

"The Assembly, divided, becomes instantly agitated by storms. Speeches and votes shake not only the interior, but the capital and the country. Parties laid prostrate and dumb before the representatives, unanimous or almost so to-day, become daring and seditious before a body of representatives, divided into two camps. Before the end of ten days of such a spectacle presented to Paris, opinions will be armed in Paris itself. The representatives will be menaced.

"Where, before the expiration of a certain period, will be found my ability to protect them? In the army? I have but six thousand men in Paris, and before I could collect there a force of thirty or forty thousand, the signal which the Assembly will give to summon them will be the indication of an insurrection against itself, and of its own dispersion.

"In the national guard? But more than one-half of the new-formed militia is in the hands of Socialist or Conventional republicans. This half of the national guard will take up arms for their defence against the Assembly and the old militia, prepared on their side to protect the representation. Thus there will be a civil war around the very cradle of the constitution.

"I am well aware," continued Lamartine, "that I could save the representatives by conducting them out of Paris, and, by falling back with them on the army of the North; that I could, in the course of fifteen days, surround them with other corps from the banks of the Rhine, and by the national guards of the departments, thus overwhelming Paris with a million of men, and re-establishing there the reign of the representatives, for a moment violated.

"But at what cost? At the cost of torrents of blood which I shall have to shed to reconquer the capital, and at the price of the proscriptions which I shall have to put in force against the republicans. This price, indifferent to an ambitious, is not so to an honest man. Bloodshed is only innocent when it is necessary to the law it is defending. Here it would be gratuitous blood, such as would cry out against my ambition before God and men.

"But this is not all. After having made its re-entrance into Paris, in the blood of the republicans, the Assembly will feel a natural reaction and anger against the movement which expelled it. Will this reaction preserve the republic in order to punish republicans? Evidently not. It will swallow even me up, if I refuse to administer to its vengeances, or it will decree me the dictatorship to deliver it from the republic. In the first case, I am a *Cromwell*; in the second, a *Monk*; a tyrant, or a traitor. This is the alternative I am preparing by rashly mounting to power, and expelling thence my colleagues and the republicans of the genuine republic, at the voice of a transient popularity;—for the Assembly,

danger; for the country, civil war; for myself, a blemished name; for the future, the republic proclaimed and destroyed by the same man in the space of three months. These are my prognostications. To accept them would be criminality —incapacity—folly. The duty of a true republican and a true patriot is to sacrifice everything, provided that the republic be not divided at its origin, and that the National Assembly, obtained by so many efforts, introduced so recently by us into a centre which repels it, be accepted, fixed, preserved, and obtain insensible possession of the authority and force which belong to it. This force is, as yet, totally wanting. It is necessary to obtain it from every source, even through the medium of those who, had it not been for me, would have set it aside. These men dispose of a hundred and twenty thousand men from the national workshops—an army, docile and patient to-day, liable to be impelled to insurrection at their voice to-morrow. They dispose of the delegates of the Luxembourg and of a hundred and fifty thousand workmen, driven to fanaticism by their harangues. They dispose of the needy portion of the national guard, amounting at least to sixty thousand bayonets. They dispose of clubs which they could excite to revolt in a single night. They dispose, in addition to all these, by means of the prefecture of the police and the Hôtel de Ville, of the body of the *Montagnards*, the *Lyonnese*, the *republican guard*, the *guardians of Paris*, the *guides*, and all those armed revolutionary assemblies who only receive commands from the most suspicious republicans. The day following that on which I shall have excluded these jealous republicans from their legitimate part in the government, *the National Assembly will be besieged*, vanquished, *violated*, and *constrained to become the* degraded instrument of the conquerors, or else to dye with blood the enclosure to which I have brought it only to deliver it to its executioners."

The evidence of these arguments so forcibly struck the mind of Lamartine, that he was unable to understand why it did not equally strike all the statesmen who gave him counsels which breathed a greater degree of ambition. But these men, imbued with the spirits of the departments, knew not the true condition of Paris, and the respective strength of the Assembly and factions.

"The departments will come up in all haste," said they.

Lamartine was not ignorant of it; but between the arrival of the inhabitants of the departments in Paris, and the preservation of the National Assembly, there must intervene eight days; and these eight days were the snare for the Assembly, and the destruction of the republic.

Finally, there was a part strongly recommended to Lamartine by men more interested in him and his personal popularity than in the country.

"Retire," said they; "declare that you require repose; that you do not wish to form part of the government; that your work is accomplished, and that it is for France, now erect and reunited, to perform hers."

"This part would be the most agreeable and the wisest for me," replied Lamartine. "I should invest myself with an easy popularity, which, by disuniting itself from the difficulties, the faults, and catastrophes inevitable during these first months, would only keep in store for me sources of regret and great vicissitudes of fortune. I know it—I know what the lapse of time will bring with it. But if I remove myself from the sphere, the Assembly, whose chief confidence is in me, will instantly dismiss all my colleagues of February. It will bestow the power to a new or old man suspicious to the republicans. This sudden reaction will immediately exasperate the republic. Paris will rise in the name of the republicans proscribed by the government. The same misfortunes will be realized. They will not bear my name; and that will be the sole difference. But in my own conscience, my cowardice and selfishness will equally be the cause. I shall have saved and aggrandized myself by destroying the Assembly, the republic, and the country. It is the contrary which must be done. I must be destroyed. The National Assembly must be preserved."

And he formed his resolution without any illusion as to the consequences of his sacrifice.

He knew, as well as if he had read it beforehand, that his courage would be construed into cowardice, his renunciation into the thirst for power, his spirit of concord into complicity, and his prudence into blindness. He was not ignorant that a collective government, compressed between the natural impatience of the Assembly and the seditious resistance of the people, was but a temporary expedient, soon to be exhausted, and repudiated by all parties. But this

expedient was the only one which could subdue the shocks between the representative body and the people of Paris, and give time for the reconstruction of the forces and the means of safety. The price he gave for this time was himself; and he never repented it, notwithstanding the contrary judgment universally passed on his conduct. On his way to the Assembly to execute this resolution, he encountered a group of republican representatives on the Place de la Concorde. They conjured him to yield to their solicitations, and allow himself to be invested with the sole power. "No," said he to them, "I have reflected well. There is an abyss invisible to you between the National Assembly and the day on which the republic shall be armed. It requires a Curtius to fill up this gulf. I give myself to be swallowed up, but I save you." And he entered the palace of the National Assembly.

The Assembly, though long rebellious, ended, though more from weariness than conviction, by adopting, at his suggestion, the unsatisfactory but necessary plan of an executive commission, composed of five members, appointed by ballot, to exercise the intermediate authority until the definitive establishment of the constitutional power.

This ballot gave an immediate indication to Lamartine that he had lost the confidence of a great part of the National Assembly, by the very sacrifice he had made of his popularity and ambition. His name, which had ten times issued from the urns of the departments with more than two million suffrages, came out only fourth from the urn of the constituent assembly. He was punished for his devotion, and vengeance was inflicted upon him for not being willing to minister to the impatience and blindness of his country. He bowed his head, and submitted to this token of his growing unpopularity.

The Assembly had nominated MM. Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru Rollin, members of the executive commission.

The members of the government met at the residence of their president, M. Arago. They nominated the ministers. Their selection was dictated by the same spirit of tact, prudence, and fusion which had animated the resolution of Lamartine. To M. Crémieux was assigned the department of justice, to M. Bastide that of foreign affairs. M. Jules

Favre, a man remarkable for eloquence, and at the same time possessed of an intelligence as penetrating as it was manifold, was associated with this minister as under-secretary of state, to sustain the discussions, so difficult and frequent, upon the external interests of the country. M. Charras, while awaiting the arrival of General Cavaignac, administered the war department; Admiral Cary the marine; M. Recurt the interior, with M. Carteret, a man of very superior talents, as under-secretary of state. M. Trelat was intrusted with the department of the public works—a ministry which the existence of the national workshops made at that time a political one; M. Flocon had the direction of agriculture and commerce; M. Bethmont, of worship; M. Carnot, of public instruction, in which he was seconded by M. Reynaud, a man of an adventurous and philosophic, but high-toned spirit; and M. Duclerc, of the finances.

M. Pagnerre, who had from the 24th of February been distinguished for his indefatigable services rendered to the government, in the modest but important part of secretary general, preserved this employment, with the power of taking part in the deliberations. M. Marrast retained the mayoralty of Paris, until the government had modified this revolutionary institution. M. Caussidière preserved the prefectship of the police. There were at once both rashness and prudence in this last choice; for no one could do more injury or more service to the National Assembly than Caussidière. Lamartine believed him capable of both parts, but considered that he would loyally prefer the second.

The difference was such between serving factions and serving the representative body of one's country, that greatness, like this must, in the opinion of Lamartine, tempt a character such as that of Caussidière. To exclude him was to throw him back into conspiracy—his native element; to admit him was to win him to the cause of order by satisfying his honourable ambition. Caussidière was retained in office.

Hardly had the government, thus constituted, the time to seize the broken and entangled reins of government, than the anticipations of Lamartine were realized, and proved too clearly to the Assembly how deceitful was its security, and how the revolutionary soil of Paris could with facility swallow up a sovereignty which was repugnant to itself.

The provisional government had decreed a military and national festival for the day on which the representative body would be installed in Paris. Their wish was that Paris, erect and in arms, should welcome France in her representatives by a ceremonial salute. Their wish was that the sovereign representatives should pass in review the innumerable civic bayonets which, after lowering themselves before them, were to serve as their protection against the factions.

It was desired also that a memorable acclaim should arise from a million of voices to hail the sovereignty of France, embodied in her representatives.

The ill-combined dispositions of those who had the arrangement of the preparations of this ceremony on the Champ de Mars, had caused it to be postponed till the 14th of May. The irregular soil of the field of the federation would have caused danger to the immense mass of population which this festival was sure to bring together.

On the 12th of May, M. Recurt, the minister of the interior, again announced that the *fête* would be necessarily adjourned to the 21st of May. The deputations of the national guards of the departments, already arrived in Paris, were irritated, and by murmuring and carrying their complaints into public places, slightly agitated the surface of the capital. The leaders of the party, desirous of commotion, scanned all these symptoms, and saw in them some auxiliary elements of perturbation. The directors of the clubs, the ultra-democratic partisans of war, until then deceived in their plans of a general conflagration in Europe, sought for a watch-word to excite the people, and they found it in the name of Poland.

The people, for fifteen years, had been accustomed to respond to this name. This word signified to them the oppression of a branch of mankind, and vengeance upon tyranny. Some important members of the National Assembly, such as MM. Vavin, Volowski, and Montalembert, were the patrons of the cause. This patronage within encouraged demands from without. This cause, so far as it was just and generous, could calculate on the generous minds in the Assembly. The factions seized upon these dispositions of the people to recommend to them a manifestation in favour of Poland. They appointed a rendezvous on the 15th of

May for all the clubs, and all the friends of Poland, on the Place de la Bastille. Thence, after having signed a petition to the Assembly, demanding the declaration of war against Russia—that is to say, conflagration on the continent, and a coalition of all the powers against the republic—their intention was to march along the boulevards, rallying as they passed the still tumultuary masses of Paris, and bring the petition of the people to the bar of the Assembly.

The Poles themselves, although they had obtained by the influence of the republic immense restitutions in the duchy of Posen and in Gallicia, were not strangers to this movement. Lamartine was informed by the letters of his confidential agents in Poland, that the emissaries of the Polish clubs in Cracow had set out with the mission of effecting a pressure on the National Assembly at Paris, to compel it to declare war in their favour. After having formed this tumultuous assemblage, the leaders of the clubs and demagogues proposed to ask permission to defile before the Assembly, in imitation of the insurrectional displays before the Convention during the days of crime.

The government was resolved on opposing this. A petition, brought up by a hundred thousand men, is an act of oppression, and not a vote. The political parties, violent as well as moderate republicans, beheld, with equal horror, this project of masked insurrection. The plot had no sympathy in the national guard, or in the *garde mobile*. It was an attempt of the desperate parties,—a species of saturnalia of the basest demagoguism. It afflicted more than it alarmed the government.

The government, receiving information, but not of an exact nature, on the evening before, from M. Recurt, the minister of the interior, summoned the prefect of the police. Caussidière made answer that he was indisposed, and knew nothing of a nature to occasion serious fears for the next day. His absence, his silence, and his inaction, before and during the movement of the 15th of May, awakened suspicions of connivance or toleration, which nothing has justified or verified subsequently. Caussidière was, in fact, kept away by the consequences of an accidental injury from a horse. He was, moreover, engaged in a struggle of prerogative and rivalry with the mayoralty of Paris and the minister of the

interior. Louis Blanc, Albert, and the whole social party, excluded from the government by Lamartine and his colleagues, would seek to exasperate Caussidière against an assembly which separated him from them. The Montagnards, to the number of two or three thousand, who occupied the prefecture of police, and had fortified themselves there, were connected, by their opinions and relations, with the most turbulent clubs. These were the armed satellites of extreme radicalism, who shuddered at the idea of subordination to the regular representatives of the country.

The centre, in which Caussidière thus lived, was a centre of opposition, irritated by dethroned Socialists, and of a secret faction initiated into the secrets of demagoguism. Was Caussidière himself their instigator and accomplice? I do not believe it. Was he as vigilant and active as he would have been in another disposition of mind? Neither will I venture to affirm that. He doubtless believed only in a slight disturbance, which might be a source of anxiety to the Assembly, and impress its importance on the new arrivals from the departments. He was astonished in the morning at the gravity of the result. He did not take the interest he ought to have done. He shut up his forces in the prefecture of police to wait the course of events. He was not an accomplice; he was not guilty; but perhaps not sufficiently indignant at the humiliation of the national representative body.

The government employed a part of the night in giving the most circumstantial orders to General Courtais, the commander of the national guards, and Generals Tampour and Foucher, the first commanding the *garde mobile*, and the second the troops in Paris.

BOOK XV.

At daybreak, on the 15th of May, the generals and the minister of the interior were summoned to the Luxembourg, the seat of government, to give an account of the dispositions which they had made, and to concert new ones. Nothing was neglected which could keep the crowds at a

distance from the Assembly, and protect the inviolability of the representatives, even should it be found necessary to fire upon them. The chief command was bestowed on General Courtais. It was agreed that twelve thousand men of the national guard should be summoned around the Palais Bourbon, and that the battalions of the mobile guards should take their station, as a reserve, under the trees in the Champs Elysées. Mobile guards and artillery were, besides, posted in the courts.

The sitting of the Assembly opened at noon. Ledru Rollin and Lamartine were present, as well as the ministers. MM. Arago, Marie, Garnier Pagès, and Pagnerre had remained at the Luxembourg to provide for the contingencies of the day, in case their colleagues should be confined in the Palais Bourbon. A confused agitation reigned in the hall, an immense din arose from without. The petition in favour of Poland was read, and was supported by some orators, in order to answer whom Lamartine ascended the steps of the tribune. He was then informed that an immense column of people, preceded by the clubs, and gathering on its passage the floating scum of the population of a great capital, was advancing upon the Assembly, and threatened to force the bridge. Lamartine, to avoid alarming the Assembly, feigned not to wish to answer until other orators had spoken. He warned the president, M. Buchez, in a whisper, of the necessity of taking the measures which his authority gave him over the troops within the compass of the palace of the representation.

General Courtais, evidently surprised at the magnitude and rapidity of the demonstration, not having battalions enough at hand, and in dread of a shock which he thought he could still avoid, by opening the passage of the bridge, and allowing the column of petitioners to pass before the peristyle and along the quay, wavered in his decision, and sought advice in conformity with his own thoughts. During this irresolution on the part of the defenders, the column, dashing aside half a battalion of national guards on the Place de la Concorde, and forcing the small array of mobile guards, who were insufficient to defend the bridge, to fall back, rushed like an overflowing torrent on the quay in front of the peristyle, engulfing itself in the Rue de Bourgogne, and shouting "Poland for ever!"

The quæstors, destitute of force by the absence of national guards from the interior, came to induce Lamartine and Ledru Rollin to present themselves to the people and harangue them from the top of the palace steps. General Courtais was already at that point, vainly endeavouring to control the tumult by voice and gesture.

Thousands of men, in different kinds of dresses, but mostly in rags, with excited countenances and menacing gestures, their mouths foaming and uttering incessant cries, bore with the whole weight of a multitude against the railings, and struggled to shake or scale them, in order violently to enter the enclosure. Ledru Rollin, although received with some applause, could not make himself heard. At sight of Lamartine, whom the crowd knew to be minister of foreign affairs, and energetically opposed to war, an immense clamour arose, and some voices exclaimed "Death to Lamartine!"

The crowd indignantly protested against such cries. They tore from the railings the two insensate men who had uttered them, trampled them under foot, and cried "No! Long live Lamartine!" At the moment when Lamartine had procured a chair, in order to address the people, fifteen or twenty men, who had climbed to the points of the railings, got over them, and fell at his feet in the space which separates them from the steps of the peristyle. The gate of the fence was opened or forced, and the first billow of the crowd precipitated itself through this aperture. "It is all over," said Lamartine; "No! reason can do nothing more! Nought remains but defence! Well, to arms, and let us defend ourselves!"

Saying these words he fell back, followed by some deputies and soldiers, to the gate of the second court, which was separated by another railing from the square of the peristyle. This second court was occupied by half a battalion of mobile guards. The soldiers appeared resolved to do their duty, when an order, which was attributed to General Courtais, caused them to sheathe bayonets. Lamartine, perceiving this movement of disarming among the soldiers in the midst of the tumult, raised his arms to heaven, and cried out that all was lost.

He returned with the group of quæstors and deputies into the interior, and awaited the result with consternation. He still

flattered himself, nevertheless, that the national guards, who were in the other courts, rallied by some energetic commander, would prevent at least the violation of the hall of session itself, and that the invasion of which he had been witness on the side of the quay, would be confined to a tumultuary species of procession in the corridors and gardens of the palace.

After having given notice to the president of what was passing, he went out again, alone, and in a state of desperation, to face the rioters, who were attempting to cross the remaining threshold.

After having proceeded a few steps in the hall of columns, he found himself in front of a group of the leaders of the clubs, who were advancing five or six deep, with linked arms. A member of the provisional government, Albert, the friend of Louis Blanc, was of the number, and the only one known by sight to Lamartine.

Behind this first rank marched other citizens, their faces on fire, and with wildness in their gestures.

Lamartine, resolved to do his duty, and without thinking of his impotence and isolation, advanced a few steps to meet the head of this column, extending his crossed arms, as if to oppose a barrier to them :—

"Citizens," said he to them, "you shall not pass, or if you do, it shall be over my body!"—"And by what right would you prevent our passage?" said the first who approached him.

"By the right," replied Lamartine, "of a member of the government charged to defend at every cost the inviolability of the National Assembly."—"What do we care for the National Assembly?" rejoined they. "We are the people. We wish to present ourselves, our petitions, and the indications of our wishes to those whom we have deputed. Have you then already forgotten that the people communicated freely, directly, and constantly with the government of the Hôtel de Ville?"

"Citizens," answered Lamartine, "we were then in a state of revolution, we are now under a government. The National Assembly is as far above us as the nation is above you! It cannot receive petitions from the hands of a banded faction of the people, without losing its liberty and its majesty. I tell you again you shall not pass except over my body."

Then arose vociferations from the centre of the men who formed the second rank of the group. Ironical and disdainful apostrophes were addressed to Lamartine. But no outrage, no violence, occurred to give a painful character to the dialogue between his interlocutors and himself. The altercation sank into a discussion upon the respective rights of the people and the Assembly; some citizens not belonging to the representative body, in the number of whom were young Lagrange of Mâcon, Thomasson, Ernest Grégoire, some courageous and indignant representatives, M. de Mornay, M. de Montrol, and others, had run at the noise of the altercation and had formed themselves behind Lamartine. They addressed themselves in the same sense that he did to the groups of invaders. These, still few in number, hesitated, wavered, and at last fell back into the hall of the *pas perdus*.

Lamartine returned to the Assembly and took his seat on his bench, in order to join in the resolutions and acts which the national representatives would execute in this extremity. He believed that the gates had been reclosed after the passage of this first wave of the insurgents, and that the petitions brought by representatives would soon call him to the tribune.

Scarcely, however, had he resumed his place, penetrated with horror and grief which he could with difficulty prevent his features from displaying, than the doors of the public tribune being opened or forced with a crashing noise, one very side of the hall, gave passage to an invading body, consisting of men in waistcoats, shirts, working blouses, and in rags, who rushed as if to assault the galleries, brutally thrusting aside both by hands and feet the peaceable spectators, women included. Throwing their legs over the balconies, hanging by their arms from the cornices that they might slide down on the heads of the representatives, filling the whole in a moment, they poured in crowds into the hall, with flags, dust, cries, and confusion, forming a true and atrocious image of an invasion of barbarians upon civilized society. Lamartine recognized the same subterranean class of people, the same chiefs, the same attire, the same visages, and the same vociferations, which had been overwhelming him for the space of sixty hours at the Hôtel de Ville, during the days of the red flag. The Assembly might believe itself carried back to the unhappy days of September, 1793.

The indignant representatives, to a man, were firm and

impassible, even to sublimity, in their deportment. Not a cry of affright issued from a single mouth, and not a single brow grew pale. Not an eye was cast down at the audacity and ferocity of the faces and actions by which the hall was sullied. These nine hundred intrepid citizens had wittingly accepted in their departments the missions of unexampled dangers they were destined to incur by hastening to legislate in a republican spirit upon a set of demagogues and their followers, who would attempt to impose sedition and terror upon them. They were resolved to perish in a manner worthy of their departments.

The people were themselves intimidated by their attitude, and appeared ashamed of their own excesses. Still some hideous struggles, between men intoxicated by the ultra-democratic harangues which had impelled them to their present course, disgraced the interior of the hall. A set of ruffians, wildly waving a flag fixed at one end of an iron lance, wished to go and place it on the tribune. Others restrained them. They were overthrown, and raised themselves again in the dust under the eyes of the representatives.

Others made violent efforts to mount the steps of the tribune, an attempt which the devoted ushers and deputies used every personal exertion to prevent. Others rushed by the outer staircases to the desk and arm-chair of the president, to force orders or motions upon him. Partial, but terrible and ill-omened dialogues took place between the crowd and some heroic deputies, who, in defiance of it, raised themselves from their benches, baring their breasts, and making gestures of defiance to the rioters. Tragic interpellations were exchanged on all sides between the leading demagogues who pressed to the foot of the tribune, and the representatives of all parties. There was then neither left nor right in the Assembly. No secret intelligence had as yet been established between the demagogues outside and the representatives. The only party existing at that moment was one of indignation; Ledru Rollin, Barbès, and Louis Blanc, expressing by their looks and gestures as much affliction and disgust at these saturnalia of the people, as the members of other parties in the Assembly. These deputies, whose names excited so much popularity, were seen to be approached by the invaders, and endeavour to appease them, and dissuade them from their evil designs.

Appeals were made to them to interfere, and, as it were, interpose between the people and the Assembly. These representatives, thus solicited by their colleagues, uttered a few words in a spirit of repression; but every voice was drowned, and every one's office confounded by the tumult. It was a conflicting medley of gestures and cries, a battle of unarmed men, a whirlwind of confused elements, which carried everything along with it, even to the parties who had excited it. More than an hour thus elapsed before that a silence, the mere effect of lassitude, could allow the commingled mob and representatives the semblance, not of a deliberation, but a species of dialogue or protestation. The excess of anarchy had paralyzed the action of anarchy itself.

While these scenes were succeeding one another in the hall, others, still more scandalous and ill-omened, were passing around the desk and arm-chair of the president. Some insurgents were already masters of these by climbing with the aid of their hands and feet upon the tribune. At that point not only the flags of the clubs were waved, but drawn swords were brandished; two men, one in the uniform of an officer of the national guard, and the other in the dress of a fireman, were conspicuous by the insolence and recklessness of their gestures and vociferations. Bands of demagogues with shaggy, bloated faces, strove to get possession of the tribune, and then endeavoured to utter a few words, which were stifled by plaudits and cries; but they were overthrown by one another in succession. Others making continual assaults on the desk of the secretaries, and on the arm-chair, threw out horrible threats against the president. They ordered him to give permission to their orators to speak; they forbade him, under pain of the massacre of the Assembly, to call the national guard to the succour of the representatives.

The president, dignified, calm, and fearless for himself, was placed under an anxiety and mental constraint which accounts for his apparent inaction. If he did not summon the public force, he failed in his responsibility to the Assembly; if he omitted to call it, he perhaps compromised the lives of nine hundred representatives, who were at the mercy of an innumerable herd.

Besides, had the public force existence anywhere? It was said that the column of the people which had entered

the enclosure, was but the head of a column of a hundred thousand men, extending from the bridge de la Concorde as far as the Bastille.

General Tampour, who commanded the mobile guards, was detained in a public tribune, a motionless spectator of these violences, separated from his troops, to whom he had no longer the power to give orders. The commander-in-chief, General Courtais, was wandering about the enclosure, surrounded by floods of people, who prevented his summoning his battalions. Charras, the chief officer of the war department, was paralyzed and in consternation. The members of the government were either prisoners with Lamartine and Ledru Rollin, or at a distance from the scene passing at the Luxembourg, with Arago, Garnier Pagès, and Marie. There remained nothing to every good citizen but his own individual action. Each employed it according to his own notions and conjectures on the nature and magnitude of the exterior movement, with the extent of which no one was exactly acquainted. The president signed, in turn, orders not to have the *rappel* beaten, and secret ones to march upon the Assembly. He gave the first to appease the insurgents, and the second he intrusted to faithful citizens to be transmitted to the colonels of the legions. These colonels, thus receiving contrary orders, took counsel of chance only. Lamartine sent, one after another, by friends whom he had in the crowd, the order to beat the *rappel* and assemble the legions. M. de Chamborand, a man quick to contrive and bold to execute, a friend of Lamartine, succeeded, through a thousand dangers, upon his own responsibility, and even by delivering himself up as a hostage, in causing the order to be executed by one legion. But these orders were but intimations carried by the representatives, or apparent accomplices of the invaders, which might be turned aside or disobeyed. The Assembly, made captive, was delivered to the chance of the event.

A single shot, or the stroke of a dagger, might change the popular saturnalia into a massacre of the representatives.

In the meantime, the mass of the people, more misled than guilty, appeared to feel instinctive shame at their excesses, and blush at their own disorders. Lamartine, having mounted upon the terrace of the little garden which commands the quay and the Rue de Bourgogne, to judge of the number and

dispositions of the people without, was received with applause and cries of "Long live Lamartine!"

Re-entering the halls which face the enclosure, and immersed in the groups which, like agitated waves, were in incessant motion, he was unassailed by any outrage.

"Speak to us! advise us! assist us!" cried these men, with minds perplexed by uncertainty. "Fear nothing, we will throw our arms over you, and avert the daggers from your breast!"

His reply to them was dictated by calmness, but severity. He indicated to them by gestures the scandalous scenes by which the interior was being violated, and the certain vengeance of the departments, thus outraged in their representatives, and the inevitable civil war, if they did not of their own accord restrain themselves, by retiring, and signing an act of repentance and reparation to the Assembly. These words everywhere found echoes. The people appeared to ask nothing but to depart and repair their fault. A small number only of demagogues and infuriated agents of the clubs continued to prolong the tumult, and carried Louis Blanc in triumph from hall to hall, accompanied by Barbès and Albert.

Louis Blanc, whatever may have been said since, appeared more humiliated than pleased with these triumphs, submitted to, rather than obtained, over public decency. Lamartine, who was perpetually elbowed in this vortex of riot by the ovations of his ancient colleague, and adversary, heard from the bosom of the crowd many of the addresses of Louis Blanc. These expressions breathed joy at beholding the number and enthusiasm of the Socialists impose respect upon their enemies, and assume the stamp of the irresistible power of public opinion; but while congratulating them, he conjured them to retire, to moderate themselves, and to restore liberty to the general body of the representatives of the people. General Courtais, as he passed from group to group, did not cease to address to them the same earnest exhortations.

But while Lamartine, from hall to hall, harangued the crowd, more and more influenced by his voice, the chiefs of the clubs were disputing for the tribune, which they mounted, and read petitions and speeches from it.

Blanqui, in the midst of the applause of his followers, acquainted, by a fatal rivalry for popularity, called to it his

enemy, Barbès, up to that time, more an adversary, than an accomplice, of the seditious.

At last, a more enterprising conspirator, named Huber, a face recognized in all the ultra-agitations of the people since the days of February, proclaimed the dissolution of the national representatives and the revolutionary government.

Applauded by the hordes which were pressing round the tribune, this motion was proclaimed from mouth to mouth, as a decree of the people. The members of the Assembly dispersed, to seek justice and vengeance in the bosom of the national guard and the people really representing Paris. The rioters, preceded by Barbès and their accomplices, marched in column upon the Hôtel de Ville, took possession of it without resistance, and encompassed themselves with eight thousand armed men, some accomplices, and others seduced by the triumph of the factions.

At this moment, Ledru Rollin, retained by the insurgents in a porter's lodge of the palace, and solicited to follow them to the Hôtel de Ville, and there accept the place which they had decreed him in this government, resisted them obstinately, and declared that he would never allow a power to be imposed upon him which had been gained by a seditious movement over the national representatives.

At the same moment, Lamartine, pressed by a tumultuous crowd into the hall of conference, harangued the people, who were beginning to retire at his command. The movement of retreat, which was executed after the proclamation for the dissolution of the Assembly, interrupted his discourse.

A group of six or eight good citizens, who had mingled among the people to influence and restrain them, surrounded Lamartine, and conducted him across the garden into the palace of the presidency, then in course of construction.

They made him ascend to the builder's office. The doors were closed, and some courageous workmen were placed as sentinels at the foot of the staircase, to turn the multitude aside, should they chance to present themselves. The resolution was taken to await, in the very heart of the National Assembly, the movement, which was about to consummate or to repress the outrage of the day.

"If," said Lamartine, to his unknown friends, "we do

not hear the drum beat to arms on the other side of the river, I shall sleep to-night at Vincennes, or be shot!"

"This will not endure so long," cried these young men, indignantly; "it is impossible that France should, for three hours, endure such a parody on government."

Lamartine, exhausted in voice, and streaming with perspiration, sat down at a little table, on which the workmen had, from forgetfulness, left a bottle of wine. They drank to the approaching deliverance of the republic.

General Courtais, informed of the asylum to which Lamartine had retired, knocked at the door of the cabinet. He was ushered in. Nothing in his features or his language betrayed the open joy or even the secret satisfaction of an accomplice; on the contrary, everything in him revealed the disorder and consternation of a man wavering between two dangers—that of failing in his duty to the representatives, or of shedding the first blood after a revolution, thus far without stain. Courtais asked counsel of Lamartine before these eight witnesses. He advised him to make his escape by the gardens, put himself at the head of the first legion which he could assemble, and march on the palace to re-establish the Assembly. He thanked him, drank a glass of wine as he stood, and rushed forth to the performance of his duty.

An instant after he returned. His general's uniform had caused him to be surrounded by the people, who inundated the gardens and courts, and closed all the outlets. Lamartine counselled him to make a last effort. The general again descended, cleared the rioters, and attempted to get out by the Rue de Bourgogne. But while he was seeking a method of rejoining and assuming the command of his legions, these, roused, of their own accord, by public rumours and the emissaries of Lamartine and his colleagues at the Luxembourg, marched, and proceeded to arrest, with but little delay, their own general.

One vast murmur, issuing from the people, ascended from below to the asylum, in which Lamartine was counting the minutes with his friends. A gloomy and unbroken silence reigned over the remainder of Paris. With their ears glued to the windows, they were yet unable to discover what would follow this silence. The conspirators had, it was said, ten thousand armed accomplices, and cannon at the Hôtel de

Ville. The bureau of the minister of the interior had been taken, and that of the minister of war abandoned. The national guard was without a general officer to command it. They were floating between the strangest events. Everything was possible at such a moment.

Suddenly, a rush of feet, rapid, as in a charge, from some as yet invisible body, beating the ground on both banks of the Seine, comes striking upon the ear. At this sound a battalion of the *garde mobile*, imprisoned in the gardens of the presidency which command the quay, rushed to arms, and formed in order of battle under the walls of the palace. Lamartine issued from his retreat with his friends, descended the staircase, traversed the building, and passing by a window, along a plank, thrown to serve as a bridge from the palace to the garden, precipitated himself into the ranks of the mobile guards, by whom he was received with cries of "Long live Lamartine! Long live the representatives of the nation!"

He returned with them and the national guards into the palace. The insurgents, who filled the interior of the halls, courts, and gardens, dispersed by the outlets before the bayonets. The representatives, brought back by the detachments of the legions, resumed their places. Lamartine, half-stifled by the crowds which encumbered the halls and corridors, was carried as far as the first steps of the tribune. He mounted there in the midst of cries of "The National Assembly for ever!" "Lamartine for ever!" He waited for a long time until the clattering of arms should subside, and a certain number of representatives take their places.

"Citizens," he then exclaimed, "the first duty of the National Assembly, returning free within these walls, under the protection of bayonets, is to vote the gratitude of the country to the national guard, to the mobile guard, and to the army." This proposition was ratified by applause.

"But we should be wanting in our first duty," continued he, "if in this public mark of gratitude we did not include the immense majority of the population of Paris, who, indignant at the scandals which for a moment dishonoured these precincts, have risen in mass to re-establish the representatives.

"But, citizens, in the urgent circumstances in which we

are involved, the tribune is not the place for the politician whom you have appointed to watch, with his colleagues, over the safety of the country. While a government of faction—while a government of violence, momentarily substituted for the great and unanimous expression of the universal choice of the people, seeks elsewhere a seat of government which will tumble to pieces at their feet, our course is to go to the Hôtel de Ville.

"I will not say to you, that the moments are precious, for I have, like you, the confidence and the conviction that the more time the people of Paris have for reflection, the more they will blush for the outrage committed on you! In presence of the terrible misunderstanding which may spring up between the departments, isolated in the persons of their representatives, and Paris, the guardian of the safety of the Assembly, we must bethink ourselves. Well! we are going; we, I say, in the name of that government which you a few days since proclaimed; we are going, assisted, unanimously, by the national guard, by the *garde mobile*, and by that army which it is impossible to keep apart from them; we are going to unite with the members of the government, who are all, I doubt not, animated by the same indignation, the same sentiments, with me; yes! even those whom the suffrage of the factions has attempted to dishonour,—we go to ratify at the earliest moment the approving shouts with which you have just nominated with enthusiasm the brave chief of the national guard, citizen Clement Thomas." (Applause.)

"Citizens! yet, one word; one single word.

"At such a moment, the government is no longer in council; the place of the government is at your head, citizens, and national guards! its place is upon the battle-field! Let us march!"

The hall resounded with acclamations. The soldiers and the national guard raised their bayonets towards the tribune, as if to make a rampart for the representatives. Lamartine descended, and advanced towards Ledru Rollin, who had just entered the hall, and said to him: "Let us march to the Hôtel de Ville. Your name has been placed on the roll of the government of the insurrection; give the lie to the insurgents, by marching with me against them!"

The two members of the government went out, accom-

panied by a crowd of mobile guards, representatives, and citizens; among whom were M. Murat, the son of the hero of Naples; Morny, and Falloux, men who thirst for action! Arrived at the quay, Lamartine threw himself on a dragoon's horse; and the horse of an officer was brought to Ledru Rollin. A battalion of the 10th legion of national guards, among whom, in the dress of private soldiers, are to be distinguished the sons of the first families of the French aristocracy, formed around them.

A battalion of the mobile guard followed them. The regiment of dragoons, commanded by the brave Colonel Goyon, took the head of the column, and the advance began along the quays to the cries of, "*Long live the National Assembly!*" "*War with the insurgents!*"

The column, though of invincible energy, was weak in numerical strength, and it was proposed to await the accession of other forces. Lamartine was opposed to this, certain that, in a revolution, time lost counts more than expected forces can profit. In the midst of the tumult of voices, of cries, of counsels, clattering sabres and bayonets, which pressed around his horse, he bore in mind the 9th Thermidor, when the party of Robespierre, although the most numerous, was crushed in that same Hôtel de Ville, by his inactivity, and by the rapid resolution of the Convention and of Barras. He knew Barbès to be a man of action; he did not doubt but that, already surrounded by seven or eight thousand accomplices, he would have, if three hours only were left to sedition, a revolutionary army and government in the evening.

General Courtais had just been insulted, dismissed, and made prisoner by his soldiers, deceived and indignant at his inaction, which they believed the result of calculation. General Tampour had been separated from his battalions throughout the day, and it was not known if he was in freedom. The absent government were sitting at the Luxembourg, assailed by a detachment of rioters, to whom Arago, Garnier Pagès, and Marie opposed a firm and triumphant resistance. The bureau of the minister of war was deserted. No minister, no general, was invested with the universal, rapid, and decisive command necessary at a moment of such extremity. Lamartine took upon him the dictatorship com-

manded by this total eclipse of regular military powers. He sent for four pieces of cannon, to force, if necessary, the gates of the Hôtel de Ville. Ledru Rollin and himself agreed, at a word and on horseback, to give verbally the command of Paris to General Bedeau, for whom they sent a messenger, on the quay of the Louvre. Meanwhile the unanimous enthusiasm which prevailed, guided, excited, and regulated the column of attack, which increased while marching. Every door poured forth a combatant the more into its ranks. From every window proceeded applause, invocations, and blessings, indicated by the hands of women, old men, and children, upon the avengers of the representatives of the nation. Paris, in consternation, shuddered at the triumph of the demagogues, for a moment victorious, and of whom the anticipated excesses were compared, in the imagination of the people, with the crimes of 1793. So sudden a return of courage, added to the probability of its being attended with success to the good citizens, elevated the heart, and made the soul burst forth in invocations and transports.

Upon arriving at the upper end of the Place Saint Michel, the head of the column was stopped, forced back for a moment by the masses which obstructed the corner of the Place de Grève and the quay. Some dragoons came to announce that the Hôtel de Ville was formidably defended, that the conspirators had cannon, and that they perceived at the windows preparations for murderous discharges upon the column when it should debouche from the quay in front of the building. Lamartine sent to tell the general to order a second column to advance by the streets parallel with the quay, and which open, from the side opposite to the river, upon the square,—the same system of manœuvring as that of the 9th of Thermidor, when Bourdon de l'Oise marched upon Robespierre by these lateral streets, while Barras marched by the quay.

After a moment bestowed on the execution of this movement, Lamartine and his colleagues entered the Place de Grève on horseback, at the head of the column of attack, to the cries of "Long live the national representatives!" A confused movement separated them. The artillerymen and national guards who surrounded Lamartine conjured him to dismount, lest, being elevated above the crowd, he should

be chosen as a mark for the discharges which were expected to be received at the foot of the building. "No, no!" cried Lamartine; "if any one must fall for the cause of the National Assembly, I will be the first!" and he passed the square, under a curtain of bayonets, sabres, and flags. His horse walked no longer; it was lifted up and carried as far as the court of the palace. Not a shot had been fired.

The national guards, who had preceded the head of the column, and the *garde mobile*, rushed to the assault of the staircases. They carried them immediately, without resistance on the part of Barbès and his accomplices. It was a scene of the greatest confusion, but not a combat. What was passing above was not known below. It was expected that there would be some tragical scenes of desperate resistance, murders, and suicides, such as marked the arrest of Heriot or Couthon. The crowd was so dense in the court that Lamartine was unable to dismount. "Speak to us; speak to us!" cried they, extending their hands and arms towards him.

"Citizens," exclaimed Lamartine, "the first tribune in the world is the saddle of a horse, when thus one re-enters the palace of the people, surrounded by such an escort of good citizens, armed to crush the demagogue factions, and to reinstate, with your assistance, the true republic, and the representatives of the nation."

Lamartine, after these words, was almost carried upon the arms of the mobile and national guards, and citizens, across the vestibules, staircases, and corridors, as far as a small hall, on the first story, in which the same concourse of people, the same tumult, the same arms, and the same exaltation prevailed.

Some of the leaders of the insurrection, including Barbès, who had been seduced to become their accomplice, were already shut up in a neighbouring apartment. They had made no resistance; the promptitude of the resolution, and the rapidity of the march of the column of attack, directed by the two members of the government, had not allowed the conspirators time to increase their number, call their partisans, or organize their defence. The five or six thousand men who had entered the Hôtel de Ville with them, had disbanded and dispersed at the sight of the first companies of the national

guard, horse and foot, and the dragoons of Colonel Goyon, an active officer, who had tact enough to know when to give orders on his own responsibility, and was adored by his regiment.

They assembled in a tumultuous council in that hall of revolutions—the Hôtel de Ville. Their triumph was but one of two hours' duration. These they had employed in forming themselves, by a sort of popular ballot, into a collective revolutionary dictatorship, composed of Barbès, Louis Blanc, Albert, Blanqui, Raspail, Huber, Sobrier, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, and Cabet.

It was the government of the clubs proscribing the government of the nation; the coalition of sects against the representatives of the country. Many of the members of this government were ignorant even that their names had been usurped. Lamartine and Ledru Rollin signed in revolutionary form, and without any other title than the urgency of the case, and for the vindication of the public, the order to arrest the conspirators present, and to conduct them to Vincennes.

But the immense armed crowd, which was every minute pressing into the square, and the indignation of the people of Paris, increased by horror at the attempt so suddenly repressed, caused apprehension to Ledru Rollin, Lamartine, and Marrast, lest the guilty parties should not be able to pass during the day through the excited streets with impunity. They did not wish that a revolution, as yet pure, should cause one drop to be shed, even of the blood of those who had desired to corrupt and stain it. They knew that the worst of corruptions for a people is that which springs from blood shed under their own eyes; with the concurrence, therefore, of M. Marrast, who had intrepidly remained, although imprisoned by the insurrection, in the Hôtel de Ville, they judiciously provided against that danger by ordering the prisoners not to be conducted to Vincennes until a late hour of the night, and then under a strong escort.

These measures being taken, the tumultuous crowd in the palace so much increased in number, as to separate the two members of the government.

Lamartine hastened to encourage the national representatives, who still continued sitting. During the few moments which

he had passed at the Hôtel de Ville, the square and quays had become covered with the bayonets of all the legions of Paris. Of the two horses which he had sent for from home during the march of the column, one, ridden by M. de Forbin Janson, had been stopped, together with that brave volunteer, who had been mistaken for one of the insurgents, and thrown into prison. The other, which had been ridden by a young national guard, M. Gullemateau, had thrown its rider on the Pont Neuf. This horse had been brought to the square by a dragoon. Lamartine, almost overwhelmed, upon quitting the Hôtel de Ville, by the enthusiastic rush of the national guards and people towards him, and seeking for a horse to escape from the crowd, and thus breathe more freely when elevated above the multitude in which he was immersed, as he passed along the front of the dragoon regiment, recognized his steed, and sprang into the saddle.

He returned to the National Assembly by the quays. Groups of people, intoxicated by this victory of the true republic over an anarchy of a few hours' duration, surrounded him, with huzzas and acclamations. Artillerymen held the bridle of his horse. He was followed by a retinue of mounted national guards, dragoons, and citizens, all successively shouting, applauding, pressing his hands, and touching his clothes. The footways, the approach to the bridges, the windows, roofs, and terraces of the Louvre and Tuileries, were covered with men of all conditions, women, and children, clapping their hands as he passed along, shedding tears, waving handkerchiefs from a distance, and throwing flowers on his horse. Continually-renewed shouts of "*Vive la République!*" "*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!*" "*Vive Lamartine!*" accompanied him from the steps of the Hôtel de Ville to the steps of the Chamber of Deputies. The name of a private citizen was adopted as the symbol of restored order, and that name, after being thus raised to the highest pinnacle of popularity, fell, a few days afterwards, into the lowest depth of public disfavour. Of all triumphs, that which most elated the French people, was the triumph over anarchy.

Lamartine, on alighting from his horse, immediately ascended the tribune. He announced to the Assembly that its authority was once more paramount, and that the government was about to take measures for punishing the outrage,

and preventing any attempt to renew it. The Assembly broke up amidst cries of "*Vive la République!*" The national guards of the banlieues and of the departments adjacent to the capital, voluntarily thronged into Paris during that night and the following morning, determined to avenge the representatives, should it be deemed necessary to do so. During the night, the government having assembled at the Luxembourg, regulated this movement, interrogated the prefect of police, Caussidière, ordered the arrest of the leaders of the seditious movement, and appointed M. Clement Thomas commander-in-chief of the national guards of Paris. Those generals whose energies had been paralyzed by indecision, were superseded by commanders more active and more popular with the army.

On the following day, the revolutionary movement, which spread dismay through France, had left no trace behind it, except perhaps among the *Montagnards* in the prefecture of police, and in the barracks of the republican guard.

These revolutionary armed corps, which Caussidière had under his control for the security of Paris, being wrongly influenced by their sympathy with the clubs, or ill directed by Caussidière, had, on the preceding evening, failed in their duty; or, to say the least, their inertness left the National Assembly unprotected against outrage, and consigned the Hôtel de Ville to a conspiracy. The government ordered the expurgation of these corps. The republican guards sulkily laid down their arms at the first command. The corps of the *Montagnards*, amounting to about three thousand men, had fortified themselves in the prefecture of police, refusing to acknowledge any authority save that of Caussidière, threatening to maintain a desperate siege, and to shed the blood of the national guards without mercy, should any attempt be made to dislodge them by force. General Bedeau was consequently instructed to surround the prefecture of police with six thousand troops and twenty-five thousand national guards, to force these rebellious *Montagnards* to submit and lay down their arms.

In the morning General Bedeau invested the prefecture of police. The national guards were highly exasperated against these presumed accomplices or secret partisans of the clubs; and with loud outcries they expressed their desire to commence the assault. Their cannon were pointed towards the

gates. These three thousand soldiers of Caussidière, who possessed a good supply of ammunition, were resolved not to surrender until after a most sanguinary struggle; and in case of extremity, they declared their intention to blow up the whole district in which the prefecture was situated.

Caussidière, who, at two o'clock, was a second time summoned before the executive commission, refused to tender his resignation voluntarily. He held an ambiguous strain of language, in which obedience was artfully blended with menace, and veiled beneath equivocal expressions and gestures. Only on the preceding day, Lamartine had been of opinion that it would be right to retain Caussidière in his post. He had considered him to be a useful and brave man, and one who, by his good sentiments and his ambition, might be easily won by the friends of order to join their party in the republic. Lamartine now no longer hesitated. He went out with Caussidière, and having stepped into the carriage with him, they both drove off in the direction of the prefecture of the police. On the way Lamartine represented the danger of Caussidière's position, and the immense responsibility that devolved on him. He pointed out the absolute necessity of tendering his resignation, and the high estimation in which he would be held, if he succeeded, as he must do, in obtaining the submission of his troops without bloodshed.

Caussidière knew that of all the members of the government, Lamartine, though wholly unacquainted with his previous revolutionary career, was the one who had placed most confidence in him, and had been most disposed to support him. He yielded then to Lamartine's representations, urged as they were with a warmth of interest to which no suspicion could attach. He authorized Lamartine to convey his resignation to the government, and he pledged himself to exert his utmost efforts to dissolve the corps of *Montagnards*. Lamartine, who was at that time the idol of the national guard of Paris and the departments, promised to suspend the attack on the prefecture, and to dispose the citizens to show indulgence to the besieged.

Whilst crossing the Pont Michel, the carriage, which conveyed the two negotiators, came in contact with a corps of national guards, blockading the prefecture. Having recognized Lamartine, they forced him out of the carriage, and

gathered round him, with enthusiastic acclamations. When at length he succeeded in getting across the bridge, he harangued the guards and exhorted them to concord. The guards, then breaking from the ranks, rushed to him, shouting "*Vive Lamartine!*" To escape from these enthusiastic greetings, he turned down a side street; but was followed by the national guards, whom he at length eluded by entering a printing-office. Some officers, who accompanied him, barricaded the doors on the inside, thus stemming the tide of enthusiasm poured forth by the national guards and the populace. Lamartine now summoned in succession several of the commanding officers of the guards, and directed them to circulate in the ranks intelligence of a proximate arrangement. The irritation of the assailants was quelled; whilst Caussidière, on his part, reasoned with and appeased the Montagnards. The result was, that General Bedeau dissolved them, without concession on his part or resistance on theirs. The blood of Paris was thus once more spared. The events of the 15th of May had the effect of inspiring the National Assembly with increased confidence, and the government with renewed energy. We were still sailing against adverse winds, but the helm was held by firmer hands.

General Cavaignac, on his arrival in Paris, was installed in the post of minister of the war department, which, as has already been mentioned, was reserved for him. He entered upon the duties of his office with that firm, though modest confidence which denotes a man's consciousness of his own capability. Lamartine foresaw the struggles which must inevitably ensue for the establishment of the republic, which at its birth had been placed between two classes of enemies. He scanned Cavaignac's character at a glance, and he doubted not that he was the man to whom the preservation of the republic might be intrusted. He, therefore, urged the general to take advantage of the popularity of his name, and to demand that the government should provide disciplined forces sufficient to defend the National Assembly against the expected movements of factions. It was estimated that Paris alone would supply about fifty-five thousand bayonets, viz. fifteen thousand of the mobile guards, two thousand six hundred of the republican guards (picked men and reorganized), two thousand and fifty of the force called *gardiens de*

Paris, and twenty thousand troops of the line in barracks. In addition to all these there were fifteen thousand troops of the line in the Paris division, which in case of necessity might be brought in a few hours to the scene of action.

These military precautions, more than sufficient, were urgently insisted on by Lamartine, and did not meet with any opposition in the council. Every one seemed, with equal sincerity, desirous that the republic should be strongly armed against anarchy, the greatest danger to which rising republics are exposed. It was still imagined abroad that dissension and division existed among the members of the government, and especially between Lamartine and Ledru Rollin; but these disagreements had had no existence since the great act of concord which rallied round the National Assembly the three principal shades of republican government, with the exception of the Socialists. All the members of the government and all the ministers unanimously felt that they had the same duty and the same interest of ambition in faithfully serving the republic, the government, and the Assembly. The great and decided differences which, before and since that period, separated the opinions and sentiments of Lamartine from the opinions and sentiments of his colleagues, must not be suffered to discolour the truth of history. Lamartine did not then observe a single symptom denoting anything but the most perfect identity of views and the most sincere concurrence of efforts for the regular consolidation of the republic. There was no alliance, but there was no division.

The same feeling of unity did not prevail among certain agents of the administration, and members of the National Assembly around the government. Their conduct betrayed a sectarian spirit, a proneness to personal proselytism, and a desire to monopolize the republic in their own hands and in the hands of their friends. Their spirit of proselytism was marked by narrow-minded jealousy, and was altogether at variance with the real spirit of the government. It did not escape the notice of Lamartine, that the administrative appointments were concerted and determined on beforehand in meetings of the government. These appointments were often adverse to his views; but as he was indifferent with respect to individuals, and had no desire for personal ascend-

ancy, he affected not to observe, for the sake of avoiding disagreement.

The review prepared by the government in honour of the National Assembly, which had been postponed in consequence of the seditious outbreak of the 15th of May, took place on the 21st of that month, in the Champ de Mars. Three hundred thousand bayonets, and ten thousand sabres, entwined with flowers, defiled in front of the platform occupied by the Assembly, the ministers, and the members of the government. Unanimous shouts of "*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale et la République!*" resounded from eight in the morning until night. This was the adoption of the Assembly by the people, by the army, and by the national guards,—the consecration of the republican sovereignty.

This festival impressed the representatives of the people with a consciousness of their inviolability, and it enabled the nation to feel its own power. Lamartine, who was present, received a few acclamations and a few crowns of oak from the national guards and the people of the departments; but already his popularity, as rapid in its fall as it had been slow in its rise, was vanishing beneath the resentment of the friends of fallen monarchy, the ingratitude of the proletaries, and the menacing agitations of the national workshops. The friends of monarchy reproached him for not having restored the throne, and the others blamed him for not having reduced the National Assembly to their yoke, and given up society to their sway.

It must be confessed that the government stood in a false position,—a position, nevertheless, which there had been no possibility of avoiding. It wanted unity; but the necessity of refraining, at the outset, from any steps which might have the effect of dividing the republic into two hostile parties, rendered the immediate restoration of unity impossible. Every collective government is feeble, undecided, and vacillating, because it is irresponsible: collective responsibility is anonymous, and anonymous responsibility has no existence. Doubtless if, at that time, one man only had been at the head of the executive authority, he would have been able to foresee, to determine, and to act with a degree of energy greatly superior to that of the five men who were obliged to be guided by their united intelligence and opinions. Of this

fact these five men were fully conscious. Moreover, they felt themselves pressed, on the one hand, by the National Assembly, which demanded the re-establishment of order without delay; and on the other hand by the convulsive events of a great revolution, which required them to act with the utmost prudence and caution, for fear of bringing about a catastrophe which there was not sufficient force to resist. The government therefore was not and could not be anything but a temporary power painfully exercised by those who had accepted the ungrateful and impossible mission. To fill up the lapse of a month or two between the revolution ended, and the constitutional power vigorously commenced; to be responsible for the National Assembly in the eyes of the people, and to be answerable for the people to the National Assembly (thus dissatisfying both); to struggle with daily renewing difficulties; to prepare the elements of power for the future government; to resist the assaults of factions rendered desperate by the installation of the national sovereignty; to see the approach of menacing insurrections, and to delay taking steps for their repression until the day when they should break out; to bear the burthen of ingratitude in defeat, or the pain of ingratitude in victory;—such was the part traced out for this government of temporization. It was a part which could be endurable only to those who had formed an erroneous estimate of it beforehand; and whose alleged ambition was nothing less than a voluntary and meritorious sacrifice of their popularity,—a martyrdom of their names.

I will not therefore dwell on the acts of the executive commission. Those acts interposed with energy, vigilance, and disinterestedness, though often ineffectually, between popular insurrection and the Assembly. Meanwhile a cloud which had gathered before the eyes of the government betokened an impending storm. It was the national workshops.

The frequenters of these workshops formed altogether a body of one hundred and twenty thousand men. Among them was a considerable proportion of idlers and turbulent agents, the deposit of misery, vagrancy, vice, and sedition left by a population of thirty-six millions, when the tide of revolution began to ebb.

But in feeding this mass of indigence during four months'

idleness of an industrial multitude, accumulated in a revolutionized capital, the provisional government did not, as has been supposed, entertain the design of making the national workshops an established institution. They were merely the means of administering succour—a succour dictated at once by humanity and policy; for without that subsidy of the rich for the support of the poor, what must have been the fate both of wealth and poverty? Wealth would have been pillaged and poverty doomed to starvation, two crimes of which a government disposed to be just to the rich and humane to the poor, could not make itself the instrument.

Neither did the provisional government ever close its eyes to the fact that the day would come when this temporary system must be changed, the mass dissolved, and the idle, imperious, and paid multitude dispersed through other parts of the country, and employed in useful works. It was evident that, whenever that day should arrive, it would bring with it resistance, conflict, sedition, perhaps bloodshed.

For this event the executive commission was silently preparing. But before exposing the Assembly to meet the difficulty, the commission had a double duty to perform. First, for the purpose of mitigating the shock, it was advisable to offer in other parts of the country such a rate of wages as would draw great numbers of workmen away from Paris; to provide employment on a very enlarged scale; to make liberal laws in reference to pauperism, and to manifest an earnest intention to afford assistance to real distress. Secondly, it was necessary to meet the difficulty with vigorous means—to provide an irresistible armed force to dissolve the last nucleus which might attempt to resist the law, and set up inexcusable idleness as a pretext for rebellion.

Some members of the executive commission were actively engaged in carrying out the first part of this twofold duty, and their efforts were aided by M. Trélat, a minister well known and beloved by the suffering portion of the population. Lamartine and the minister of the war department devoted themselves to the second part of the task.

But the members of the National Assembly who had recently arrived from the departments were excited by men hostile to the republic. These members had been eyewitnesses of the scandalous vagrancy of that nomade army of workmen, and

knowing but little of the difficulties attending the situation of the capital, they could form no idea of the temporization and caution requisite for bringing about a dissolution without a catastrophe. They consequently became impatient at the tardy proceedings of the commission. The journals favourable to monarchy were continually asserting that the members of the provisional government, being thwarted in their ambition by the presence of the national sovereignty, were fostering and paying this army of pauperism, for the purpose of annoying and intimidating the representative body, and by a visible menace subjecting it to their culpable desire of rule.

The Assembly was not slow in lending faith to these calumnies. Whilst the government was making, the most assiduous exertions, and devising the most prudent means of disbanding, without bloodshed, the pauper legions, whose existence it deplored, and whose excesses it was seeking to check, the Assembly regarded the principal members of that government as the perverse accomplices of sedition. Lamartine and Ledru Rollin were most particularly the objects of this suspicion. Their simultaneous presence in the Assembly, notwithstanding their well-known variance of opinion respecting the character to be impressed on the republic at its outset, was cited as the proof of an odious alliance, in which they had sacrificed their principles for the sake of combining in their ambition.

The consequence was, that warm remonstrances were made, and rash motions proposed in the Assembly. These being unseasonably bruited abroad, furnished a text, which the clubs, the demagoguic journals, and the mob orators made use of in their turn for calumniating the National Assembly and irritating the populace against the alleged selfishness of the bourgeoisie.

The anti-republican feelings and ambitious views, concealed under the disguise of dynastic denominations, also concurred in promoting the demoralization and sedition which were becoming more and more manifest in the national workshops in proportion as the time approached for breaking them up. The prefect of police, M. Trouvé Chauvel, was a man unused to the difficult duties of the post he filled; but he was energetic, indefatigable, impartially hostile to every faction; and he was earnestly but coalmly devoted to the interests of the

country. He did not conceal from himself the dangers which each succeeding day brought forth. He observed the first rise of a new faction—a faction which seemed disposed to grow with the germ of the young republic, so that it might either blend with it or destroy it.

This was the Bonapartist faction, which was understood to have numerous agents in the national workshops. Were these agents paid by voluntary subsidies, emanating from personal regard for the memory of the emperor, or were they merely instigated by their own fanaticism in favour of a great name? Did these persons promulgate the principles of a sect, or were they simply diffusing the natural and spontaneous propagandism of a thought living in the memory of the people, and roused at a time when the popular mind was powerfully excited? There appears good reason to conclude that the immense popularity of the name of Napoleon constituted the whole conspiracy; but this popularity, betrayed in shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* and in avowed aspirations for a military dictatorship, proclaimed by demagogism, became a menace to the republic. Numerous crowds, which collected every evening on the boulevards, were harangued by the partisans of Napoleon. The government ordered the mobile guard and the national guard to act with energy in dispersing these crowds; nevertheless, they continued to assemble. M. Clement Thomas, the commander-in-chief of the national guard, risked his person and his life in the midst of these assemblages, to whom he frequently addressed remonstrances. The government then interposed its authority, and proclaimed the law against seditious meetings. In the course of one night only, M. Clement Thomas arrested five hundred of these agitators. The mobs ceased to assemble; but the double leaven of sedition, which lay concealed in the factions of the Bonapartists and the proletaries, did not cease to poison the spirit of the national workshops.

Lamartine felt the danger, and he resolved to oppose it with energy before it should acquire irresistible force. He was an enemy to proscription, but he was not adverse to vigorous precautions, which, by the temporary removal of an individual, may preserve an institution or a nation. He anticipated his colleagues in proposing a decree tending to maintain the ostracism of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte

during the foundation of the republic. Of all the members of that proscribed dynasty, Prince Louis enjoyed the greatest share of popular favour. He was the heir to the imperial throne by virtue of a *senatus consultum*, and at a time when he was but little known, and ill understood in France, he had sought to establish his claim to that throne by two enterprises, which conferred celebrity on his name, and doomed him to exile.

All the members of the government, sharing Lamartine's solicitude for the republic, signed the decree, and Lamartine carried it to the Assembly, with the intention of reading it at the close of the sitting. A discussion relative to some affairs of the interior caused him unexpectedly to mount the tribune. Whilst he was replying to a speech from one of the opposition members, it was announced that mobs of Bonapartist rioters had assembled on the Place de la Concorde; that a musket-shot fired at Clement Thomas, the commander-in-chief of the national guard, had missed its aim, but had entered the hand of one of the officers. Lamartine's indignation was roused, and pausing in his speech, he drew from his bosom the decree for the temporary proscription of Louis Napoleon. Laying it on the tribune, he thus addressed the Assembly:—

"Citizens, a fatal occurrence caused me to pause in the discourse which I was just now in the act of delivering to you. Whilst I was speaking of the conditions to be observed for the restoration of order, and of the guarantees we are all disposed to offer for the consolidation of government, a musket-shot (several musket-shots, it is said,) has been fired. One was aimed at the commandant of the national guards, another at one of the brave officers of the army, and a third, it is alleged, has struck an officer of the national guard. These shots were fired amidst cries of *Vive l'Empereur!*

"Gentlemen, this is the first drop of blood which has stained the pure and glorious revolution of the 24th of February. To the honour of the populace, to the honour of the different parties of the republic, this blood at least has not been shed by their hands! Neither has it flowed in the name of liberty, but in the name of the fanaticism of military recollections, and of an opinion naturally, though perhaps involuntarily, hostile to every republic.

"Citizens, whilst deploring with you the misfortune which has just occurred, the government has taken the precaution of standing prepared—as far at least as it can stand prepared—against events of this nature. This very morning, only an hour before we assembled here, we unanimously signed a declaration, which we proposed to read to you at the close of this sitting, but which the circumstance that has just transpired forces me to read to you immediately. When insolent faction is taken in the very act of turpitude; when it is detected with its hand imbrued in French blood, the law must be enforced with common accord. (Unanimous applause.)

"The declaration I am about to have the honour to read to the Assembly," pursued Lamartine, "has reference only to the execution of an existing law. But this declaration is necessary for legalizing the authority which may be called into execution to-morrow; it is indispensable, as a preparation for deliberating on another proposition referring to the same subject, and which must be discussed to-morrow or the day after; it is necessary, moreover, that the National Assembly should know the intentions of the executive commission with regard to Charles Louis Bonaparte.

"Here then is the substance of the decree which we propose to you:—

"The commission of the executive authority, bearing in view Article III. of the law of the 13th of January,—

"Considering that Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is comprehended in the law of 1832, which exiles from the French territory the members of the Bonaparte family;

"Considering that though there have been, in fact, exceptions to this law by the vote of the National Assembly, which has admitted three members of that family to form part of the Assembly; yet those exceptions were merely individual, and did not extend either by right or in fact to other members of the same family;

"Considering that France desires to found the republican government in peace and order, without being disturbed in her task by dynastic pretensions and ambitions, of a nature to create parties and factions in the state, and consequently to foment civil war, however undesignedly;

"Considering that Charles Louis Bonaparte has twice placed himself in the position of a Pretender, by attempting

to establish a mock republic, in virtue of the *senatus consultum* of the year XIII.;

"Considering, that agitations injurious to the popular republic which we desire to found, and calculated to compromise the safety of institutions, and to disturb the public peace, have already taken place in the name of Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte;

"Considering that these agitations, which are symptomatic of culpable intrigues, might be an obstacle to the pacific establishment of the republic, if encouraged by negligence or weakness on the part of the government;

"Considering that the government cannot make itself responsible for the danger to which republican institutions, as well as the public peace, would be exposed, if it were wanting in its first duty, by failing to execute an existing law, justified more than ever in unsettled times, by reasons of state, and for seconding the public welfare;

"Declares—that it will enforce, as far as concerns Louis Bonaparte, the law of 1832, until such time as the National Assembly shall otherwise decide."

Here the whole Assembly rose, uttering cries of "*Vive la République!*" with the exception of about eight or ten members of the representative body.

"You must be sensible, citizens," resumed the speaker, "that the emotion naturally excited in this Assembly by the event that has just transpired, has obliged me to interrupt and waive the greater part of the discussion which I should have desired to open with the National Assembly. I now come at once to the final considerations excited in my mind by this event.

"The declaration which you have just heard,—the decree which has just been submitted to you, together with others, marked by equal moderation and firmness, will restrain factions, if there be any, within the boundaries of law and order; and will, I hope, give you no cause to charge the provisional government with weakness or neglect of its duty. However glorious the name by which a faction in the republic may disguise itself, we will tear aside the veil, and show that faction in its real form.

"France has adopted the republic in earnest, and she will defend it against every enemy.

"Yes, I repeat, we have adopted it in earnest, and we will defend it against every danger that may assail it, even in the name of the most glorious and honourable recollections. We will never suffer France to degrade herself. She shall not degrade herself so far as to permit, as in the time of the lower empire, that the republic should be bought, under any name whatever, from the hands of a few noisy agitators."

At these words the Assembly again arose, and by general acclamations ratified the energetic resolution of the government.

Some days afterwards, renewed agitations of the same kind placed the National Assembly in a difficult dilemma. The government, now resolved to stand prepared for battle, and surrounded the Assembly with troops and cannon, convinced that it was better to oppose the capricious demands of the populace by armed force, than to deliver up the republic to a faction, whose object appeared to be to substitute a name for the people itself. But this time the Assembly yielded; thus committing one of the few acts of weakness which marked that stormy session of fifteen months' duration. That the government should not have been supported by the Assembly, in the spirited defiance it offered to two factions at once, was a matter to be deplored. The concession on the part of the Assembly appeased only for a day the exactions and turbulence of the national workshops. The fact was that sedition had merely changed its flag.

Lamartine, supported by M. Trouvé Chauvel and by Admiral Casy, two men distinguished for firmness and courage, conjured the government to resign, and to transfer to the Assembly an authority, thenceforth enfeebled, since it had been broken by the Assembly itself. During several days he urged this recommendation, and at length he consented to remain in his post, only till after the time fixed for the threatened battle of the national workshops.

A few months after the time when Lamartine had demanded the temporary removal of Louis Napoleon from the cradle of the republic, that prince was elected to the presidency by six millions of votes. The republicanism of the first magistrate fortunately proved that there had been no foundation for the apprehensions entertained by Lamartine. The latter could not but congratulate himself on having been deceived by his

fears. He acknowledged that the people were more confiding and more wise than he was himself.

The disturbances and outrages of anarchy continued to increase in Paris. The government sought to check them by remonstrance and vigilance, seconded by the efforts of the police and the national guards. The old laws for the maintenance of order had been broken through and annulled; and the republican laws had not yet been enacted. Lamartine was convinced that the disgraceful scenes in the clubs and public streets, together with the scandalous articles inserted in the journals, were the strongest arms that could be wielded by the enemies of the republic. France is a country characterized by public decorum. Any violation of that decorum she feels as an humiliation; and that humiliation creates disaffection. Lamartine was of opinion that the republic could be legitimized only by order being promptly re-established and inflexibly maintained. It was necessary, above all things, to set public feeling at ease.

Impressed with these ideas, he proposed that the council would either accept his resignation, or adopt a series of temporary decrees, to which he gave the name of republican laws of transition. Those decrees were intended to carry out several objects of pressing urgency; such as giving security to the public mind, placing an armed force at the disposal of the government, and maintaining public order during the agitation which must ever prevail in founding new institutions, especially those of a popular character.

"For several days past," said Lamartine, addressing his colleagues, "the aspect of the republic has greatly distressed me. I will not incur the responsibility attending a weak and defenceless position of society which may degenerate into anarchy. I demand two things:—first, laws of public security against street rioting, sedition in the clubs, the abuse of the freedom of the press by the anarchical journals, and for the power of removing from Paris, and sending to their own communes, agitators convicted of disturbing the public peace; secondly, I demand a force of twenty thousand men, encamped under the walls of the capital, to afford sufficient aid to the army of Paris and the national guards in the conflict in which we must inevitably engage with the national workshops, and with the still more culpable factions that may

arise and make themselves masters of that phalanx of every sort of sedition. On no other condition will I remain in the government."

"Neither will we!" unanimously exclaimed his colleagues. M. Marie, so distinguished for indefatigable energy, was appointed to draw out the plans of the decrees; and General Cavaignac was instructed to combine the movements of his troops in such a way, that the auxiliary division of the army of the Alps might be able to fall back on Paris the moment it should be ordered so to do.

The general and Lamartine had frequent consultations together relative to the military arrangements to be entered into for averting or overcoming the growing perils of the republic. Few days passed over in which Lamartine did not, on leaving the council, ascertain precisely the number and the movements of the troops which, conformably with the orders of government, occupied the barracks or cantonments around the capital. He, moreover, ascertained how many hours would be required to bring these forces to the points respectively assigned to them; and he made himself acquainted with the system of defence which General Cavaignac proposed to adopt in the event of a conflict in the capital.

Lamartine, warned by the fate of former governments, which, in revolutionary conflicts, dispersed their battalions over all points of Paris, and brought detachments to oppose masses, was convinced, that a battle in a capital containing a population of fifteen hundred thousand, must be fought in conformity with the rules of a battle in the open field; the only difference being that it is fought on ground encumbered by obstructions. He conceived, then, that the army ought to have a base of operations, a fixed centre and wings; that each of the operating corps should be enabled to radiate from the base, or to fall back on the centre, without being cut off from its reserve. On this subject he had, during an interval of three months, frequently conversed with every general commanding a force which might eventually be required to act in Paris. He had consulted Négrier, Bedeau, Oudinot, and Cavaignac, and he found that their opinions on this point concurred with his own. He therefore supported General Cavaignac in his design of adopting that system in preference to the contrary one, which was defended by those who, viewing an insurrection in the light of a riot, would

have persisted in attacking it at all points at the risk of suppressing it at none.

"Do not deceive yourselves," said he, to these persons, "it is not a riot that we have to suppress, we have to fight a battle; and not one battle only, but to go through a campaign against these formidable factions. If the republic desires to save itself, and with itself to defend society, it must stand well armed during the first years of its foundation; it must dispose its troops, not only here, but over the whole face of the country, in the anticipation of those great civil wars, which will not be confined to districts of a capital, but will pervade whole provinces, as in the days of Pompey and Cæsar."

Lamartine frequently addressed inquiries relative to the effective force of Paris to M. Charras, under-secretary of state for the war department, and to General Foucher. Their answers appeared to him perfectly satisfactory. Calumny has accused the government of negligence at this critical juncture; but the officers and generals might, with greater justice, have accused Lamartine of an excessive degree of precaution. From the time of the opening of the Assembly one thought alone had engrossed his mind:—it was the tranquil dissolution of the national workshops, if possible; but, if necessary, the suppression of the insurrection by force. That the victory might be prompt, decisive, and consequently the less sanguinary, it was requisite to overawe the mass of insurgents by the mass of bayonets.

Every symptom indicated the approaching movement. It broke out on the 22nd of June at ten at night. The government, warned of the rioting and clamour which attended the first steps that had been taken for distributing a portion of the workmen through the departments, assembled at the Luxembourg. In the course of the evening numerous mobs had several times assailed the palace with furious shouts of "*A bas Marie!*" "*A bas Lamartine!*" those two members of the government being considered most determined on the question of the dissolution of the national workshops. The government had appointed General Cavaignac commander-in-chief of the troops and the national guards, with the view of concentrating the whole plan and the unity of its execution in a single individual. Clement Thomas, no less disinterested than brave, readily concurred in this unity, reserving

to himself only the honour of obedience, abnegation, and danger.

The night was tranquil; it was spent in arrangements for the attack and defence. Neither the Socialists nor the anti-republican party joined in the insurrection either through the agency of their leaders or their principal partisans. These men were at the time either actually connected with the government, or they supported it from feelings of conviction and hope. Everything indicated that this undecided, feeble movement, incoherent in its principle, had been organized and paid in the heart of the national workshops themselves. It was a plebeian and not a popular movement, a conspiracy of subalterns and not of chiefs, an outbreak of servile and not of civil war. Lamartine, by restoring concord among the republicans in the council, had withdrawn the electricity from this anti-social cloud. The body existed, but the soul was wanting; therefore it was that the movement miscarried, though unfortunately at the cost of too much bloodshed. At seven o'clock on the 23rd of June, the government received information that mobs, forming altogether an assemblage of from eight to ten thousand men, had collected on the Place du Panthéon to attack the Luxembourg. Some battalions of the 11th legion, commanded by Colonel Quinet, together with a few battalions of the line, were ordered to disperse these mobs. M. Arago, who was known in that quarter of Paris, determined to proceed personally to the Place du Panthéon. There he harangued the seditious multitude, who wavered between their respect for him and their fury against the government. At ten o'clock the crowds dispersed, dragging in their train the starving masses of the 12th arrondissement. Amidst shouts of "*To arms!*" they retired into the districts situated on the banks of the Seine, into the faubourg Saint Antoine, and on the boulevards. These mobs, and their seditious shouts, spread commotion through the faubourgs; the streets were soon thronged; the occupants of the national workshops poured down from the barriers, and the populace, excited by some of their armed leaders, threw up barricades. These leaders were, for the most part, the men who acted as brigadiers of the national workshops, and who were agents of the seditious clubs. They were irritated by the proposed disbandment of their corps, whose wages passed through their hands, and some of

them, it was alleged, did not scruple to divert the money from its destined object, for the purpose of paying sedition. From the barriers of Charenton, Bercy, Fontainebleau, and Ménilmontant, to the very heart of Paris, the capital was almost totally defenceless, and in the power of a few thousand men. The *rappel* might have summoned to arms two hundred thousand national guards, a force ten times sufficient to have subdued these seditious bands, and to have razed their fortifications to the ground; but, however mortifying the fact, it must be avowed, since it may operate as a warning in future emergency, the national guard did not respond with sufficient decision to the call of the government. They looked on passively at the erection of barricades, in the destruction of which their own blood was afterwards profusely shed.

The government having removed from the Luxembourg, for the purpose of being near the National Assembly and protecting it, established itself at once as a council and a camp, with General Cavaignac, in the apartments of the president of the Assembly.

The general, in concurrence with the members of the government, concerted a plan of operations. He resolved to concentrate his troops (as had been determined beforehand) in the garden of the Tuileries, in the Champs Elysées, on the Place de la Concorde, on the Esplanade des Invalides, and round the palace of the representatives. In the Hôtel de Ville he posted between fifteen and sixteen battalions under the command of General Duvivier, maintaining free channels of communication by the quays. To the brave General Duniesne, whom the government had just appointed commander of the mobile guard, he gave the command of the vast and populous district extending from the Panthéon to the Seine. General Lamoricière, with a few battalions, was directed to cover all the left bank of the Seine, from the Château d'Eau to the Madeleine, an immense superficies, which alone would have required a whole army for its defence.

Meanwhile the conflict had commenced on the boulevards. Two detachments of intrepid volunteers of the 1st and 2nd legions attacked two barricades erected on that point. Most of these brave volunteers perished heroically under the first fire of the insurgents.

I will not attempt to detail the various combats which occurred during those few days, and in which the generals,

the picked national guards, the regular troops, the mobile guards, the representatives of the people, and even the archbishop of Paris, all shed their blood and covered their names with glory. Négrier, Duvivier, Lamoricière, Bedeau, Brea, Bixio, Dornès, Lafontaine, Foucher, Lefrançois, and numberless others have left the stain of their blood on the page in which history will record their devotedness. I will merely describe those scenes of which I was myself an eye-witness.

Noon arrived, and the troops, so long held in readiness, and so long ago summoned, did not make their appearance. The seat of government was thronged by citizens, mayors, aides-de-camp, and members of the Assembly, all requesting to see General Cavaignac, and all, on being introduced to him, imploring reinforcements for defending the districts to which they belonged. The general could not grant assistance, which was not at his disposal. Lamartine and his colleagues could not but approve the extreme prudence of the commander in thus refusing to disperse his battalions, whilst at the same time they observed with regret the evident insufficiency of the military forces. What had become of the twenty thousand troops of the line in the barracks of Paris? Where were the fifteen thousand men stationed in the garrisons adjacent to the capital? Where were the twenty thousand troops of the army of the Alps, which Lamartine had applied for as a reserve, thirteen days previously? General Cavaignac has since satisfactorily proved that the number of troops of the line in Paris was conformable with the number fixed; but in the first moment of confusion the exigencies of a conflict on such a field of battle absorbed and, as it were, buried the battalions so completely, that whole regiments vanished no one could tell whither. The troops encamped before the walls of Paris had not begun to march. The garrisons in the neighbourhood of the capital could not, in the space of a few hours, reach the barriers. The circumstances of the preceding day had not appeared so serious in the eyes of the commander-in-chief as to induce him to summon the troops posted round Paris. Reliance had been placed on the national guards, who, in spite of the incessant beating of the *rappel*, did not as usual rush from their houses in a mass, or who were imprisoned in their quarters by the insurgents. In fine, it must be confessed that, whether owing to some

fatality or to reluctance, the army did not act in such a way as to meet the imminent and the universal danger—a danger which the numerical weakness of the army tended to aggravate. Duvivier commanded the central part of Paris at the Hôtel de Ville. Dumesne and Lamoricière, who seemed, as it were, to multiply themselves, performed prodigies of resolution and activity with the mere handful of men at their disposal. By four o'clock in the afternoon Dumesne had cleared and made himself master of the left bank of the Seine, and had overawed the whole mass of insurrectionary population in the quarter of the Pantheon. His reports, hourly transmitted to the government, afforded favourable prospects for the night and the succeeding day.

Lamoricière, invincible, though hemmed in by two hundred thousand of the insurgents, occupied the space extending from the Rue du Temple to the Madeleine, and from Clicly to the Louvre. He was incessantly galloping from one point to another, and always exposing himself to receive the first shot that might be fired. He had two horses killed under him. With his face blackened by gunpowder, the perspiration trickling from his brow, his voice hoarse and broken by vociferating commands, and his eye expressive of the calm courage of the soldier in his native element, he inspired his troops with enthusiasm, and imparted confidence to the dismayed national guards. His reports breathed the intrepidity of his own heart; but he did not conceal the insufficiency of his force, the immense numbers of the assailants, the prolongation of the barricades between the Bastille and the Château d'Eau, and from the barriers to the boulevard. He implored those reinforcements which the government was incessantly summoning, both by telegraphic communications and by orderly officers. At length the national guards of the Banlieue began to arrive by detachments. By command of the generals they ranged themselves round the Assembly, mingling with the national guards of Paris, to whom they set a good example. On the arrival of the national guards from the country round Paris, the government felt the assurance of victory even amidst the agonies of the conflict.

General Cavaignac seemed to be set at ease respecting the final result of events, on perusing the last reports brought by his aides-de-camp. The insurrection had been checked or

repressed at all points, save in the faubourg du Temple, in the faubourg Saint Antoine, and the extensive adjacent districts, occupied by a dense population, previously turbulent, but now convulsed. The troops, who had been fighting since morning, were worn out; but night was to bring the reinforcements summoned by the government.

"Enough has been done to-day," said Cavaignac, addressing the council; "we must now let the troops rest, keeping our positions, and recruiting our strength. To-morrow we will deliver that part of the left bank in which resistance is still kept up." These propositions were reasonable enough; for the troops were few, scattered about, and exhausted. But though the night was to bring reinforcements of defence, it might also bring reinforcements of sedition from all the populous districts; it might multiply the barricades, convert them into fortresses, and before they could be destroyed, the national guards and the army might be forced to shed torrents of blood. Lamartine pointed this out to the general and the council.

"We have yet four hours of daylight," said he, "and the whole night is before us. Let us not give the insurgents the advantage of all this time. Let us rather employ it in anticipating the insurrectionary movements, defeating them, or at least confining them within such limits as may be possible, before night sets in. If the troops should fail us, let us rouse the national guards, who are wavering and flagging. Let us, with the few troops that are grouped round the Assembly, form a last column of attack; let us ourselves lead it on to assault the barricades of the faubourg du Temple, the strongest and most decisive position of the insurgents."

These sentiments were energetically seconded by General Cavaignac. He gave some orders and left the council to reassemble and lead on the main body of the column. Lamartine sent for his horses, which had been ready saddled since morning, in anticipation of the events of the day. He himself mounted one, and offered the other to Pierre Bonaparte (the son of Lucien), a brave young man, who inherited his father's republican principles. Duclerc, the minister of finance, a man whose courage was as calm before the cannon's mouth as it was impetuous in the council, expressed a wish to join them. Lamartine was accompanied

by several other friends, among whom may be mentioned a national guard of the 10th legion, an old soldier named Blanc, whom he found at his side in all perilous junctures, and the adventurous Château-Renaud. They all ranged themselves in the first platoons of the mobile guard, and proceeded to the Place de la Concorde and the Rue de la Paix, their numbers increasing as they moved along. General Cavaignac, with the main body of the column, joined them at the entrance to the boulevards. The Breton representative, M. de Tréveneuc, who was on horseback and armed, requested leave to join Lamartine and his friends. M. de Tréveneuc, then unknown to Lamartine, was a man distinguished for patriotism and courage. A summer storm was at that moment breaking over Paris. General Cavaignac, surrounded by his staff, with Lamartine, Duclerc, and Pierre Bonaparte, and followed by about two thousand men, advanced amidst flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, mingled with the applauding shouts of the well-disposed citizens, as far as the Château d'Eau. Whilst the minister of war sent for cannon, and formed his column, which was consigned to General Foucher (the commandant of Paris), Lamartine proceeded to review the artillery of the national guard at the Temple. These brave citizens, merely a handful of men, were overwhelmed amidst an excited population, wavering between sedition and republicanism. The name of Lamartine, his presence and his gestures, with difficulty restrained the impetuosity of this multitude. He was surrounded by crowds, who followed him raising shouts, as far as the boulevard. At length the column was formed, and it received orders to charge.

Lamartine and his friends rode forward with the battalions of the mobile guard and troops of the line, amidst cries of "*Vive la République!*" These young soldiers seemed to be inspired by the spirit of Austerlitz. After repeated assaults, kept up for the space of three quarters of an hour, and amidst an incessant shower of balls and bullets, decimating both officers and men, the barricades were carried. Lamartine felt as though he could have wished for death to release him from the odious responsibility of bloodshed which pressed upon him so unjustly, but yet so unavoidably. Thrice he dismounted from his horse and stationed himself at the foot of one of the barricades, where he might have a chance of falling in the foremost rank of the brave combatants; and

thrice did the guards of the Assembly gather round him and draw him back by force. The horse ridden by Pierre Bonaparte was killed by his side, and the one he himself rode was wounded. Guns of the largest calibre, sent by General Cavaignac, demolished the remaining fortifications of the insurgents on that point. Four hundred brave men lay killed or wounded in different parts of the faubourg. Lamartine returned to the Château d'Eau to rejoin General Cavaignac.

Accompanied only by Duclerc, and a national guard named Lassaut, who had been his companion the whole of that day, Lamartine passed the line of the advanced posts, to reconnoitre the disposition of the people on the boulevard of the Bastille. The immense crowd, which fell back to make way for him as he proceeded along, still continued to shout his name, with enthusiasm and even amidst tears. He conversed long with the people, pacing slowly and pressing his way through the crowd by the breast of his horse. This confidence amidst the insurgent masses preserved him from any manifestation of popular violence. The men, who, by their pale countenances, their excited tone, and even their tears, bore evidence of deep emotion, told him their complaints against the National Assembly, and expressed their regret at seeing the revolution stained with blood. They declared their readiness to obey him (Lamartine), whom they had known as their counsellor and friend, and not as their flatterer, amidst the misery they had suffered, and the destitution of their wives and children. "We are not bad citizens, Lamartine," they exclaimed; "we are not assassins; we are not factious agitators! We are unfortunate men, honest workmen, and we only want the government to help us in our misery, and to provide us with work! Govern us yourself! Save us! Command us! We love you! We know you! We will prevail on our companions to lay down their arms!"

Whilst giving utterance to these and similar exclamations, the men, who were worn out by four months of privation and excitement, touched the clothes and the hands of Lamartine. A party of the crowd ran to the stalls of some flower-dealers, and, seizing the flowers, strewed them over his horse's mane. It was only at intervals that the sinister figure of a conspirator was observed gliding along the pavement and uttering the war-cry, which was, however, speedily drowned amidst shouts of "*Vive Lamartine!*"

Such was the disposition of the people in districts which had that night been well nigh thrown into a state of complete insurrection, merely through the want of a sufficient number of troops to occupy those parts of the capital.

Lamartine, without having been either attacked or insulted, returned to rejoin General Cavaignac on the boulevard. He described to the general the condition and the feeling of the people, and they arranged together the orders requisite to be despatched to the troops out of Paris, to summon them to march without delay on the different roads adjacent to the capital. Lamartine left the general at the Porte Saint Martin, to make arrangements for its defence, and he proceeded to communicate to the war department and the council the orders they had conjointly determined.

Night had now set in, and the firing had everywhere ceased. During Lamartine's absence, his colleagues, Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, and Pagnerre, had visited the Mairies, and animated the national guards by their example and their exhortations. Ledru Rollin remained at the presidency, to despatch urgent orders, and to watch any danger to which the Assembly might be exposed.

At midnight the regiments nearest to the capital, and the national guards of the adjacent towns, entered Paris in a mass, marching through all the barriers. Victory might still be tardy, yet it was now certain.

But the confidence which was restored in the mind of the government was not restored in the National Assembly. A suspicious party resolved to profit by this crisis to overthrow the executive commission, which still continued to be regarded with unfounded distrust. Next morning, at eight o'clock, a certain number of representatives forced open the door of the council-room, and requested the members of the government to tender their resignation. It had long been the unanimous wish of those individuals to retire from a situation in which feelings of devotedness to the public welfare had caused them to continue, very much to their own discomfort, and against their own interest. Nevertheless they determined not to resign amidst a storm, or to retire from the field like cowards deserting during the battle. Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, and Pagnerre, energetically protested against such a proceeding.

"Let the Assembly dismiss us, and appoint other men to fill our places," said they; "we will obey, as good citizens ought to do. The dismissal will be an order. But our voluntary retirement at such a moment as the present would be a disgrace!"

At ten o'clock, the Assembly, in a permanent sitting, conferred the whole civil authority on General Cavaignac, whom only on the preceding day the civil authority itself had invested with full military power. Lamartine, on the part of his colleagues and himself, wrote the following letter to the Assembly:—

"Citizen representatives,—

"The commission of the executive authority would have been wanting at once in duty and honour, had it retired in the face of sedition and public danger. It retires only in obedience to the vote of the Assembly. Restoring to you the authority with which you invested it, the commission returns into the ranks of the National Assembly, there to unite with you in efforts to avert the common danger, and promote the welfare of the republic."

Such is the narrative of the principal events in which I took part during the two first periods of the revolution of 1848, and of the foundation of republican institutions in France. The destinies of the republic have since then passed into other hands. Great services have been performed; some faults have been committed. I pray that God, my contemporaries, and posterity may pardon mine. May Providence make amends for human error and human weakness. Republics seem to be more directly under the control of Providence than any other forms of government; because in a republic there is no intermediate hand between the people and their destiny. May the invisible hand protect France! May it defend her at once against impatience and inertness, those two quicksands on which the best impulses of human nature are frequently wrecked. May the hand of Providence also ward off two other dangers—war and demagoguism; and in a conservative and progressive republic, the only one that is lasting and possible, may the seed implanted in that form of government, germinate and bloom in the morality of the people, and the reign of God.

NOTE *at page* 46.

"If there had, in the constituent assembly, been more statesmen than philosophers, it would have felt that an intermediate state, under the guardianship of a half-dethroned king, was impossible. The care and administration of conquests are not intrusted to the vanquished. In great crises an absolute party is the only sure one. The difficulty consists in knowing how to have recourse to these extreme measures at the right moment.

"Let us say it boldly, history will, on some future day, say the same that we do. There was a moment when the constituent assembly had the right to choose between the monarchy and the republic, and should have chosen a republic. In that consisted the safety and legitimacy of the revolution. Failing in resolution, it failed in prudence.

"But, say they, with Barnave, 'France is monarchical by geographical position as well as character,' and a contest of mind was raised between monarchy and republics. Let us understand one another.

"Geography is of no party. Rome and Carthage did not possess frontiers. Genoa and Venice possessed no territories. It is not the soil which determines the natures of the constitutions of people, it is the age. The geographical objection of Barnave fell to the ground the next year, before the prodigies achieved by France in 1792. She has shown whether a republic had unity and centralization enough to defend a continental nationality. Waves and mountains are the defences of the weak. Men are the frontiers of nations. Let us speak no more, then, of geography. It is not by geometricians, but by statesmen, that social constitutions are designed.

"Now, nations have two great instincts, which reveal to them the form which they have to take, according to the hour in their national existence to which they have arrived: the instinct of their preservation, and the instinct of their growth. To act or to repose, to walk or to sit, are two entirely different things, which require men to assume entirely different attitudes. With nations it is the same. The monarchy or the republic with a people correspond exactly to the necessities of those two opposite conditions—repose or action. We here understand these two words in their most absolute acceptation. For there is repose in republics, as there is action in monarchies.

"When a people has arrived at one of those epochs when it is necessary for them to act with their utmost force, to operate within or without, one of those organic transformations which are as necessary to people as are currents to rivers, or an explosion to compressed powers, the republic is the indispensable and fated form of a nation at such a moment. To a sudden, irresistible, convulsive action of the body social, the arms and will of all are requisite.

"The people unite in throngs, and press forward, without order, to the danger. They alone are equal to such a crisis. What other arm than that

of the entire people can remove what they have to remove, displace what they wish to destroy; instal what they wish to found? Monarchy, in such an effort, would a thousand times break its sceptre. A lever capable of raising thirty thousand wills is needed. That lever the nation only possesses. She herself is the motive force, the fulcrum and the lever.

* * * * * * * *

"The constituent assembly was feeble and blind in not giving a republic as a national instrument to the revolution. Mirabeau, Bailly, Lafayette, Sieyès, Barnave, Talleyrand, Lameth, acted in that respect like philosophers, and not like great politicians. The event has proved it. They believed the revolution completed as soon as recorded; the monarchy they believed converted as soon as it had sworn to the constitution. The revolution had only commenced, and the oath of royalty to the revolution was futile as the oath of the revolution to royalty. These two elements could not assimilate until after an interval of an age. This interval was the republic. A people does not pass in a day, or even in fifty years, from revolutionary action to monarchical repose. It is from having forgotten this fact at the time when it was most necessary to remember it, that the crisis has been so terrible and continues to agitate us. If the revolution, which is still pursuing its course, had obtained its natural and proper government, namely, the republic, that republic would have been less tumultuous, and less disturbed, than our five-fold attempts at monarchy. The nature of the times in which we have lived protests against the traditional form of power.

"An epoch of movement should have a government of movement. Such is the law! * * * * * * * * The republic, had it been legally established by the assembly in its rights and in its force, would have been very different to the one perfidiously and atrociously extorted, nine months after, by the insurrection of the 10th of August. It would, doubtless, have had the agitations inseparable from the birth of a new order of things; it would not have escaped the disorders inevitable in a country at its first movement, and stimulated by the very greatness of its dangers. But it would have originated in law instead of sedition; in right instead of violence; in deliberation instead of insurrection. That alone would be sufficient to change the sinister aspects of its future. But it would be restless when it might have remained pure! Behold how the sole fact of its legal and premeditated proclamation would have changed everything. The 10th of August would not have taken place; the perfidy and tyranny of the commune of Paris, the massacre of the guards, the attack upon the palace, the flight of the king to the assembly, the outrages with which he was there loaded, and his imprisonment at the Temple, would have been avoided. The republic would not have slain a king, a queen, an innocent child, a virtuous princess. The massacres of September, those St. Bartholomews of the people that have left everlasting stains upon the swaddling-clothes of liberty, would not have taken place. It would not have been baptized in the blood of three hundred thousand victims. The republic would not have placed in the hands of the revolutionary tribunal the axe of the people, with which a whole nation was immolated to make room for an idea. It would not have had its 31st of May. The Girondists, arriving with pure consciences at power, would have had much more force for their contest with demagoguism. The re-

public, instituted upon reflection, would have intimidated Europe in a far different manner than as a seditious movement, legitimated by murder and assassinations. War could have been avoided, or if inevitable, would have been more unanimous and more triumphant. Our generals would not have been massacred by their soldiers at the cry of treason. The spirit of the people would have combated with us, and the horrors of our days of August, September, and January, would not have repelled from our banners the hearts which had been attracted by our doctrines. Behold how a single change, at the origin of the republic, would have changed the lot of the revolution. * * * * * * *

Finally, the constituent assembly, whose ideas enlightened the globe, whose boldness in two years transformed an empire, had, at the close of its work, but one error to account for—that of inaction. Instead of perpetuating itself, it abdicated. A nation which abdicates after two years of reign, upon a heap of ruins, bequeaths the sceptre to anarchy. The king could no longer reign, the nation would not, therefore the factions reigned. The revolution perished, not from having desired too much, but from not having dared enough. So true is it that timidity in nations is not less fatal than weakness in kings, and that a people which does not know how to take and keep all which belongs to it, tempts both tyranny and anarchy! The assembly dared all, excepting to reign. The reign of the revolution could only be called the republic. The assembly left this name to factions and this form to terror. This was its fault. It expiated it, and the expiation of this fault is not yet finished for France."

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THE END.

Printed by J. & H. COX (BROTHERS), 74 & 75, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

00030316

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016